

THE ANDEAN WORLD

EDITED BY LINDA J. SELIGMANN AND
KATHLEEN S. FINE-DARE



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THE ANDEAN WORLD



This comprehensive reference offers an authoritative overview of Andean lifeways. It provides valuable historical context and demonstrates the relevance of learning about the Andes in light of contemporary events and debates. The volume covers the ecology and pre-Columbian history of the region, and addresses key themes such as cosmology, aesthetics, gender and household relations, modes of economic production, exchange, and consumption, postcolonial legacies, identities, political organization and movements, and transnational interconnections. With over 40 essays by expert contributors that highlight the breadth and depth of Andean worlds, this is an essential resource for students and scholars alike.

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ABBREVIATIONS



A.	Aymara
Q.	Quechua
Sp.	Spanish

Note: Cusco is the local spelling of Cuzco. Authors use one or the other as their preference.



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INTRODUCTION

The Andean world



Kathleen S. Fine-Dare and Linda J. Seligmann

What people think of as the Andes has been at least as powerful as any purported objective description of their content and character.

Daniel W. Gade (1999, p.41)

This volume is intended to be a resource for students and scholars interested in learning more about the Andean region of Latin America. Yet to speak of “the Andean world” is to generalize in ways that demand explanation. The Andes is a vast and ecologically complex region, encompassing maritime ecosystems, deserts, rain forests, and the high ranges and plateaus of the Andes mountains. Politically, the nation states of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru are considered to belong to the Andes (see Map 0.1); while geographically, the region stretches from sea level to over 5,486 meters above sea level (one meter is equivalent to 3.28 feet), and includes all of Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia, as well as parts of Chile and northwestern Argentina (see Map 0.2). It is home to many different indigenous populations and language groups.

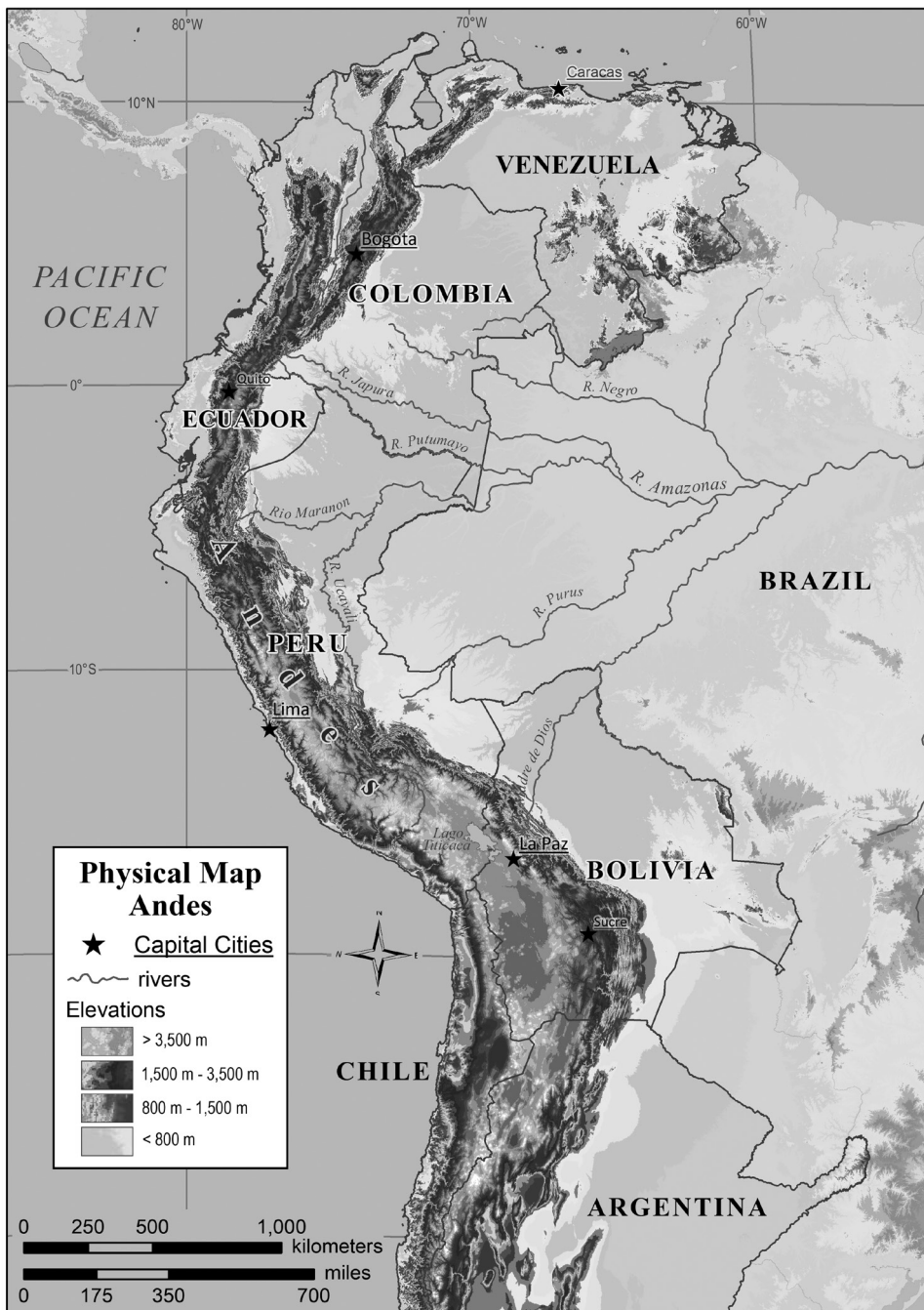
At the same time, the thousands of years of habitation the region has experienced means that interactions among language groups and populations—including many who have come as colonizers and conquerors—have created a remarkably complex cultural, political, and economic terrain that is neither easily described nor comprehended. Given its vastness, a reasonable question to ask is whether or not it is even feasible to craft a volume that could touch on all these dimensions. We return to this question below, but first provide a brief overview of ways *lo andino*—how scholars have sought to define characteristics of what could be called “Andean,” as well as how that which constitutes and has been considered essentially “Andean”—has been critiqued.

Some scholars, who have focused on the specifically “Andean” nature of the ecology and geography of the region, with all its geological and climatic variation, have nevertheless noted that the “natural” region has undergone substantial cultural



Map 0.1 Political map of the Andean states

Map credits: Scott White, based on ESRI and USGS.



Map 0.2 Geographic map of the Andean region

Map credits: Scott White, based on ESRI and USGS.

changes over time due to human perceptions of and interactions with the environment. Geographer Daniel W. Gade opens a chapter reflecting on “the meaning of *lo Andino*” in his 1999 work *Nature and Culture in the Andes* by stating: “The Andes form a fundamental region of South America, but also a mythic space whose configuration has changed through the past 500 years” (Gade, 1999, p. 31). On the same page from which the epigraph that opens this chapter is drawn, he notes that changing perceptions of the Andes over the past four hundred years have shifted the definition twice: “from a nonregion to a region, and from a physical entity to a culture area” (Gade, 1999, p. 41).

General agreement exists that the word “Andes” may derive from the Quechua *Anti*, which referred to forest-dwelling peoples who lived in *Antisuyo*, or the south-eastern quadrant of the Inca Empire. Citing sixteenth-century writer Juan López de Velasco (1971, p. 81) and seventeenth-century author Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa (1969, p. 272), Gade states that during the colonial period the Andes “referred not to the continuous highlands, but rather to the forest-covered hot valleys east of Cusco” (Gade, 1999, p. 31). The iconic nature of the Andes as essentially mountainous was established “in the mental geography of the world” (Gade, 1999, p. 32), most notably by Enlightenment naturalist Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) who, in the course of his expedition to South America from 1799–1804 (along with French explorer and botanist Aimé Jacques Alexandre Bonpland), “came to see the exuberant landscapes he traversed as monuments to the underlying unity of the natural world, majestic symbols that man-made objects could never equal” (Safier, 2008, p. 55).

Humboldt drew from the researches and travels of precursors such as Charles-Marie de La Condamine and Pierre Bouguer (France); Jorge Juan de Ulloa, Antonio de Ulloa, and Alejandro Malaspina (Spain); and Juan Larrea, Francisco José de Caldas, and Carlos Montúfar (Ecuador), who were seeking to establish the location and expanse of the equator and poles, the origin of rocks (presaging the studies of mineralogy and volcanology), as well as investigate the possibility of reconstructing the large pyramids (Holl, 2001, pp. 16–19). Humboldt’s vision of the Andes was not only scientific; as a German naturalist, his thinking went beyond “the arrangement of climate and vegetation” to demonstrate “biophysical verticality” (Gade, 1999, p. 32), to an appreciation of ways that landscape painting could serve as an interface connecting the realities of the natural world to human subjectivity (González, 2001, p. 99; Kennedy-Troya, 2001). This subjectivity of the natural/human interface is apparent in the often luminously rendered works of landscape painters such as those of the American Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900), who used South American scenes to modify Enlightenment realism by creating Romantic, light-filled renderings of nature (Figure 0.1)

This European focus on Andean physical landscapes in the early to mid-nineteenth century was joined shortly thereafter by another kind of “physiognomy,” the search for ideal physical types that could be represented on small “calling card” photos (*cartes de visite*) for purchase by foreign travelers (Poole, 1997, p. 74ff.) These popularly circulating images, as well as larger format photographic projects, would feed into at least four connected projects: scientific studies of purported biological races; nationalist and Indigenist political projects that used “types, customs, and landscapes” to literally paint a picture of a nation (Kennedy-Troya, 2005, p. 25);¹ concerted efforts to expropriate land, life, and livelihood from indigenous and African-descended



Figure 0.1 Painting by Frederic Edwin Church, *The Andes of Ecuador*, ca. 1855.
Height: 121.9 cm (47.9 in); width: 194.3 cm (76.4 in) [public domain].
Reynolda House Museum of American Art, Winston-Salem, NC

peoples; and ethnographic work conducted by anthropologists who mapped indigenous, “mixed race,” and African-Andean types onto what would be called culture areas. The couple whose photo was included in an 1868 Peruvian souvenir book that ended up in the U.S. Library of Congress were likely chosen as photographic subjects because of some “quintessentially Indian” characteristics found in their shabby but nonetheless elegant costumes, brooding countenances, and lack of shoes (Figure 0.2).

Although type- and racially-focused photographic and other artistic projects proliferated in the nineteenth century both in Europe and the Andes, the results were not generalized or systematic.

By 1943, anthropologist and cultural ecologist Julian Steward was to note that an ethnological study of the complex nature of the Andean area, where “a fairly well integrated mixture of native and European elements predominates” called for “long range, preferably interdisciplinary, studies.” Steward went on to remark that “[d]espite a tremendous literature on [Andean] peoples, including many *Indigenista* writings, not a single thorough community study has been published” (Steward, 1943, p. 32).² He averred that both research problems and subject matter were undergoing “continuous change” and that “the status of anthropological research of all types in South America is little short of chaotic” (Steward, 1943, pp. 20–21), something he hoped would be addressed by the imminent publication of the five-volume *Handbook of South American Indians*,³ (a project begun by Alfred Métraux) for which Steward served as general editor. Steward argued forcefully that culture areas were the outcome of the dynamic interaction of features of the environment itself and the cultural arrangements by which the environment was exploited, including the technology employed, and the economic organization of the society in question. He was curious

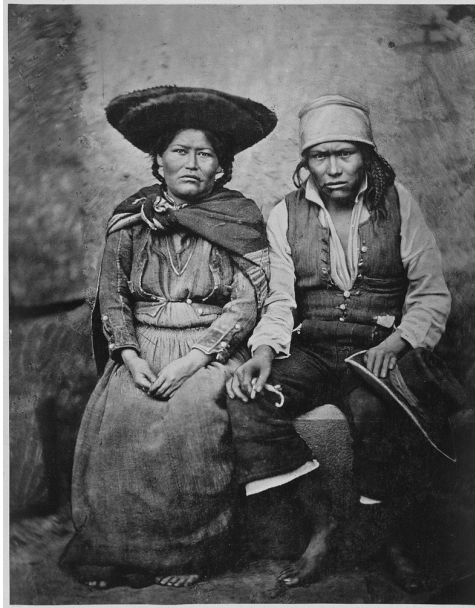


Figure 0.2 *Indigenista* style photo, Courret Hermanos studio, Lima, *Indians from Quito, Ecuador*. From 1868 album, “*Recuerdos del Peru*,” v. 1, p. 45. Photograph shows portrait of indigenous woman and man in traditional dress

Washington, D.C., Library of Congress LC-DIG-ds-03 188.

to ascertain whether or not one might find regularities in light of the interactions of these features.

Volume II of the series, *The Andean Civilizations* (1963[1944]), is nearly a thousand pages in length and summarizes information ranging from environmental to archaeological on through historical and a variety of ethnographic categories divided among societies assigned to the central, southern, and northern Andes. In the preface to this volume, Steward identifies “The Andean Civilizations” as comprised of “the high-culture, farming peoples of the Andean Highlands and Pacific Coast from Colombia to Central Chile.” The “Andean peoples,” continues Steward, “are distinctive for their high native cultural development, for their rich archaeological remains, and for their strong survival, both numerically and culturally, at the present day” (Steward, 1963, p. xxv). In a similar fashion, Enrique Mayer, two decades later, coined the term “production zones” to stress how what might appear as “natural” is instead the result of coordinated human–natural interactions that include infrastructural features, modes of rationing resources, and rule-making mechanisms that regulate how these resources are used (Mayer 1985, pp. 48–51).

Three quarters of a century later—and as the ethnographic work in this volume attests—although our definition of the scope and what Steward and others of his time would perhaps identify as key “culture area” characteristics of the region remain uncertainly delineated by geographic or other criteria, direct field research in the Andes has indeed proliferated and permitted scholars to discern patterns,

variations, and remarkable differences in the lifeways that constitute this vast region. It has also allowed them to fruitfully explore the ways that inhabitants themselves conceptualize their place(s) in the Andes and the skills and knowledge they have brought to bear on their movements throughout the region and beyond, culturally, politically, and economically.

In a markedly different effort to arrive at what might be generalizable about the Andean region, more recent scholars have argued that the violence visited on Andean communities and peoples in the 1980s refocused interrogations of what it means to be “Andean.” Ethnographer Orin Starn launched a provocative critique of “Andeanism” in 1991, arguing that the theoretical predilections and perhaps emotional inclinations of many anthropologists had impeded their ability to anticipate the violence of Peru’s bloody internal war that lasted from 1980–2000 and that resulted in the deaths of at least 69,000 people, 75 percent of whom were speakers of native languages and 79 percent of whom lived in rural areas (Rojas-Perez, 2017, pp. 4,7). By emphasizing continuity of ecology, symbolism, and ritual within bounded communities, Starn claimed that some anthropologists had painted a picture of a largely homogeneous and “timeless” Andean world separated from coastal, urban, and mestizo (mixed Spanish and indigenous) places and peoples, which in turn created a static, essentialized, and inaccurate portrayal of Andean peoples’ diversity and intercultural complexity (Starn, 1991, pp. 66–70; see Salomon, 1982, for a nuanced bibliographic discussion of the nature of Andean studies that Starn only partially addresses).

Seligmann, responding to Starn’s critique, observed that while scholars in the north had all too frequently contributed to the static way that the Andes had been represented, at that time, many native Andean scholars and, even more broadly, historians, had hardly viewed the Andes as a timeless, monolithic entity, and were well aware of the political dynamics, economic inequalities, and regional migratory and urban interactions and flows that had catalyzed Peru’s civil war (See Seligmann, 1992, pp.93–102 for references that did take account of the turbulent character of the Andes).

While it is true that Starn’s observations and critique had an influence on (or at least reflected the directions being taken by) a new generation of scholars (Goodale, 2006, p. 645; Stein, 2016), there were others who had also been questioning entrenched notions of *lo andino* as the world reflected on the Columbian Quincentenary. For example, in a 1992 edited volume on Andean cosmologies, editor Robert V.H. Dover admitted that he could not explicate in his Introduction any “ready definitions of the term *Andeanness*,” stating instead:

although these essays collectively begin to elaborate a working concept Andean peoples are linked by a common social history, if not a cultural one. They are also linked by the structural and incorporative discourse with which they constantly interpret and authenticate their reality. The strength of their reality, the centrality of their identity as Andean peoples, the tenacity of their Andeanness from the period of its coalescence in the Inca period to the recent return to Andean cultural and political autonomy in the context of Western nation-states: these facts enjoin us to learn this discourse if we want to talk about the Andes at all. It is an experiential discourse and not a taxonomic one, and no one culture system encodes all of it.

(Dover, 1992, pp. 13–14)

Anthropologist Norman E. Whitten, Jr., would add history, politics, and ecosystems to these discursive and experiential arenas. Although Whitten is best known for his work on the upper Amazon, he has throughout his career emphasized the interactive and porous nature of the various regions of South America, preferring to characterize, for instance, the Oriente, or Amazonian, region of Ecuador, not as a backwater area “marginal” to the great civilizations of the Andes, but rather an “interface” defined by “*the contrasts to be drawn between Andean and Amazon ecologies, stratified bureaucratic and egalitarian social systems, and political nationalist and indigenous ideologies*” (Whitten, 1981, pp. 122–123, emphasis in original; see also Greene, 2006).

At the same time, there is no question that the overwhelming corpus of research and writing on the Andes, up until the 1990s, did not delve deeply into the heterogeneity of the Andes, the ways in which the various regions within the Andes were connected to and shaped one another, how the methodologies and theoretical assumptions of scholars unduly led to the mythical creation of a monolithic Andean mentalité, or how global and transnational flows and their histories had contributed to what was thought to be Andean. This was especially evident in English-language publications, which in itself is yet another indicator of the challenges to arriving at a neat definition of what constitutes the Andes.

For us, the Andes is both place and experience. It is a region where we have carried out extensive research over long periods of time and one that occupies much of a continent as well as our hearts and professional lives. We have both taught courses focused on Andean peoples, cultures, and societies at the graduate and undergraduate levels, and each time we have been challenged to find a volume that could serve as a core reference for students as they delved into the topic. In preparing this collection, we admit that it is as much a product of our own dissatisfaction at finding an existing volume that works well, as it is a desire to continue to build on fine efforts made in the past to bring this remarkable region into focus. When we began to work on this, we realized that we would partly be re-inventing the wheel—that is, incorporating knowledge about the Andes that was very familiar to specialists. Yet we also hope that we have contributed a few new perspectives and brought up-to-date an overview of Andean lifeways within a general historical context that reaches into the second decade of the twenty-first century. What is new about this volume?

We have asked contributors to reflect on and interrogate the notion that there is a single, homogeneous, and monolithic Andean world. While the volume begins with an initial grounding in the ecology and pre-Colombian history of the region, rather than proceeding in a purely chronological fashion, the volume is organized into sections that address key themes that appear to us as having significance for those who live in the Andes—cosmology, sociality and social organization, sustenance, conquest, religion, resistance, states and state formation, post-colonial legacies, violence, aesthetics, writing, education, identity, economic extraction, tourism, migration, and transnational collisions and kaleidoscopes. In each of these major sections, the contributing authors have tacked between legacies of the past, current manifestations of Andean practices and values, and future trajectories. And although there are a few recent volumes devoted to archaeologically focused themes, we decided that the “past” and “present” should not be artificially separated, especially given that many Andean peoples themselves would not make such a temporal distinction.

The chapters in each thematic section have been selected to convey differing perspectives on the Andes, including examples from multiple geographical regions. These perspectives are not exhaustive, but contributors have sought to introduce readers to both the breadth and depth of Andean worlds so that they can then strike out and pursue their interest in one region or another on their own.

The Andean World has also been crafted with an eye to demonstrating the relevance of learning about the Andes in light of more contemporary conflicts, debates, and events. We are cognizant of multiple, innovative theoretical frameworks that have emerged with respect to Andean studies over the last thirty years or so. For example, the dynamics of scale are embedded in almost all of the chapters as authors move—as do many Andean peoples—among local, regional, and transnational milieus. And we use “milieu” as a poor substitute to indicate that these movements take place across language groups, cultural practices, economic realities, and value systems. Indeed, without falling into an idealistic romanticism, we call attention to the key tropes of adaptability and pugnacious and well-honed tactics of resistance and resilience that repeatedly emerge among Andean populations. Decolonizing places, gendered relationships, and people; examining extraction as a mode of living with deleterious consequences yet one that permeates Andean worlds; following the tracks of looters and cultural heritage practices and policies; and demonstrating the tremendous power of aesthetic genres—dance, music, art, and film—to communicate and perform what is culturally as well as politically meaningful to Andean peoples are among the frameworks that have proved to go hand in hand with the sustainability and struggles of Andean lives. The two collages that follow this introduction (Figures 0.3 and 0.4)—one prepared by Seligmann, the other by Fine-Dare—are intended to convey visually at one and the same time common themes as well as the remarkable variation that constitute Andean worlds.

A final goal we had was to include more voices of native Andean scholars as well as those whose academic base was not in the U.S., and to present a range of generational perspectives among the contributors. If readers peruse the authors’ biographical sketches and examine the assumptions that guide their chapters, they will see notable differences in the methodological and theoretical approaches and frameworks among the scholars that are structured as much by new findings and research they have gained access to, as by the generational and political context in which they are working. One also finds a growing desire among scholars to make their scholarship meaningful to and for inhabitants of the Andes themselves—whether it is to demonstrate how trauma, violence, and the brutality of state interventions and collusions have been processed, analyzed, and acted upon by inhabitants themselves, or to valorize the many forms and combinations of forms that history and history-making take for Andean peoples ranging from the admixture of oral and written traditions to aesthetic and kinesthetic sensory modes, such as films, music, dances, and fiestas. These modes of history-making have become significant catalysts for political mobilization, assertions of citizenship, territorial control, the making of organic intellectuals, and the means to making a living, often under the umbrella of tourism.

Our volume ends, not exactly with a conclusion, but with some reflections and projections based on a dialogue held among scholars of different generations, training, and background, whose motivations for engaging the study of the Andes differ. We hope that this dialogue continues to leave wide open the doors for newcomers as well as seasoned

researchers to reflect on what it means to speak of worlds that are Andean, to raise many more questions that have yet to be answered about the dynamics that constitute these worlds, and to encourage fruitful debate about how these dynamics are interconnected and shape the complex processes of globalization in which we are all embedded.

NOTES

- 1 Although a great many outsiders contributed to the image-fashioning of the Andes—particularly in the pages of travel journals such as the French *Le Tour du Monde*, created in 1860 by Édouard Charton (Gómez Rendón, 2011)—others were quite local, such as the Ecuadorian watercolorists Joaquín Pinto (1842–1906; Samaniego Salazar, 1977) and Juan Agustín Guerrero (1818–1880; Hallo, 1981); and later, the indigenous Peruvian photographer Martín Chambi (1891–1973; Vargas Llosa, 1993).
- 2 The Indigenista movement, which began in the 1920s, was particularly prominent in Mexico and Peru, and was comprised of philosophers, anthropologists, linguists, and politicians, who sought to emphasize indigenous cultural identity in positive ways. However, it did not particularly seek to overturn the economic and political status quo of indigenous peoples, which had contributed to deep-seated inequalities.
- 3 Steward explains in the Preface to Volume II that the *Handbook* “has been prepared by the Bureau of American Ethnology as part of the Department of State’s general program of Cooperation with the American Republics. It is an inter-American undertaking, written by scientists from throughout the Hemisphere” (Steward, 1963, p. xxv).

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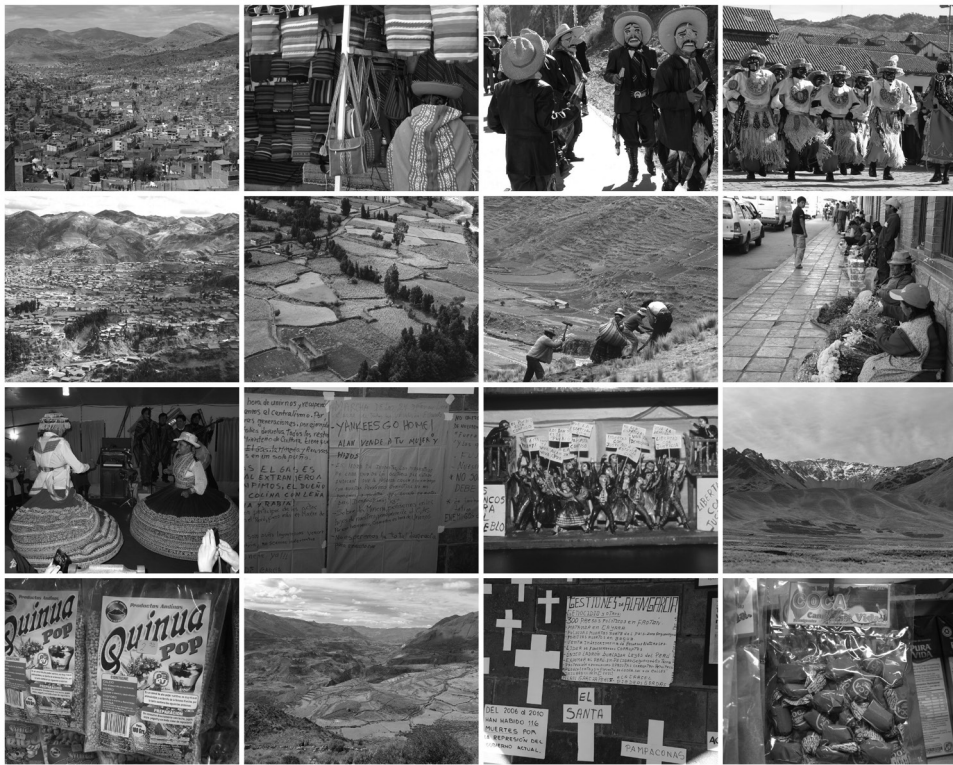


Figure 0.3 L to R

Row 1: Puno, Peru, city located on shores of Lake Titicaca (2013); women marketing naturally-dyed textiles in Cusco (2013); *majeño* dancers representing merchants in leather jackets, scarves, riding breeches, spurred boots and with bottle of beer in hand in Virgen del Carmen celebration, Písaq, Peru (2011); *qhapaq negro* dancers from Paucartambo, representing liberated black slaves of Spanish colonial era in Peru, Virgen del Carmen festival, Cuzco, Peru (2011)

Row 2: Cuzco, ancient capital of Incas, and now a city of 427,000 (2006); tiny plots of irrigated valley fields, Combapata, Peru (1979); men and women sowing potatoes in lower *puna*, Santa Barbara, Peru (1974); women selling flowers on the street in Cuzco (2010)

Row 3: Dances and music for tourists in Arequipa (2013); protest against sale of oil at low prices to U.S., Cusco, Peru (2010); *retablo* made of potato dough, depicting clashing protesters for and against nationalization and democratization (1989), courtesy of Nicario Jiménez; *altiplano* (2013); marketing of *quinua* cereal (2010), courtesy of Kathleen Fine-Dare; elaborately terraced fields of Colca canyon, Arequipa (2013); posters and crosses on Inca wall in Cuzco enumerating human rights violations committed by President Alan García (2010); marketing coca candy (2010), courtesy of Kathleen Fine-Dare

Photo credits: Linda J. Seligmann unless otherwise noted.



Figure 0.4 L to R

Row 1: Yumbo *danzantes* Geovanny Chilibingua and Pablo Gómez in Yumbada procession, Cotacollao, Quito, Ecuador (2012); mass for San Juan testimonial given by Haitian restaurant owner, Barrio San Enrique de Velasco, Quito, Ecuador (2012); Catholic procession sponsored by Yumbo dancer in Barrio Santa Anita, Quito, Ecuador (2007)

Row 2: Doña Luz María Semanate making chicha for San Juan festival, Barrio San Enrique de Velasco, Quito, Ecuador (2012); Ecuadorian environmental anthropologist Dra. Alexandra Martínez in coffee plantation near Salinas, Ecuador (2012); Doña Augustina Semanate, ex-hacienda worker (*huasipunguera*) and resident of Barrio San Enrique de Velasco, Quito, preparing for her sister's sponsorship of a festival Ecuador (2012)

Row 3: sporting goods factory, Quito, Ecuador (2011); Parents' Day celebration at elementary school Juan Pablo I in El Condado parish, Quito, Ecuador (2010); pre-Columbian shaft tomb pottery exhibit at Museo de Sitio La Florida, Quito, Ecuador (2010)

Photo credits: Kathleen S. Fine-Dare.



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PART I

GEOGRAPHIES, LANDSCAPES,
AND ENVIRONMENTS





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CHAPTER ONE

STRATEGICALLY RELEVANT ANDEAN ENVIRONMENTS



Gregory Knapp

STRATEGICALLY RELEVANT ENVIRONMENTS

Geographers understand that there are no objectively given environmental parameters, but that humans throughout history, in the Andes and elsewhere, have evaluated their environment in accordance with the strategic and cultural norms of their respective societies. These norms do not necessarily separate altitude, latitude, slope, soil, or climate, but integrate all of these as strategically relevant (Knapp, 1991, pp. 19–52) to such cultural goals as crop yields.

Thus, the relevant environmental zones for early foragers and specialized hunters would have included the ranges of seasonally important game animals and food plants. For later agricultural societies, fertile soils and optimal temperatures and precipitation (or access to irrigation) would have been important; these optima would of course vary by crop. Relevant mineral resources also changed with cultural history. Salt and raw materials for tools would have been important early. During colonial times, gold placer deposits and silver lodes were decisive for economic development and location of such major cities as Potosí. More recently, industrial minerals such as copper, tin, and lithium, along with hydrocarbons such as the coal deposits of the Colombian Andes, have assumed importance and shaped demographic patterns and environmental practices.

In addition to providing resources for human projects, Andean environments have also presented challenges and hazards. Easily predictable challenges, such as the normal dry season, can result in effective human adaptations, such as seasonal adjustment of sowing dates. Other challenges, such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and El Niño events are less predictable and can be termed “natural hazards.” Hazards should be considered in terms of their strategic importance to prevailing adaptive strategies. A drought that is devastating to an agricultural civilization may therefore not matter as much to a foraging society or an urbanized, industrial society

Research by geographers and others has shown that, despite a range of variation in their responses, individuals and societies cope less well with hazards than with more predictable events. All too often, attitudes of optimism or fatalism, or excessive

confidence in technological solutions, get in the way of more effective policy solutions such as hazard mapping, land use zoning, and promotion of resilience. Recent anthropogenic climate change presents similar challenges.

Finally, many Andean environments have been appreciated in aesthetic and ideological (including religious) terms, and this too varies by society. Mountain peaks, springs, caves, and even individual trees may be seen as important, in shamanism, organized religions, or other folk beliefs. Modern Andean travel and tourism is often oriented around the beauty or sublimity of natural features such as mountain peaks, lakes, high grasslands, and waterfalls, for example. Ever since the day when the Enlightenment era naturalist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) traversed the Andes, the importance of combining scientific and humanistic methodologies, avoiding ethnocentrism, and appreciating the interconnectedness of life has been understood as necessary to make sense of the environmental dynamics of the Andes (Wulf, 2015).

These observations complicate the notion of “environmentalism” or “conservation,” which are always socially constructed. What is seen as valuable, hazardous, or ethically worth preserving by traditional agricultural villagers may be very different than what is defined in these terms by representatives of modern industrial societies in the global north. These different perceptions can result in misunderstandings. In the worse case scenarios, scientists and representatives of environmental NGOs or state agencies may be seen by local people as practicing a sort of neo-colonialism, imposing their views in ways that disempower local people and silence local voices.

Given these considerations, it is still possible to provide an overview of Andean environments in terms of characteristics that have proven to be strategically significant to multiple societies. A distinction between the tropical and non-tropical Andes is useful, for example. Elevation is of broad relevance, but needs to be complemented with a recognition of slope, aspect, and soil. Precipitation—amount and timing—is of great importance for agriculture, but needs to be seen in light of the availability of sources for artificial irrigation. Major hazards include earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, as well as El Niño events. Climate change is certainly relevant as well, including changes in glaciers.

LANDFORMS, GEOLOGY, AND SOIL

The Andes are a continuous chain of mountains extending from northern Venezuela to southern Argentina and Chile (Troll 1988; Caviedes and Knapp, 1995, pp. 86–96; Veblen, Young, and Orme, 2007; Borsdorf and Stadel, 2015). These mountains are relatively young in geological terms, primarily created as a result of the ongoing collision of the South American continent and its underlying “plate” with neighboring oceanic plates, including the Nazca plate. The resulting overriding (subduction) has resulted in uplift and the injection of material, including the creation of volcanoes, past and present (Lamb, 2004). Although much of the Andes contains volcanic rocks and even active volcanoes, other parts of the Andes contain older rocks lifted up by the general thickening of the continental crust. Thus, in some areas sedimentary and metamorphic rocks and exposed batholiths are found in the high Andes.

The Andes are almost uniformly high in elevation; some of the lowest passes are found in far northern Peru, but these are still above 2,000 meters. As is the case with

other mountains, the prevailing steep slopes have presented problems for surface transportation, which only recently have been partially overcome with the development of railways, air transport, and modern paved highways and tunnels. The steep slopes may easily erode, resulting in poor soils for agriculture; this problem can be addressed with terracing, but terraces may be difficult to construct and maintain. Finally, air pressure decreases at higher elevations, potentially causing transitory altitude sickness in humans.

Usually the tropical Andes consist of two or more high ranges separated by intermontane valleys or more extensive high plains (*altiplanos*). Since prehistoric times, the valleys and altiplanos have often been favored sites for settlement and agriculture. Often the altiplanos are high in elevation, but some valleys are deeply incised and their bottoms are tropical in climate.

In northern Venezuela, the initial part of the Andes includes two ranges, a Coastal Range and the Cordillera Interior. Between these two ranges is the valley containing Caracas, the capital, and Lake Valencia. Farther west, the two ranges come together to form the high Cordillera de Mérida, which continues into Colombia as the Cordillera Oriental.

A spur range, the Cordillera de Perijá, extends to the north, forming the boundary between modern Colombia and Venezuela. Nearby Lake Maracaibo is rich in oil deposits, and rich coal deposits are also found in this region. To the west of this spur range, in far northern Colombia, the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta is a separate high uplifted block of metamorphic and intrusive rocks, with elevations exceeding 5,700 meters close to the Caribbean coast.

In the rest of Colombia, the Cordillera Oriental continues as the easternmost Andean range, with rounded topography and few high peaks. It contains many high, flat-floored basins between 2,500 and 3,000 meters in elevation, including the Sabana de Bogotá, locations of major pre-Hispanic chiefdoms and present-day large cities, including Bogotá and Pasto.

The Cordillera Oriental is complemented by two additional mountain ranges, the central Cordillera Central and the western Cordillera Occidental; these three join together at the Nudo ("knot," or transverse ranges) of Pasto just north of the Ecuadorian border. The Cordillera Oriental is separated from the Cordillera Central by the deep Magdalena River valley. The Cordillera Central contains numerous active volcanoes, and as a result has rich volcanic soils which have long supported productive agriculture, such as recent coffee farms. To the west of the Cordillera Central is the Cauca River valley, with large flat areas of rich alluvial soils suitable for farming tropical crops. The westernmost range in Colombia is the Cordillera Occidental; it is relatively low (3,000 meters) and receives high rainfall amounts.

South of the Nudo of Pasto, in Ecuador, there are two major Andean ranges, a western Cordillera Occidental (or Cordillera Real) and an eastern Cordillera Oriental. Between the two can be found a series of isolated high valleys, in some cases containing small high plains, which have been the sites of dense population from pre-Hispanic times to today. These high valleys (*hoyas*) include, for example, the Hoya del Guayllabamba (containing Quito), and the Hoya del Paute (containing Cuenca). The hoyas are separated by transverse ranges (*nudos*). Both ranges include numerous volcanoes, which have resulted in extensive areas of rich volcanic soils. To the east of the Cordillera Oriental there is another set of isolated active volcanoes, while near

the coast there are the much lower Coastal Ranges topped by uplifted sedimentary rocks; between these ranges and the Cordillera Occidental can be found the fertile alluvial valley of the Guayas River and its estuary.

In southern Ecuador the ranges again combine in the complicated Nudo of Loja, before re-organizing in northern Peru as three separate ranges: the eastern Cordillera Oriental (Cordillera Real), the central Cordillera Central (Cordillera Blanca), and western Cordillera Occidental (Cordillera Negra). The western Cordillera Negra borders (and partially causes) the Peruvian Coastal Desert; its western flanks are typically dry at lower elevations. Some rivers originating further east (such as the Chicama and Santa) slash through this range, but scores of additional rivers originate in the Cordillera Negra itself. These rivers create a series of oases on the Peruvian coast that have been important centers of settlement for millennia.

Between the Western and Central Cordilleras are a series of valleys, including the Callejón de Huaylas. The Central Cordillera or Cordillera Blanca contains high peaks and substantial glaciers. In central Peru, the western and central Cordilleras merge; farther south in Peru, there can be found a complex array of ranges and high basins, including the basins of Junín, Huancavelica, and Ayacucho, with good soils and moderate temperatures suitable for agriculture.

The eastern range of Peru, the Cordillera Oriental or Cordillera Real, extends south into Bolivia. Facing the humid Amazon Basin, this range has lush forests. Powerful rivers such as the Huallaga, Apurímac, Mantaro, Urubamba, Ucayali, and Marañón have cut deep river valleys on their way to the Amazon lowlands, with highly diverse environmental gradients and great importance for cultural history (Gade, 2015).

Near the Peru–Bolivia border, the eastern and western Andean ranges separate further, enclosing a wide high plain, the Altiplano. On the eastern side, the Cordillera Oriental (Cordillera Real) includes many high peaks, with incised valleys (*yungas*) and complex groups of lower ranges. In this eastern region can be found the Cochabamba valley. To the west, the dry Cordillera Occidental includes many volcanoes. In between, the high Altiplano includes both freshwater (Titicaca) and saline lakes and salt pans which have been subject to recent drying events; the brine pools of Bolivia contain one of the world’s major reserves of lithium.

South of Bolivia, on the eastern side of the Andes, can be found a series of north–south trending valleys, or *bolsones*, including the sites of the contemporary cities of Jujuy, Salta, and Tucumán. Otherwise, the southern Andes constrict into a relatively narrow high range. The cooler climates have resulted in extensive past and present glaciation and, unlike the tropical Andes, agriculture is not possible at higher elevations. Chile’s fertile Central Valley is located between the Andes and a lower Coastal Range; it receives water from the snowcapped peaks to the east, and benefits from soils renewed by volcanic eruptions. Farther south, the ocean occupies the valley between the Coastal Range and the Andes, while the peaks of the Coastal Range appear as islands such as Chiloé, which remain suitable for temperate crops such as potatoes. Fertile lands east of the Andes at Mendoza and elsewhere also benefit from Andean water supplies.

The far southern Andes is bordered by the cold Patagonian Desert to the east, and cold, humid forests to the west, with limited suitability for agriculture. Past and present glaciation is widespread, with numerous lakes and opportunities for mountaineering tourism in places such as Bariloche. Fiords are common, and flooded

glacial troughs include the Strait of Magellan (separating mainland South America from Tierra del Fuego). The southernmost peak of the Andes protruding from the ocean is the island of Cape Horn.

EARTHQUAKES AND VOLCANISM

The formation of the Andes has resulted in frequent earthquakes (Giesecke et al., 2004). Although earthquakes can occur anywhere, the pattern of documented severe earthquakes since 1600 indicates some regions are at special risk. These areas include the Venezuelan Andes (Caracas and Merida were destroyed in 1812) and the Andes in northern Ecuador (Riobamba was destroyed in 1797; Ibarra and Otavalo in 1868, and Ambato in 1949). Trujillo in northern coastal Peru experienced major earthquake damage in 1619 and 1725, while in the northern Peruvian Andes, the Callejón de Huaylas experienced an earthquake in 1970 that triggered avalanches killing perhaps 70,000 people. Lima was destroyed by an earthquake in 1746 (which included a tsunami). Cusco experienced major earthquakes in 1650 and 1950. The coastal regions of southern Peru and northern Chile have experienced major earthquakes (Arica and Arequipa, 1868), as have cities farther south in Argentina (Mendoza in 1861 and San Juan in 1944) and Chile (Valparaíso in 1906, Chillán and Concepción in 1939, and Valdivia in 1960).

These earthquakes destroyed many buildings, especially those built of adobe. Often earthquakes disrupted transportation and irrigation infrastructure and sometimes led to the relocation of cities (as occurred in Riobamba). It is difficult to estimate death tolls, but estimated deaths frequently ran into the tens of thousands. All of the listed earthquakes had substantial impacts on society and politics (Buchenau and Johnson, 2009).

Volcanic hazards are also widespread in the Andes, including corridors of volcanoes extending (1) from central Colombia to central Ecuador, (2) from southern Peru through Bolivia to the northern Chilean Andes, (3) in central Chile, and (4) far southern Chile. Volcanic hazards include lahars (mudflows caused by melting snow and ice), catastrophic caldera¹ eruptions, as well as (usually less catastrophic) ash falls. A notable eruption of the Quilotoa volcano in 1280 devastated settlements and agriculture in much of what is now Ecuador and may have affected global climate (Mothes, 1999). A major eruption of Huaynaputna near Arequipa in 1600 killed many and also apparently affected global climate. An eruption at the Nevado del Ruiz in 1985 in Colombia caused the icecap to melt; the resulting mudflow buried the town of Armero, causing about 25,000 deaths. Other eruptions may have affected the course of cultural history, and volcanic deposits offer a promising resource for dating buried archaeological sites. Volcanic ash events usually do not cause many deaths, but may create hazards for human and animal health and difficulties for transportation.

Volcanic monitoring equipment and observatories have been set up at multiple sites in the Andes, with warning systems for the evacuation of susceptible populations if needed. However, volcanic regions often have high population densities, since volcanic soils (andosols) can be highly fertile and attractive to farmers, including (in modern times) the coffee plantations of Colombia, wine grapes in Chile, and the flower plantations of high mountain regions in Ecuador (Knapp, 2017). Volcanoes also provide water resources (ice caps and lakes formed by volcanic deposits), and scenic resources for tourism.

The Andes contain many ore bodies that have been exploited by various cultures. Gold is widespread both in subsurface lodes and in placer deposits; the latter have been exploited for thousands of years. Major silver deposits are located in the central and southern Andes. Localized salt deposits have long been exploited. Many other minerals including tin, copper, nitrates, and lithium have been economically important.

CLIMATE

Temperature patterns and altitude

Climates are characterized by average temperature and precipitation patterns, including average seasonal variations and possible hazardous events. As first demonstrated by von Humboldt (Wulf, 2015), average temperatures vary predictably by latitude and elevation. Near sea level, the tropical Andes experience no frost and minor seasonal variations. The southern Andes are located outside the tropics, so can experience severe winters. During the southern hemisphere winter (June–September), cold fronts (*friagem*s) can penetrate as far north as the equator, causing unusual drops in temperature and rainfall events even at high elevations.

Because temperatures drop with increasing altitude, the Andes exhibit altitudinal variations in plant and animal life and agricultural potential. Various schemes of altitudinal zonation have been created by geographers; one of the best known, for the tropical Andes, involves four zones: *tierra caliente*, *tierra templada*, *tierra fria*, and *tierra helada*. *Tierra caliente*, below about 800 meters, has typical tropical temperature patterns and biota. *Tierra templada*, from 800 to 2,000 meters, lacks frosts but has more moderate temperatures, ideal not just for human comfort but also for optimal productivity of key crops such as coffee. *Tierra fria*, from 2,000 to 4,000 meters, can have frost, so is not suitable for tropical plants including crops; however, it can be ideal for other kinds of vegetation and crops, and is free of such insect-borne diseases as yellow fever and malaria. *Tierra helada*, from 4,000 meters up, has frequent frosts and very short growing seasons. It is normally not suited for agriculture, but has high grasslands (*puna* or *páramo*) suitable for grazing.

At the very highest elevations there may be permanent ice caps and glaciers. The Cordillera Blanca in north central Peru and the Quelccaya Ice Cap are the most extensive glaciated areas in the tropical Andes, and indeed in the global tropics. The Chacaltaya glacier in Bolivia served as the site of world's highest lift-served ski area until the glacier disappeared in 2009.

Although this four-zone scheme is common in textbooks, local people utilize different terminologies. Rather than distinct zones, the Andes tend to exhibit gradients of ecological change, with each species following its own altitudinal patterning. Also, in addition to altitude, slope and aspect play important roles, as do soil, precipitation, and geology. A variety of additional schemes have therefore been developed to classify and map environmental zones in the tropical Andes, both by local people and by scientists (Troll, 1988; Zimmerer, 2011a; Zimmerer, 2011b).

Precipitation

Precipitation in most of the Andes is sufficient for a native woodland vegetation (or agriculture without irrigation). In the tropical Andes, rain is associated with seasonal

movements of the Intertropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) which brings rain in the high sun season, which would peak in January in much of Peru and Bolivia. In those regions there is a dry season (*verano*) roughly from May to September. During the wet season (*invierno*) the landscape turns green and agriculture is possible without irrigation. That said, irrigation is often desirable to extend the growing season and/or cope with potential droughts.

In the northern Andes there may be dual dry seasons and dual wet seasons, or other patterns. The eastern flank of the Andes facing the Amazon basin may experience high rainfall amounts with an associated “cloud forest”; high rainfall amounts are also characteristic of the Pacific coast of Colombia. Very low rainfall may be associated with intermontane valleys where the “rain shadow effect” results in drying, descending air masses. These valleys may exhibit shrubby, thorny vegetation adapted to drought stress and may not be suitable for agriculture without irrigation.

The western flank of the Andes and the coastal plain become a desert (dry climate) from northern Peru to north central Chile. This is due to a variety of factors, including the rain shadow effect and persistence of a subtropical high-pressure cell off the coast. The Peru–Chile current off the coast is very cool; low temperatures are usually maintained as the prevailing easterly winds skim off warmer surface waters to be replaced by cooler subsurface waters (upwelling). The cool waters have multiple effects. Firstly, the upwelling brings nutrients to the surface that nurture a highly productive food chain including fish (such as anchovies) and seabirds. The seabirds defecate on islands, which create persistent deposits of dung (*guano*) that have long been an important resource for agriculture. Secondly, the cool water inhibits convective uplift of air masses, further reducing the potential for rainfall. This helps maintain the world’s driest desert. The chilled air can however result in fog and drizzle (*garúa*) which is captured by certain hardy plants that survive on fog drip.

The Peruvian and Chilean coastal deserts are crossed by rivers deriving from higher elevations. These create oases that have long been utilized for agriculture. Otherwise, vegetation may be sparse or absent, with sand dunes in some areas.

The far southern Andes have other precipitation patterns. Central Chile has a Mediterranean climate with hot, dry summers and cool wet winters, resulting in a patchy natural vegetation of woodlands, shrubs, and grasses and suitability for such Mediterranean-origin crops as wine grapes. Far southern Chile has a Marine West Coast climate with mild wet summers and cool wet winters suitable for extensive native forests. The eastern flank of the southern Andes tends to be dry, grading into the Patagonian desert in far southern Argentina.

ECOLOGY

Given the wide range of temperatures, precipitation, and altitude, the Andes are world’s most ecologically diverse mountain range (Meserve, 2007; Young, Berry, and Veblen, 2007). The central Andes are adjacent to the Amazon basin, the world’s greatest single storehouse of biodiversity with extensive areas of rain forest. Diversity is enhanced by the fact that South America was isolated from other continents after the breakup of Pangaea, allowing for the development of new plants and animals. It is part of the Neotropical Realm, with such originally unique groups as hummingbirds, toucans, anteaters, sloths, armadillos, New World monkeys, and caviomorph

rodents (guinea pigs), as well as cacti and the ancestors of potatoes, cacao, cassava, and quinoa. When South America was united with North America via the central American land bridge, new animals and plants came from the north, including the ancestors of pumas, jaguars, and the spectacled bear.

The native vegetation of the more humid parts of the tropical Andes, including the cordilleras bordering the Amazon basin is a dense “montane” forest up to the tree line (3,500 meters or so). Oak trees have migrated as far south as Colombia, but in general the forests of the Andes lack many of the characteristic trees of temperate regions of North America; instead they consist of a number of broadleaf evergreen trees with a dense understory of shrubs. The stature of the trees tends to decrease with increasing elevation. There may be many epiphytes, including ferns, mosses, and orchids.

The dryer parts of the Andes may have shrublands, thorny woodlands, and/or cacti, while near the Peruvian coast there may be found a true desert with little or no vegetation except for knolls (*lomas*) watered by fog drip. In many cases, in both the humid and dry montane areas, the native vegetation was removed or impacted long ago by farmers; it can be difficult to reconstruct the original vegetation. Much of the



Figure 1.1 Laguna Llaviucu (3,168 meters) in Cajas National Park, Cordillera Real, Ecuador. The mountain slopes have a humid montane forest, with páramo (high grasslands) at the top. A major Inca route leading from Tomebamba (Cuenca) to the coast was located next to this lake. Studies of the lake show evidence of ecosystem changes due to climatic warming in recent decades (Michelutti, et al., 2016)

Photo credit: Gregory W. Knapp, 2014.

Andes today is a patchwork of farm fields, fallow, grazing lands, and introduced plantings of exotic trees such as Eucalyptus and pine. Native species may persist in hedgerows, steep slopes, isolated patches, and protected areas. There is much endemism, with species limited to small ranges (Young, Berry, and Veblen, 2007).

Unlike in most of North America where higher elevations contain a variety of conifers and “alpine” plants, high elevations of the Andes are characterized by herbs, small shrubs, and grasslands, called *puna* in the central Andes and *páramo* in the northern Andes (Figure 1.1). Currently the grasslands are maintained in part by fires set by humans. Since humans penetrated the Andes at the end of the last Ice Age, it is possible that these high grasslands have been largely extended and maintained due to human influence. Isolated high-altitude forests do exist, in areas protected from fire, including stands of *Polylepis*, the highest naturally occurring angiosperm tree in the world (White, 2013).

In the Southern Andes, the tropical species drop out. Central Chile has a Mediterranean climate with hot dry summers and cool winters, and a corresponding patchy vegetation of drought-tolerant shrubs and trees. Farther south, taller forests of the broadleaf *Nothofagus* genus are found.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Although normally cool conditions prevail in ocean waters off Peru, every few years a weakening of the trade winds diminishes the amount of upwelling, resulting in warmer conditions. These conditions can result in reduction of fish numbers, impacting fisheries, and can also result in increased rainfall from Ecuador to Chile. This is “El Niño,” (the Christ Child, so called because the effects are often seen in December). Although it was first observed in South America, it is now known that this phenomenon involves climate changes worldwide. As a result, it is now referred to as ENSO (El Niño—Southern Oscillation). Worldwide effects are also associated with the opposite condition of extremely cold waters off South America; this has come to be called “La Niña” (Caviedes, 2001; Veblen, Young, and Orme, 2007, pp. 53–55).

Because it is a global event, many factors may be used to define ENSO events—air pressure, winds, ocean temperatures, and/or rainfall. Depending on which definition is employed, the sequence of defined historical ENSO events may differ. The U.S. National Weather Service Climate Prediction Center (2017) uses the Oceanic Niño Index (ONI) to define episodes. By this measure, the following years experienced Niño events: 1951–52, 1953–54, 1957–58*, 1958–59, 1963–64*, 1965–66*, 1968–69*, 1969–70, 1972–73*, 1976–77, 1977–78, 1979–80, 1982–83*, 1986–88*, 1991–92*, 1994–95*, 1997–98*, 2002–03*, 2004–05, 2006–07, 2009–10*, and 2014–16*. Starred events were especially strong. Not all events defined by the ONI resulted in catastrophic rains in South America. Also, not all catastrophic rains are associated with events defined by the ONI. For example, the catastrophic rains in Peru of early 2017 were not associated with an El Niño event as defined by the ONI and the U.S. National Weather Service. However, this event was in fact associated with localized warm waters and was identified as an El Niño by many in Peru. The phrase “Coastal El Niño” has been used by the South American media to distinguish between official global ENSO events and catastrophic local events.

El Niño rains can be devastating to desert locations unaccustomed to rainfall; normally dry watercourses fill with water causing flash floods (*huaicos*), which in turn can damage roads. Irrigation canals may be washed out. Sanitation systems may be damaged, resulting in outbreaks of such diseases as cholera.

The Niño event has apparently taken place for thousands of years, perhaps affecting cultural history. There is some evidence of exceptionally large Niño events, so-called “Mega El Niño events.” In Southern Peru, such events have been documented by geomorphologists for approximately 700 and 1330 AD (Goldstein and Magilligan, 2011). In recent years, El Niño events have been correlated with the collapse of the Peruvian coastal anchovy fishery (1972–73) and extensive damage on the Ecuadorian coast (1998). As with all natural hazards, the human consequences of these events depend on societal responses, resilience, and adaptation.

It is still unclear whether changes in El Niño severity or frequency are correlated with other aspects of climate change, including anthropogenic global warming. It is possible that the increased frequency of severe Niño years after 1975 may have been an independently contributing factor for glacier retreats.

The Quelccaya Ice Cap, the largest glaciated area in the worldwide tropics, has provided additional evidence for climate change. Ice cores taken by Lonnie Thompson’s team show long term changes in temperatures, with a relatively cool period between 1550 and 1850 AD flanked by warmer periods (Bowen, 2005). This has led some to infer possible additional connections between temperatures and the course of Andean civilization, but such connections remain tentative.

Since the 1970s, temperature and other records in the Andes show considerable warming, in addition to the effects of Niño events (Michelutti et al., 2016). This is consistent with expectations of anthropogenic global warming associated with the increase in greenhouse gases and the associated greenhouse effect. This warming has led to an upward movement in the altitudinal zones suitable for different crops and wild plants. For example, Humboldt’s careful diagram of the zones suitable for various plants on Chimborazo (Zimmerer, 2011a) has been compared with modern distributions, showing that plants now are found at elevations hundreds of meters higher (Morueta-Holme et al., 2015). Because temperature and growing season are limiting factors for many plants, warming in the Andes has been associated with an expansion of the area suitable for agriculture, which is potentially a very positive thing. On the other hand, pathogens and insect vectors such as mosquitos have also been enabled to migrate upslope, creating potential problems for crop survival and human health.

Trends in precipitation are more complicated. Some areas have more rain while others have less, and climate models disagree on predicted regional rainfall patterns. Many farmers report changes in rainfall patterns, but these don’t necessarily correlate with actual precipitation records. So far climate change models have not been helpful in unambiguously indicating precipitation changes in the future.

Andean glaciers provide water to watercourses, irrigation canals, urban water supplies, hydroelectric power, ground water, and wetlands. Since the 1970s, however, glaciers and ice caps have been rapidly shrinking throughout the Andes. The last glaciers in Venezuela are predicted to vanish in the near future. Although changes in El Niño frequency and precipitation may be factors, probably the major factor is an increase in temperature. Initially, glacial melt may increase delivery of water to

watercourses, irrigation canals, and wetlands, but in the long run glacial shrinkage could threaten those dependent on runoff. Melting could also cause glacial lakes to burst their natural dams, resulting in flooding (Carey, 2010; Bury et al., 2013).

CONCLUSION

The unmatched diversity of Andean environments has provided extraordinary opportunities for varied human adaptations, including those utilizing multiple ecological zones. In principle, adaptation to climate change—by plants, animals, or humans—should be made easier by the availability of options to shift geographically to warmer or colder, and/or wetter or drier sites. However, organisms—including humans—have multiple requirements, and it may be difficult to exactly replicate them in nearby locations.

Although studies of Andean environments have tended to focus on temperature and precipitation, many other factors can be strategically relevant, including seasonality, susceptibility to hazards (earthquakes, volcanoes, El Niño, drought, frosts, and other climatic anomalies), presence of disease vectors, soil characteristics, and slope, for example. An environmental shock such as an eruption or drought may not necessarily be followed by a return to the previous state. Human activity has also impacted the Andes for 15,000 years through fire, agriculture, mining, hunting, and urbanization. Excessively static “ecosystemicist” approaches may be less useful than approaches focusing on adaptive dynamics, resilience, and secular change (Knapp and Cañadas, 1988; Knapp, 1991; Knapp, 2017).

The Andes mountains will continue to inspire many research trajectories for natural scientists, including the study of human impacts on the environment. They will continue to be appreciated as a source of resources, and respected as a site of unexpected events and hazards. Equally importantly, they will remain a source of inspiration for art and poetry, mountaineering and ecotourism, and even religious responses, which can complement scientific approaches to better understand these mountain worlds (Wulf, 2015).

NOTE

- 1 Calderas are large volcanic craters that have been formed as a result of volcanic eruption or the collapse of rock found on the surface into an empty magma chamber.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE DOMESTICATED LANDSCAPES OF THE ANDES



Clark L. Erickson

INTRODUCTION

Agriculture, including the farming of domesticated crops and herding animals (agropastoralism), is key to the development of settled life and civilizations. The domestication of plants and animals involving control of their reproduction and survival, selection for higher yields (better taste, color varieties, longer storage, and other traits) and related infrastructure took hundreds of years of experimentation and careful tending by humans. The result was an impressive complex of crops and animals suited to diverse needs and specific environments. Domestication also included the human built environment such as the creation of the domestic sphere and cultural landscapes from nature. The domestication of landscape involved intentional permanent changes to the natural environment to meet human needs, specifically the creation, transformation, and management of important resources. This domestication includes transformation of the environment for crops and economically important wild species of plants and animals, as a result increasing their numbers, quantity, and availability, often in competition with natural biodiversity. The process involved clearing of land; physically reshaping or “terraforming” the surface of the earth for fields, residences, roads, and other human features, and substituting natural biodiversity with agrobiodiversity.

Early Andean farmers faced an environment that was both challenging and of considerable potential due to its diversity, including deserts to tropical forests, sea level plains to glacial capped mountains. The Andean region is characterized by dynamic geological, climatic, and ecological systems with unpredictable and disruptive events such as droughts and floods caused by the El Niño phenomenon, earthquakes, landslides, and tidal waves, and longer cycles of climate change over time. Despite these risks, Andean peoples learned to thrive in this environment through their labor, ingenuity, and cultural practices, much of these expressed in landscapes of everyday life. Though only a brief survey of the rich complexity and variation of Andean agriculture across time and space, this chapter tries to capture the most remarkable and unique inventions, innovations, and landscape transformations of the pre-Columbian farmer.

DOMESTICATION, CROPS, ANIMALS, AND TOOLS

The processes of domesticating plants and animals; raising food that complemented or replaced hunting, gathering, and fishing; and the adoption of village life took thousands of years in the Andes. As in most societies, Andean farmers produce surpluses rather than a “hand to mouth” existence at a subsistence level for sustaining their social, economic, and political life.

Domestication of plants and animals began long before Andean peoples settled in permanent villages. Many crops (manioc, capsicum pepper, peanut, achira, and coca) were adopted from the tropical forest peoples in Amazonia or from Mesoamerica (maize) while other key crops (potato, quinoa, cañihua, sweet potato, isañu, oca, ulluco, pumpkin squash, lupine, cotton, lima and jack bean, lucuma, avocado, chirimoya, and pacaе) were indigenous (Pearsall, 2008). Domesticated animals included llama, alpaca, guinea pig, and dog (Stahl, 2008). Increasing reliance on farming and herding over hunting, gathering, and fishing increased at the same time as the first appearance of public monumental architecture and irrigation around 3500 BCE (Haas and Creamer, 2012), although adoption of domesticates was not uniform in that crops appear late in some valleys. The demands of Andean social life inspired beer brewing (*chicha*), diverse cuisines, and expansion of farming and herding. Freeze-drying techniques and sophisticated storage structures provided a means of accumulating resources for times of need and support of social life (Peñarrieta et al., 2011).

Compared to Andean farmers’ rich environmental, climatological, agronomic, and organizational knowledge, the tools they used were perhaps more simple but nonetheless quite effective. Often referred to as “hardware poor” (Donkin, 1979; Denevan, 2001), the primary tools are the *chaquitaqlla* (Q. *chaqui* = foot; *taqlla* = plow), mattock or hoe (A. *liukanas*), clod buster or club (Q. *watana*), and digging or planting stick (Donkin, 1979; Bourliaud et al., 1998), in addition to carrying cloths and baskets for moving earth. The *chaquitaqlla* is composed of a vertical shaft, a hand hold, and foot peg of wood, a blade (of either a wide flat extension of the vertical shaft, ground stone, chipped stone, copper, or bronze), all tightly bound by a long leather lashing. This tool is commonly used in teams with two men working at right angles to cut and raise sod, often with women turning the sod back over to bury the surface vegetation to prepare the field for sowing.

Throughout late prehistory, Andean agriculture was intensive, meaning that farmers cultivated most fields many years in a row with short fallow or rest periods. Rotated camelid herds consumed sparse grass at high altitudes and its energy and nutrients were concentrated in potent dung deposited in corral areas (Winterhalder, Larsen, and Thomas, 1974). The camelid dung (of domesticated llamas and alpacas) was carefully collected into piles to dry and carried to plowed fields as an organic fertilizer for the first year’s crop of potatoes. In high altitude above the tree line, camelid dung was burned as fuel for its high heat content and lack of smoke. Although many Andean communities were agropastoral, combining farming of crops and herding of animals, specialization often promoted a symbiosis between full time pastoralists at high altitude and farmers in the warmer valleys below involving trade of crops for camelid meat, wool, skins, and dung. Coastal farmers had access to concentrated bird guano on offshore islands, an abundant and rich fertilizer. Due to its high value, trade for guano extended throughout the southern Andes.

CULTURAL STRATEGIES

The key to the transformation of the Andean environment into a productive agricultural landscape was the use of traditional social institutions for the mobilization and organization of labor rather than development of a complex tool technology and/or use of draft animals. The basic organizational unit of Andean farming and herding communities is the *ayllu*. Although variable in form, the *ayllu* is made up of groups of related households with a common identity around a *pacarina* or place of origin and links to important past ancestors. Various *ayllus* are combined into moieties, a form of dual organization of individual communities whereby two paired moieties or “halves” compose a community (Murra, 1979; Weismantel, 2006). Nested *ayllus* can be also arranged hierarchically to form “macro-*ayllus*” when needed, such as for defense or war.

As in many regions of the world, the farm or herding family is the basic unit of labor. Traditionally, farm and pasture land was communal property except for family house plots and corrals. The community allotted sufficient land to support each family themselves and assigned fields were periodically rotated throughout the community territory. Community leaders controlled other lands for the support of local *huacas* or shrines and the cults of important ancestors and they drew upon the labor of the community to cultivate the land. The typical Andean community was dispersed in hamlets and small settlements throughout its territory; often, individual households maintained multiple houses to be close to fields, pasture, and other resources in various environmental zones and connected to neighbors for sharing labor and social life. The community’s center was often highly visible cemeteries with houses of the dead (*chullpa*) dedicated to important ancestors which legitimized the right to use land, public plazas for ceremonies, and shrines for local sacred *huacas*, which were recognized and named places or objects of ritual importance for community identity (Salomon, 1995). In some cases, communities held land in distant regions and diverse ecozones to access non-local resources (a model also known as vertical archipelagos and zonal complementarity) (Brush, 1976; Murra, 1979). The long-term occupation of and identity with territory as a community ensured that the improvements to land and infrastructure made over centuries were passed down over generations.

Andean irrigation could range from small local operations to entire lower valley networks covering hundreds of square kilometers and in some cases even crossing drainage basins. Irrigation often required coordination of farmers organized along irrigation canals who were responsible for equitable distribution of water and the building and maintenance of canals, canal intakes, and other infrastructure (Treacy and Denevan, 1994). Farmers using irrigation could lower risk of droughts and farm the vast coastal deserts. The Andean practice of “field scattering” in multiple local environmental zones spread potential risk for farm families (Goland, 1992). Farmers also developed storage techniques for food preservation such as freeze-drying of tubers (*chuño* and *tunt’a*) and meat (*charqui*). Later they developed large, specialized below and above ground silos (*qolqas*) to survive bad years and store surpluses to finance non-subsistence social and political life (Peñarrieta et al., 2011).

Ayni is a traditional form of delayed exchange of labor and/or goods between farm families, which is especially important in times when coordinated labor is the most efficient way to plant, harvest, store, and process crops, and to shear animals

(Mayer, 2002). *Minka* is communal labor of multiple farm families organized by a sponsor, commonly a community leader, for construction of public works or farming community lands supporting the infrastructure and cults, often “paid for” by the sponsor through feasting and drinking. *Mit’a* is an advanced form of labor organization used by the Inca and, presumably, other Andean states (D’Altroy, 2003). In the past, Andean peoples paid their taxes to local, regional, and later imperial leaders through labor rather than crops, animals, or valuable objects. This practice involved several weeks or more a year of labor dedicated to public or state works by all adults. Thus, the labor tax was used to produce resources for the state on state-controlled farms, mines, and quarries, and was often used to expand agriculture into new areas through construction of terraces and irrigation networks or to create more efficient transportation such as roads, bridges, waystations, and pasture for llama caravans (D’Altroy, 2003).

FARMING AGROSYSTEMS

Dry fields/permanent fields

Most Andean farming was done in simple fields (*chacra*) watered by rainfall and periodically fertilized. The earliest and simplest fields were relatively unmarked spaces that were infrequently used. To restore and maintain fertility, fields were regularly fallowed, often over longer periods than the years in cultivation. The early fields had little formal built environment that is characteristic of more intensive forms of agriculture, thus remaining largely invisible in the archaeological record. The constant encounter of stone during each year of cultivation and its placement on the edges of fields in year after year of plowing created permanent rock piles and wall features marking past cultivation. Over time, considerable investments in time and energy were taken to maintain and sometimes increase production. With the continuous use of landscapes and growing populations, these mundane fields gradually acquired formal walls and other field boundary markers, canals, aqueducts, level surfaces for terracing, and crop rotation systems (Denevan, 2001). Everyday life in farmed landscapes required movement and circulation among households, fields, pasture, water, and other resources spread across space, resulting in complex networks of paths, trails, roads, ramps, and stairs that were permanently inscribed in the landscape (Erickson, 2000).

Stone-walled corrals of herders at high altitude are used to gather and protect camelids at night. Their dung accumulates in the floors and after many years the corral is taken out of use. The fertile space now can be used to cultivate potatoes, which thrive in the rich soil and within the protection from the elements and thermal heat provided by the walls, thus permitting their cultivation far above the range of most crops where frosts are common.

Raised fields

Raised fields (Sp. *camellones*, Q. *waru waru*, A. *suka kollus*) are one of the most impressive and well-studied forms of Andean agriculture and have been documented in the highlands, coast, and tropical lowlands (Erickson, 1992; Kolata, 1993; Denevan, 2001; Figure 2.1). Raised fields are generally found in flat areas that are



Figure 2.1 Experimental raised field planted in potatoes in Huatta, Peru in 1982

Photo credit: Kay L. Candler.

prone to shallow seasonal flooding and/or high waterlogging, often located in natural or artificially enhanced wetlands. Sufficient local drainage must be created for crops to survive these conditions; thus farmers created alternating raised earthwork platforms and canals of consistent patterns of groupings, orientations, wavelengths, and sizes. Rectangular flat platforms are made of earth excavated from adjacent canals. The process of construction, in effect, doubles the depth of fertile topsoil, provides local drainage, and creates a dry surface for farming.

The canals trap, capture and store water from rain, runoff, river and lake flooding for use for crops on the platforms through percolation to the root zone or direct application as irrigation. These water-filled canals provided a “green manure” and other nutrients in the form of waterborne sediments from nearby hillslopes and topsoil eroding from the field platforms; decomposing blue-green algae, totora reed, duckweed, and crop debris; and animals such as frogs, fish, snails, insects, and aquatic birds that thrive in this habitat. A complex web of interconnected raised field canals can be opened for drainage of excess water or closed for capture and storage of water, depending on farming needs. Long straight canals radiating from settlements on nearby hills and mounds in the wetlands provide aquatic navigation routes for access to households, raised fields, and open water in the wet season and serve as roads during the dry season. Experiments have shown that standing water in the canals can store solar energy as heat that warms the air and soil of surrounding raised field platforms, providing protection against frequent frosts (Erickson, 1992; Sánchez de Lozada, Baveye, and Riha, 1998).

Although raised fields cycled in and out of use at various times in prehistory and were finally abandoned with the Spanish Conquest, experimental archaeology and programs to rehabilitate pre-Columbian agriculture have shown that raised fields can be highly productive and efficient, despite the initial high labor costs of their construction. Debates about their role in pre-Columbian lifeways and status as sustainable agriculture have been intense (e.g., Erickson, 2003; Swartley, 2002; Bandy 2005; Baveye, 2012; Renard et al., 2012).

Terraces

The most visible transformation of landscape for agricultural production was the establishment of dry and irrigated terracing (*Q. andenes*, *A. pata pata*) on steep slopes throughout the Andes (Donkin, 1979; Figure 2.2). Terracing probably began with simple earth berms protected by vegetation running along slope contours (lynchettes) and later developed into formal stone faced retaining walls and fill to level them. Most Andean terraces continue in use today, although they tend to be poorly maintained and many have been modified or destroyed through mechanized agriculture. Formal terracing involves the excavation of a wall foundation ditch along the contours of a hillslope, construction of a sturdy stone retaining wall, and the cutting into the slope for earth fill to level a platform for crops behind each wall. In general, at the same level of a terrace wall top and platform surface, the base of an adjacent terrace wall upslope is constructed, creating a continuous stair-like



Figure 2.2 Terraced landscapes of the Colca Valley, Peru in 1985

Photo credit: Clark L. Erickson.

arrangement from valley floor to ridge top in many valleys—a monumental landscape of everyday life. Pre-Columbian terraces are estimated to cover large areas of the Andean highlands (Donkin, 1979; Denevan, 2001).

Terraces can range from simple isolated earth faced platforms to complex networks of well-built stone-faced architecture covering mountain sides. The simplest are *lynchettes*, where a row of dense vegetation (such as maguey or grass) is planted along a slope contour and erosion gradually and passively fills and builds up behind the living wall to create a flattened planting surface. The most complex examples are bench terraces, carefully engineered massive retaining walls supporting stone buildings and fields of important Inca sites such as Machu Picchu, Chinchero, Ollantaytambo, Moray, and Cuzco. Bench terraces often had carefully layered soil fills of graded rock and earth, from coarse on the bottom to fine on the top, which permitted internal drainage and prevented waterlogging, collapse, and landslides (Treacy and Denevan, 1994; Donkin, 1979). Most terrace walls were constructed of local fieldstones collected onsite during surface clearing and construction, often rolled or slid downslope from above. Farmers often incorporated projecting stones in walls that served as stairs to allow movement vertically up and down field systems; wall niches for storage or refuge for workers during storms; irrigation canals to distribute water; water drops or slides from one field to the next; and stones of contrasting colors to create simple patterns.

Although terracing is a recognized strategy of soil conservation, Andean farmers note that the purpose of terracing is to create flat surfaces to distribute irrigation water, runoff, and/or rainfall evenly and effectively (Treacy and Denevan, 1994). Water was often brought from distant glacial sources through irrigation canals winding around mountain slopes to be distributed where needed. The addition of irrigation increased crop production, reduced risks of drought, and allowed multiple crops per year. By terracing, farmers also took advantage of warmer slopes above low-lying areas where freezing air from frosts drains and accumulates at high altitude (Grace, 1983; Earls, 1989).

Although considerable cooperative community labor is necessary to construct well-built terraces, once constructed the fields can produce for decades with about the same labor input as a dry, rainfed field. Despite abandonment, no soil amendments, and lack of maintenance over the past 500 years, terrace soils maintain considerable fertility and many are still in use (Sandor and Eash, 1991; 1995; Goodman-Elgar, 2008; Nanavati et al., 2016).

Sunken gardens

Qochas (Sp. *chacras hundidas*, *pozas*, *ojos de agua*; Q. *q'ochas* or *kochas*; A. *q'otanas*, *cotaña*, *cota*) are shallow artificial “sunken” gardens or heavily modified natural ponds, lakes, and sinkholes that are used to manage water and other resources (totora, algae, organic matter, small fish) for agriculture (Figure 2.3). The best studied are the qochas of Lake Titicaca (Flores-Ochoa and Paz 1983; Albarracín, 1996; Craig et al., 2011). Some scholars argue that the sustained use of qochas in the Ramis River basin is possible due to a thick impermeable clay layer that created a perched or high-water table (Craig et al., 2011). While this geological insight explains the high density of these features in this location, the thousands of similar features throughout



Figure 2.3 Sunken garden prepared for potatoes (foreground) and sunken garden in fallow with water (background) near Nicasio, Peru in 1985

Photo credit: Clark L. Erickson.

the region demonstrate widespread use of the technique in a variety of contexts. Qochas have been dated to the Early Intermediate Period (200 BCE–600 CE) and continue in use today. Most show evidence of having been excavated in low-lying areas to reach the water table and capture rainfall. The management strategy is impressive. When they are not farmed, the water bodies accumulate organic matter in the form of aquatic plants and sediments over a period of years. Totora reeds used for thatch and reed boats can be cultivated and small fish raised. The qochas are then drained and the now dry and fertile surfaces planted with potatoes and other crops over a series of years. Qochas managed by a family or ayllu are often interconnected by complex networks of canals that regulate water levels.

Another form of sunken gardens characteristic of the coastal valleys are *mahamaes* (Q. *wachaques*), which are located on the coast of Peru (Denevan, 2001; Lane, 2014). In the wide deltas in the lower course of these rivers, most river water has been tapped for irrigation far upstream. Farmers found that they could dig through the desert to recapture irrigation water lost to seepage and access ground water, often meters below the surface to create fields with excavated fill forming rectangular grids of low berms.

Filtration galleries

Throughout the highlands and southern desert coast of Peru, a sophisticated means of obtaining water from deep aquifers for irrigation using underground aqueducts

was developed. Filtration galleries or *puquios* are either an open trench or a horizontal gallery/tunnel that serve as canals to capture and direct underground water to the surface for irrigation (Barnes and Fleming, 1991; Schreiber and Lancho, 2003; Lane, 2017).

Trench *puquios* are dug down to the water table with the floor of the trench slightly sloped to direct flow towards irrigation canals and fields in the river floodplains, often over long distances. To prevent erosion, the open walls of the trench are lined with stone (Schreiber and Lancho, 2003). Where the soil is compact and stable, a gallery *puquio*—a long horizontal tunnel excavated through the earth to the water table—is constructed. In unstable soil, trench *puquios* are made and the walls are then stoned lined, roofed with wood beams, and covered with a deep layer of soil to create a narrow tunnel or filled-trench gallery. In both types, the size of the tunnel can vary from a crawl to walk space. A series of stone-lined vertical shafts from the ground surface to the tunnel provide light and access for periodic maintenance. *Puquios* often combine both trench and gallery structures throughout their course and many are still in use.

Scholars debate whether the *puquios* are indigenous or introduced by Europeans. Similarities between gallery *puquios* and the widespread *qanāts* of north Africa and the Middle East and early historical documents mentioning the technique are used to argue for late introduction (Barnes and Fleming, 1991). Association with Nasca Period sites (400–500 CE), artistic representations, and the long history of desert occupation by farmers in the region have been used to claim pre-Columbian origins in the Nasca and Ica valleys (Schreiber and Lancho, 2003).

Canal irrigation

In addition to experiencing frequent drought, much of the Andean region is arid or has irregular rainfall, making agriculture risky. In a manner similar to other indigenous solutions practiced worldwide, Andean farmers developed irrigation to move water from locations where it was abundant to dry areas that were to be farmed. The process often involved complex hydraulic engineering and coordination over large valleys. Although used in the highlands to extend growing seasons and mitigate risks, the most impressive irrigation systems were established in the north coastal valleys where arid conditions predominate but good soils are present (Denevan, 2001; Lane, 2009).

In laying out contour canals over long distances, farmers had to be aware that if the water moved too fast, the sides of the canal could be eroded and breached; if flow was too slow, sediments built up and filled the canals. Construction through trial and error or possibly the creation of simple surveying devices using open containers of water established optimal grade levels for the volume of water necessary (Ortloff, 1988). High volume canals are often associated with other engineering works including aqueducts crossing ravines and valleys, stone retaining walls on steep slopes, water drops, and channel “friction” structures to dissipate some of the force of rapid and high flow (Ortloff, 1988). The most ambitious projects were three vast intervalley irrigation networks where long canals crossed adjacent river basins to increase crop production on the coast (Ortloff and Moseley, 2009).

The Andean region is dynamic and irrigation farmers had to constantly mitigate droughts, floods, and landscape changes. Tectonic uplift caused by the meeting of

two continental plates which form the Andes mountains raises the ground surface 1.8 cm/year. Over time, the accumulated impact of this phenomenon is significant as rivers adjust by eroding deeper in the channels, thus increasing the distance upstream to where river water can be diverted into irrigation canals for fields in the desert along the rivers (Moseley, 1983). Over time, the locations for maximum capture of river water migrates to the base of the Andes where higher water velocity and landslides make the establishment of canal intakes impossible, resulting in reductions of irrigated areas.

Dams and reservoirs

Some Andean irrigation systems require collection and storage of water far upstream for use at various times of the year in fields below. Pre-Columbian dams and reservoirs of stone and earth with complex inlets, outlets, and other hydraulic engineering have been documented for many highland regions, and many are still in use tapping runoff and glacial melt (Salomon, 1998; Lane, 2009). Check dams are simple barriers of earth and stone built across ravines and narrow valleys in dry areas to capture and retain infrequent runoff water and rich topsoil eroded from above for cultivation and conservation of resources.

Channelized rivers and other flood control engineering

During El Niño years when periodic and abrupt changes in ocean temperature and currents disrupt global climate, heavy rains cause flooding. When previous major earthquakes have loosened soil structure, these events cause massive erosion and landslides of mud and rock, which in turn lay down thick sediments in fields and canals in the coastal valleys (Ortloff and Moseley, 2009; Sandweiss et al., 2009). The earth berms of the *mahamae* of the same area have been proposed as flood control structures to protect the sunken gardens from similar fate (Knapp, 1982). By the Initial Period (1800 BCE), massive earthen flood barriers and diversions were constructed in Lurín Valley to protect temples and fields from the periodic waves of water and soil from the mountains (Burger, 2003).

The most impressive hydraulic feat was the channelization of the Vilcanota/Urubamba rivers near Cusco (Farrington, 1983). According to colonial documents, the Inca empire mobilized 40,000 workers who worked for many years to straighten and contain the meandering river by temporarily rerouting water for the construction of a massive stone-walled channel of tens of kilometers to serve as the new course. While this massive undertaking provided flood control and additional farmland, the primary goals may have been to straighten the river for aesthetic effect and to show political power.

Artificial pasture

Bofedales (Sp. *bofedal*, A. *oqho*) are large, high altitude spring-fed wetlands or bogs traditionally used for grazing of camelids. In Andean ethnography and historical documents, *bofedales* can be classified into three types: natural spring-fed wetlands, artificial wetlands created through irrigation, and enhanced natural wetlands through

Table 2.1 Guide to Andean agriculture landscapes on Google Earth

Type	Location	Longitude/latitude
Raised fields (<i>waru waru</i> , <i>suka kollu</i>)	Huatta	15°37'29.39"S 69°59'15.83"W
Terraces	Pomata	16°17'42.49"S 69°19'21.01"W
Canal irrigation	Casma	9°29'2.44"S 78°22'5.35"W
Sunken gardens (<i>qochas</i>)	Corpa	15°11'4.83"S 70°14'41.37"W
Sunken gardens (mahamaes)	Chilca	12°31'17.02"S 76°45'12.80"W
Irrigated pasture (<i>bofedales</i> , <i>oqho</i>)	Nunoa	14°34'12.16"S 70°31'45.77"W
Filtration Galleries (<i>pukios</i>)	Cantayo	14°49'35.71"S 74°54'37.28"W

addition of canals (Palacios, 1977; Erickson, 2000; Maldonado, 2014–2015). Bofedales often involve the construction of long canals tapping water from distant springs and a network of dendritic secondary canals to distribute water over a few hectares to many square kilometers. A bofedal under artificial irrigation provides forage year-round, thus solving the problem of seasonal availability for camelid caravans carrying cargo to camps and waystations along trails and roads. Large herds of alpacas, the most valuable of the camelids for their wool and meat but with more finicky diet, thrive on the artificial pasture of bofedales. Irrigated bofedales take years to establish and are easily degraded through overuse or neglect; thus, they require considerable maintenance and protection (Palacios, 1977).

The Inca state established additional large bofedales along the *Qhapaq Ñan* or royal road, a network of over 30,000 linear km. Combined with corrals, storage, and lodging in waystations or *tambos*, bofedales met the needs of large traveling llama caravans transporting resources throughout the empire (Hyslop, 1984; Arkush and Marcone, 2017).

PEOPLE AND THEIR LAND

When traveling through the Andes, visitors soon come to appreciate how pre-Columbian farmers and their communities over time transformed a highly diverse environment into a highly productive cultural landscape that eventually sustained millions of people and civilizations. While obviously created for practical reasons through human agency, the Andean landscape also holds allure due to the rich geometric patterning of agricultural fields and farm infrastructure, often distributed continuously from valley bottom to mountain top, creating a stunning visual pattern of diverse colors as crops mature and a vibrant example of everyday life at harvest

time of farmers where still farmed. Even where abandoned and in ruins, the permanent landscape features of terraces, raised fields, qochas, irrigated fields, and other features built long ago remain impressive and can be appreciated as landscape art, memory, and community pride. The finest works of civilizations are often considered “monumental”: aesthetically pleasing, valuable cultural heritage, highly patterned, and beyond practical function often involving enormous amounts of labor, energy, materials, and engineering (Burger and Rosenswig, 2012). One could consider Andean terracing, raised fields, and irrigation in which entire environments were converted into vast productive cultural landscapes as monumental in terms of labor, engineering, patterning, and aesthetics (Erickson, 2013). To the many generations of farmers who created and inhabited these farmed spaces, the landscape represented community, territory, ancestors, sacred places, memory, legitimacy to occupy and use, and at times, political power.

Traditional Andean agriculture is considered by most scholars to have been sustainable and appropriate within its temporal and spatial context. Sustainability in this case implies that society lives off the “interest” without drawing upon or exploiting the “capital” of available agricultural resources. Andean farmers were continuously adding additional resources and potential for surplus production through their labor and engineering over generations. Archaeologists have shown that Andean agriculture supported large and dense urban and rural populations over considerable periods of time on landscapes that are often considered marginal for modern agriculture. Some scholars argue that the contemporary world has much to learn from these time-tested technologies and practices (Kendall, 2005; Erickson, 2003; Renard et al., 2012).

Why have many of these landscapes, farming practices, and crops documented for the pre-Columbian past disappeared or been abandoned? In some cases, climate change may have been a factor (Ortloff and Moseley, 2009), but Andean societies have always faced this adversity and developed strategies of survival and resilience (Erickson, 1999). The most significant reason was massive demographic collapse due to the introduction of Old World diseases, civil wars, and population relocations after Spanish conquest of the Andes. Introduction of foreign crops, animals, and political economies; inequality and colonialism; harsh native labor exploitation; unequal land distribution and land appropriation; and urban migration over time have transformed how contemporary Andean peoples use and maintain landscapes (Newson, 1993). Despite these dramatic changes, threats, and risks, many Andean farming communities continue to thrive by relying on time-tested elements of traditional labor organization, farming techniques, crops, and animals, however modified.

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CHAPTER THREE

WATER AND POWER IN THE PERUVIAN ANDES



Barbara Deutsch Lynch

ANDEAN WATERSCAPES

In his novel *Yawar Fiesta*, Jose Maria Arguedas tells how indigenous peoples' control over water high in the mountains of Ayacucho becomes a source of leverage over the more powerful *mistis* (non-indigenous Peruvians, in this context) who hold valuable arable lands, but depend for irrigation on water from springs that dot high altitude community grazing lands. The conflict that Arguedas dramatized has played itself out since Europeans arrived in the Americas, and very likely earlier. The cast of characters has changed, but the struggle continues as government agencies, international institutions, energy producers and agribusiness enterprises seek to control waters that are vital to the livelihoods of highland communities. Arguedas also shows that by its very nature water is simultaneously social and physical, connecting ecosystems, people, places, cultures, and economic activities in hydrosocial systems and shaping Andean waterscapes (Arguedas, 1985).

In the Andes, water gives life and destroys it. It must be respected, placated, and carefully governed. This entails protection of water bodies and aqueous ecosystems, disaster prevention, and allocation to competing water users in the face of extreme spatial and temporal variation. Peru has more fresh water per person than any other South American nation (Olson, 2006), but nearly 98 percent goes to the sparsely populated Amazon basin. The Pacific drainage, which includes the arid coast and much of the Sierra, receives less than 2 percent although it is home to 86 percent of Peru's inhabitants and most of its agriculture and industry. Access to water also varies with altitude and location with respect to springs, streams, and rivers, which are often deeply entrenched, flowing through narrow canyons or *quebradas*. Water supply varies widely seasonally and from one year to the next. During El Niño events, Sierra droughts are coupled with rain and flooding on the coast. Northern Peru's coastal deserts may turn green, providing pasture for thousands of goats, only to dry out a few weeks later. Climate change also contributes to glacial melting and to greater variability in water supply.

To make water available for crops and domestic use, fast-flowing streams are diverted into elaborate networks of ditches or *acequias* and stored in reservoirs or *cochas*. Acequias range from hand-dug earth structures to formidable engineering

works that channel water for kilometers along the edge of steep canyons at an even grade, delivering water to a network of canals that distribute water to farm fields. No matter how well built, irrigation infrastructure is easily damaged by landslides, floods, and earthquakes. Canals must be cleaned every year. Reservoirs silt up and must be repaired. Managing variability entails decision making, administration and the mobilization of labor for system operation and maintenance.

In sum, the factors that shape Andean hydrosocial systems are complex. Therefore, to understand the role of water in the region, one must take into account the extraordinary hydrological and environmental variability of the region, the varied local and national institutions that have governed water access and use over time, and the implications of land tenure patterns and industrial activities for different watersheds and the people whose livelihoods depend upon them. This chapter begins by offering some tools for thinking about hydrosocial systems in the Peruvian Andes. It then shows how water has shaped Andean societies over time, with an emphasis on the twentieth century, which brought new forms of state intervention in water governance. It concludes with a discussion of the water stresses that emerged in this century, the reform project intended to control them, Andean responses to both, and their implications for water and power in the wake of the reform.

WATER, NATURE, AND POWER

While many Andean waterscapes predate human settlement, they have become cultural artifacts, shaped and governed by social practices, norms, and rules. The ways that different social groups understand water and the power dynamics that govern interactions among these groups reconfigure hydrology on the ground.

WATER AS CONNECTOR

Orlove and Caton (2010) emphasize water's role in connecting people, places, ecosystems, and economic activities ranging from smallholder cultivation and livestock production to massive agribusiness and extractive enterprises. As Arguedas showed, water connects high-altitude *puna* grazing lands with downstream cultivated zones and towns. It also connects the city and the country: the conflict that shook the Bolivian city of Cochabamba in the year 2000 seemed, at first glance, to be an urban event catalyzed by the takeover of a municipal water system by a transnational corporation. But, while intense protest occurred in the city, nearby farming communities also participated fully in the conflict.¹

In the Andes, water also connects the quotidian to the cosmic, the present to the past, and people to place. According to Andean origin myths, ancestors of the region's peoples arrived at their lands by travelling underground from a point in Lake Titicaca to springs on the lands belonging to their descendents. Irrigators see their labor in irrigation system operation and maintenance as validating their rights not only to use water, but also to cultivate the lands to which the water belongs (Sherbondy, 1998). Water connects diverse economic activities, provoking tensions when water uses are incompatible. Lastly, water connects the social and the natural, erasing the distinction between the two.

In light of these connections, international water policies emphasize integrated water resource management (IWRM). IWRM proponents view the watershed as the natural unit for water governance, but watersheds are not independent hydrosocial systems. Regional, national and international actors—public and private—make decisions that affect water allocation and use and reshape Andean watersheds (Budds and Hinojosa, 2012). For example, the recently constructed canals of the huge Chavimochic and Chincas irrigation systems divert waters from the westward flowing Río Santa into seven additional watersheds. The Olmos project, also built with international capital, tunnels water from the Amazon basin under the Andes into the Pacific watershed. And the Majes project in Arequipa captures water high in the Andes, diverts it from Sierra farmlands and delivers it to the coast for irrigation, energy production, and urban water supply. We therefore have to think about hydrosocial systems as operating simultaneously at scales ranging from the farm field to the globe.

IS WATER AN ECONOMIC GOOD?

Peruvian government officials often view water as a resource to be used for maximizing economic growth. The use of the word “resource” in the term IWRM underscores the fact that international policy makers also see water as an economic good. This premise is codified in the 1992 Dublin Principles, which state that “water has an economic value in all its competing uses and should be recognized as an economic good.” Economists working with international institutions often argue that water will not be used efficiently unless it is priced. Opponents of this position argue that pricing water and treating it as a resource inevitably entails dispossession and loss of access for those who depend on water for their livelihoods (Swyngedouw, 2006).

Irrigated agriculture is a key component of Andean livelihoods, and high-altitude wetlands (*bofedales*) and glacial lakes provide water for wildlife and domestic animals. Water in streams and ditches is used to mill grain, wash wool, and leach toxins out of food plants like quinoa and *tarwi* (an edible lupine also known as *chocho*). Seepage from unlined acequias—which irrigation engineers view as waste—nourishes plants that feed small animals. Fish from highland lakes are a key component of livelihood strategies, and in recent decades, fish farming has expanded to serve a growing tourist market. These activities are undervalued by the Peruvian state.

Policymakers argue that mining and energy production make more significant contributions to the national economy. While neither industry is seen as consuming much water, they have had massive environmental impacts. Mine and processing waste can render water too toxic for irrigation, livestock, or human consumption. Hydropower can be sustainable as in the case of microhydro systems that light small towns and villages by rechanneling irrigation waters after dark. In contrast, big dams displace farming communities and divert water from where it is needed for agriculture, livestock, and domestic use (Urteaga, 2014). At the end of the day, allocation of water to particular activities depends on legal stipulations, the power of dominant economic actors, and the ability of those without power to mobilize in resistance to elite water capture.

Poder hídrico

Peruvian anthropologist Gerardo Damonte and co-authors (2016) use the term “*poder hídrico*” (power over water) to analyze these relationships. They ask how certain groups in society gain the ability to direct the flow of water in ways that serve their interests. At an individual level, *poder hídrico* is having a right to water and the ability to exercise that right. At a societal level, it is the power to make and enforce rules governing the definition and allocation of water rights, access to water, and the protection of bodies of water from contamination. Enforcement includes the ability to monitor, and to produce and disseminate information about water flows and quality in forms that are seen as legitimate, as well as the power to enforce rules and to exclude others from access whether by requiring cash or labor payments or through use of coercion. Access to water may be limited to members of water user associations invested with the power to make and enforce rules governing allocation. While some associations in highland Peru enjoy legal recognition, others do not (Boelens, Guevara Gil, and Panfichi, 2010). This puts the latter at a disadvantage in competitive situations. *Poder hídrico* can also refer to the ability to move water away from rivers and lakes and into irrigation ditches, industrial plants or urban water systems.

At a discursive level, *poder hídrico* is the power to define some uses of water as legitimate and others as illegitimate, to label some as essential and others as marginal, and to decide whose knowledge about water counts and what kind of knowledge counts. How, for example, does knowledge about the ways in which plants use water or about the impacts of pollution on public health rank in comparison to information about the performance of different kinds of hydraulic infrastructure? In Peru, the power to define the terms of water governance at the national level rests with an elite cadre of irrigation engineers associated with the National Agrarian University at La Molina and belonging to an international community that includes experts from the World Bank, the InterAmerican Development Bank, the FAO, and international consulting firms (Oré and Rap, 2009).

Discursive power includes the ability to assign meaning to water. Boelens and Seemann (2014) find that the ways in which government officials, international donors, and NGOs understand water security problems and the solutions that they propose “are often entirely different from the way that marginalized user groups and highland communities themselves define water (in)security.” For Andean social movements “*el agua es la vida*”—water is life, a fundamental component of landscape, culture, and cosmos. This complex construction contrasts sharply with the IWRM understanding of water as an economic good and the neoliberal conceptualization of water as a resource to be allocated to its “highest and best” use, but it has a long and distinguished history in the Andes.

ANDEAN HYDROSOCIAL SYSTEMS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The waterscapes that evolved over the course of human occupation of highland Peru form the template for many contemporary hydrosocial systems in the sierra. They have been built upon and contain infrastructural elements like canals and small reservoirs as well as technological information and management rules that date to the

precolonial past. While the connection between past and present remained strong until the late twentieth century, it has since become more tenuous.

The prehispanic and colonial legacies

Prehispanic water management technologies ranged from small diversions, raised beds, and sunken fields that did not require a high degree of social organization to reservoirs and extensive terracing and irrigation systems that undoubtedly did. Remains of prehistoric canals and reservoirs can be found throughout highland Peru. Some have been in continuous use since Inca times. The most impressive early canal networks were located on the north coast's Moche Valley. Highland systems were smaller, but some were also complex. Archaeologists have found evidence of stone-lined irrigation canals in northern Peru that are probably 5,400 years, and possibly 6,700 years old, suggesting active wetland management and perhaps incipient agriculture (Dillehay, Eling, and Rosen, 2005). Small-scale irrigation in Cajamarca dates to between 1000 and 500 BCE (Sandweiss and Richardson, 2008).

In precolonial Peru, water connected people to places and the physical landscape to the cosmos (Sherbondy, 1998). Lake Titicaca was seen as receiving water emerging from beneath the earth's surface and redistributing it in underground rivers that emerged in mountain springs and streams, connecting the diverse Andean life zones. At a practical level, water organized communities and larger polities through the agricultural calendar, labor mobilization for irrigation system construction and maintenance, and water allocation (Guillet, 2006).

Wetlands were another component of prehispanic Andean hydrosocial systems. Prehistoric settlements located near *bofedales* were associated with llama and alpaca raising (Maldonado, 2014). Puno pastoralists made new *bofedales* by channeling water into pasture lands (Palacios, 1977). Farmers were planting in raised beds on the edge of Lake Titicaca between 600 and 1150 CE (Erickson, 2000; Sandweiss and Richardson, 2008). Sunken fields (also called *cochas*) found on lands near the lake afforded crop roots better access to moisture. Fishing in Lake Titicaca became important in the Formative Period (Hastorf, 2008), and it still is. These technologies, water governance practices, and water uses are not simply vestiges of the past. Where conditions permit, they can be found today.

The Spanish brought to Peru their impressive irrigation tradition, but, while demographic collapse made it harder to maintain canals and terraces, Incaic irrigation institutions survived. Spanish authorities appointed water judges, but legislation allowed for water user participation in water governance. Within new colonial jurisdictions, *ayllus* (prehispanic forms of local social organization) retained their preexisting water rights and water distribution systems (Guillet, 2006). This amalgam of prehispanic and colonial technologies and water governance practices persisted after Peru's Independence in 1821. Peru's 1839 constitution authorized special courts for water and dams, and nineteenth-century laws called for smallholder and *hacendado* (large landed estate owner) participation in water governance (Palerm-Viquera, 2010). Hacienda-controlled irrigation systems enjoyed preferential access to water, but surplus could be reallocated to peasant cultivators in return for their labor. Other systems belonged to communities which exercised direct control over irrigable fields, the irrigation networks that served them, and the labor required to keep them functioning (Bunker and Seligmann, 1986; Mitchell, 1994).

State and irrigation in the twentieth century

Peruvian water governance institutions and practices changed markedly in the twentieth century, with the employment of new technocratic approaches to water governance; increasing economic, demographic and climatic pressures on the region's water supply; and threats to the water rights of communities and small cultivators. Andean hydrosocial systems became increasingly connected to the state with big dam construction and interbasin water transfer projects. As connectivity tightened, Andean water users lost autonomy, and a number of changes in power relationships occurred. Some created avenues through which rural communities could seek to consolidate and protect their water rights; others enhanced the power of state and private sector interests.

The early twentieth century saw increasing state promotion of irrigation for export-oriented coastal agriculture. Coastal agriculture underwent a modernization process that emphasized sugar and cotton production and large-scale irrigation works to support this production. In 1901, the Peruvian government established a Corps of Mining and Hydraulic Engineers (*Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Minas y Aguas*). In 1902 it enacted a water code, and in 1908 it hired a North American engineer to recommend irrigation projects. A 1917 water law gave engineers control of system management, and the 1920s saw the first state-run irrigation projects (Oré and Rap, 2009)

That said, before 1969, the state largely ignored sierra irrigation, because government officials saw highland agriculture as marginal (Palerm-Viquera, 2010). The Andean tradition varied in response to ecological as well as cultural differences, but generally speaking, participation in acequia construction and in periodic communal work parties (known as *faena*, *minga*, or *minka*) for system maintenance and repair entitled cultivators to water rights (Mayer, 2002). When it was plentiful, irrigators could draw water as needed, but during the dry season, it was allocated according to the area to be irrigated. *Vigilantes* or water judges would divert water to lateral canals, according to a prearranged schedule. Individual fields would commonly receive the entire flow of a tertiary canal for a time period proportional to the size of the field to be watered.² Where water was scarce, as it is in lower altitudes and on the dry western slopes of the Sierra, it was often carefully rationed. Community decisions about water allocation determined what crops would be grown in a particular area. Equity and transparency and flexibility in the face of drought were guiding principles, even if honored in the breach.

The bureaucratic transition

Interest in hydropower grew after 1945, but state involvement in highland irrigation and domestic water provision remained minimal until 1969 when the military government of Juan Velasco Alvarado enacted a sweeping agrarian reform and a water law that would connect the state more intimately to Andean waterscapes. The law made water state property and divided authority for its governance according to use. Irrigation, which received most state attention, was overseen by the Ministry of Agriculture. The Ministry of Housing supervised domestic water provision and sanitation, and the Ministry of Energy and Mines regulated pollution by extractive industries and governed hydropower development. A new National Water and

Irrigation Agency (DGA) headed a hierarchy of irrigation districts, commissions, and local irrigator committees. The latter had authority to allocate water rights. The law also empowered the national government to intervene directly in local water management during droughts.

The 1969 water law did not recognize preexisting indigenous water authorities, depriving them of a legitimacy that they once enjoyed. Communities accepting state aid for irrigation improvements were expected to bring local institutions into conformity with the water code. While deeply flawed, the 1969 law created porous interfaces that sierra irrigators could manipulate to some extent. Official water governance institutions coexisted with informal, but often well-organized community water systems (Gelles, 2000; Boelens, 2009). In many rural areas, state institutions were absent; in others irrigators adapted formal rules and institutions to their own realities. The bureaucratic transition was sometimes welcomed. In the northern Sierra town of San Marcos, for example, malaria control allowed expansion of the cultivated area, but the water supply remained constant. Not surprisingly, water conflicts proliferated. San Marcos irrigators adopted formal rules as a conflict management strategy (Lynch, 1988).

Between 1969 and the early 1980s, Peruvian and international interest in formalizing access to water in the Sierra grew, as did investment in small and medium-scale micro-hydro, potable water and irrigation systems by the Peruvian government, political parties seeking votes,³ bilateral assistance agencies (including USAID, the German GTZ, and Dutch and Belgian development agencies), and the InterAmerican Development Bank (IADB) and the World Bank. Investors supplied materials and advice, but required labor contributions from project recipients.⁴ Not all community members benefited from these projects, and those who did not resented the requirement and often withheld their labor.

The agrarian reform was undone in the early 1980s, but the water law remained in effect. International investment in small and medium irrigation in the Sierra continued to grow as part of integrated rural development projects (Lynch, 1988; Bolin, 1994), projects promoted by the IADB and bilateral assistance agencies on the assumption that irrigation would make agriculture economically viable and stem the tide of migration to Lima. As a condition of aid investors demanded the creation of bureaucratic entities within the DGA. These agencies in turn hired agronomists, social workers, and economists to work with people in the project areas. While the overwhelming majority of sierra irrigation systems never received international attention, these internationally funded and supervised irrigation projects had the effect of further connecting the state to the countryside, and both state and countryside to international development agents. In addition, they created temporary construction jobs, somewhat more permanent civil service positions, and consulting opportunities for U.S., European, and Peruvian economists, engineers, and social scientists.

There were, however, stresses that integrated rural development projects could not address. One was the increasing participation of rural family members in seasonal migration circuits which reduced the supply of labor for maintaining and repairing irrigation and potable water systems and terraces (Montoya, 1982). Permanent migration and abandonment of agriculture by household members—often male—made the problem worse. Another stress was the persistence of power imbalances at the system level. The law should have made water allocation more equitable, but enforcement was erratic and

private interests often prevailed. Lastly, investment in small and medium scale systems was dwarfed by the sums spent on big coastal irrigation and hydroelectric projects, and their negative impacts on Sierra residents and cultivators were substantial. For example, the main canal of the Majes system, built in the 1970s to transport water to Arequipa's coastal lands, displaced over a dozen highland communities in the Colca Valley (Gelles, 2000) and cut off the water supply to other highland cultivators. During the drought of 1983, Cabanaconde peasants breached the canal forcing Majes project officials to install an outlet for local irrigation (Stensrud, 2016). Threats of similar action by other communities compelled Majes to share water with upstream cultivators.

By the mid-1980s, economic crisis, activity by the Shining Path guerrilla movement (Sendero Luminoso), and militarization of the countryside stalled integrated rural development projects with their irrigation centerpieces. Pacification and inflation, rather than rural development, became overarching government concerns. Urbanization accelerated, intensifying the demand for domestic water and electricity, while exacerbating solid waste disposal problems and water pollution in places where sewage treatment did not exist. Urbanization meant abandonment of small rural *aldeas* (hamlets) and further loss of labor for terrace and irrigation system maintenance. These phenomena were accompanied by renewed state neglect of sierra irrigation, now packaged as decentralization. A 1989 supreme decree transferred responsibility for operating and maintaining irrigation infrastructure from the state to water user groups. These functions would be financed by user fees. Not surprisingly, irrigators objected (Guevara Gil, 2010).

In 1990, Alberto Fujimori, former Rector of the National Agrarian University, became president. His decentralization and neoliberal economic policies brought a massive influx of foreign and domestic capital into the Sierra. Fujimori privatized hydropower facilities and also attempted to privatize domestic water provision. A 1994 law called for the replacement of the state-owned domestic water provider with private, public, or mixed municipal enterprises. Fujimori's government also drafted legislation to sever the ancient connection between land and water by creating transferrable water rights, but irrigators large and small opposed the bill, which was scrapped in 2000.

By the end of the twentieth century, most Andean hydrosocial systems were connected to the Peruvian state and to the global economy. Some small irrigation systems were still independent, but most irrigator associations had relationships with state actors which sometimes led to bureaucratization at the local level. More importantly, civil unrest and neoliberal programs placed new and potent stresses on Andean hydrosocial systems.

CONFLICT AND REFORM IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Andean waterscapes are changing faster than ever in the face of mining, energy development, glacial retreat, urbanization, and rural depopulation. One response has been the intensification of protest in the Sierra. Another was a major water reform initiative promoted by the World Bank and the IADB. These developments have raised concerns about the protection of ecosystems, communities, and small cultivators' water rights and are giving rise to some interesting social movements and NGO efforts to protect Andean waterscapes.

STRESSES AND PUSHBACK

The first decade of the twenty-first century saw the rapid growth of tourism, mining, hydropower, and export-oriented agriculture dependent upon shrinking subterranean aquifers and water transfers from the highlands. Mining posed the gravest threat to Andean waterscapes.⁵ As president, Alan García strongly promoted mineral exploration. The election of his successor, Ollanta Humala, was in part a popular rejection of policies favoring extraction, but he too found mine royalties attractive. Mine tailings and processing waste are a major source of water pollution, and where mines are often located on the puna, their impacts on the wetlands, lakes, and springs that feed major river systems are severe. Mine-related water consumption is shrinking bofedales essential for alpaca grazing (Budds and Hinojosa, 2012), and the movement of heavy machinery across spongy puna soils is reducing their water retention capacity and, as a corollary, the flow in highland streams and irrigation canals.

In Huallanca, a small town in the Cordillera Huayhuash, leaching from a polymetallic mine rendered stream water unfit for domestic use, livestock, and irrigation. The town became totally dependent upon a small reservoir above the limits of cultivation, but Huallanca's environmental committee feared that blasting associated with mineral prospecting would destabilize its dam, endangering the community and obliterating its only source of clean water (Figure 3.1).

Water diversion and contamination associated with mining in Cajamarca has seriously damaged the region's waterscapes. Yanacocha, a huge gold mine owned by the US. Newmont Mining Corporation and the Peruvian Buenaventura Mining Company (and financed by the World Bank), uses cyanide solution and massive quantities of water to process ore. Sited at the headwaters of five major rivers in the region, the mine has contaminated them and altered their flows, reducing the supply for downstream irrigation. Yanacocha also drained high altitude lakes and captured the waters from community irrigation systems for its own operations (Sosa and Zwartveen, 2012).

These impacts, together with inequitable distribution of the costs and benefits of mining, have led to massive protests in Cajamarca and in Ancash and myriad smaller clashes throughout the highlands. In 2010, the threat of mineral exploration on the shores of Lake Conococha, headwaters of the Río Santa and two other coastal rivers used for irrigation and drinking water, provoked mobilization by livestock-producing and farming communities, urban water users in Huaraz and in coastal cities, and defenders of the Huascarán National Park (Figure 3.2). Protesters blocked the highway from Lima to Huaraz and marched in the streets of Huaraz and Chimbote. They found allies in the region's public sector, local government officials, the church, and environmental NGOs. The conflict abated when the government suspended the exploration permit, but erupted again in 2011 when residents of 32 towns in the district of Catac blocked the road and occupied an Antimina mine pump house to protest water contamination.

Also in 2011, Cajamarca rural and urban dwellers rose to fight the planned Conga open-pit gold and copper mine. Plans included draining four puna lakes that supplied water to six watersheds. Concerned about health risks, protesters called for an end to mining in river basin headwaters and a ban on the use of cyanide and mercury in ore processing. Protest led to confrontation with the government. After stating that "water is more important than gold" and promising to "guarantee water for all Peruvians," President Humala declared a state of emergency in Cajamarca. The repression that



Figure 3.1 Members of the Huallanca Environmental Committee escort a group of Río Santa valley community leaders, NGO leaders, and activists to the small reservoir on which they rely entirely for irrigation, livestock watering and domestic consumption, because other available water sources are too contaminated to use. Environmental committee members worry that explosions associated with mineral exploration in the mountains above the dam are threatening its stability

Photo credit: Barbara D. Lynch.

followed led to violence. Peru's new Ministry of the Environment warned of potential watershed damage, but the more powerful Ministry of Energy and Mines dismissed its report as exaggeration. In February 2012 Cajamarca protesters staged a National March in Defense of Water. Upon arriving in Lima, they demanded that Congress ban open-pit mining and mining in glaciers and wetlands, prohibit use of mercury and cyanide in ore washing, protect community control over natural resources inside their boundaries, and define access to water as a human right (Poole and Rénique, 2012, p. 5). The Ancash and Cajamarca protests emphasized both water quality and access and addressed urban and public health as well as irrigator concerns. The protests also drew attention to an increasingly vulnerable component of Andean waterscapes—the high puna with its bofedales and glacial lakes.

Mining requires energy, as do industry and urban settlements. Energy consumption in Peru doubled between 2004 and 2014, and over half of the country's supply came from hydroelectric plants. The Garcia and Humala governments supported big hydro development. Often viewed as sustainable, big dams and water transfer



Figure 3.2 Lake Conococha, high in the puna, feeds three river systems, the largest of which is the Río Santa, which provides water to small highland farmers and massive coastal agribusiness enterprises. It also provides drinking water to towns and urban centers in the regions of Ancash and La Libertad. The delicate lake ecosystem, threatened by mining exploration, is a crucial resource for local fishers and pastoralists

Photo credit: Barbara D. Lynch.

projects have displaced communities, have made irrigation difficult, and have had negative impacts on Andean waterscapes. Timed releases from natural glacial lakes to run turbines are also problematic. Duke Energy's control over water releases from Laguna Parón in the Cordillera Blanca produced a conflict that boiled over in 2008 and is still not resolved. Cruz de Mayo campesino community members blocked access to the lake, claiming that Duke's releases to generate electricity were incompatible with the needs of irrigators with long-standing rights to use lake water. EPS Chavín, the municipal corporation drawing drinking water from the lake for the small city of Caraz, and urban dwellers worried about threats to their domestic water supply also joined the protest. In 2010, government intervention appeared to lead to an equitable resolution, but Duke backed out (Carey, French, and O'Brien, 2012; Lynch, 2012) and it was not clear that the water rights of campesino communities and urban water users would be respected in the long run.

Urbanization in the Sierra began to accelerate in the mid-twentieth century and has continued to do so, thanks to the growth of urban settlements around mining areas, concentration of services in urban centers, and deliberate government policy, particularly during the administration of President Alan Garcia, to depopulate Sierra

hamlets and concentrate population in urban centers. Highland cities like Cajamarca, Huaraz, Juliaca, Ayacucho, and Cusco grew faster than Lima in 2014–15. Solid waste disposal and sewage treatment plants are rare in the Sierra, and periurban settlements lack access to piped water. Urban and industrial wastes add to pollution, and water capture for urban use reduces its availability for irrigation.

Lastly, the effects of climate change on Andean waterscapes have become increasingly obvious. As climate scientists assess the implications of glacial retreat for hydrology and seasonal variation in water supply, international policy makers, seeking to justify their political and economic positions, question whether Andean farmers are capable of managing water in a warming world (World Bank, 2010, p. 137). People living near the snowline understand what climate change means for water availability. They also worry about outburst flooding and huaycos. Stensrud (2016, pp. 26–27) concludes that most of the farmers in the Colca Valley with whom she worked experience climate change as “seasonal instability, belated rains, longer drought periods, melting glaciers, decreasing water supply, sudden frosts that come at unexpected times, and more extreme shifts in temperature.” Farmers in the upper Rio Santa valley note the unsettling effects of changes in rainfall patterns and sudden frost; lament the disappearance of lizards, toads and little birds; and worry about the loss of calves and sheep and declining milk production (Rasmussen, 2015).

WATER REFORM

This panorama of deepening water stress formed the backdrop for a major water reform initiative promoted by the InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB) and the World Bank. IWRM principles informed the banks’ recommendations. They defined water as an economic good to be rationally allocated and encouraged the participation of civil society in water governance. The banks called for a national body to coordinate water uses and devolution of responsibility for water management to the watershed level. Government experts would produce information, monitor and enforce the law, and inculcate a new water culture in Peruvian citizens. Consciousness duly raised, citizens would participate in water conservation efforts.

With these guidelines in mind, the Peruvian government overhauled the 1969 water law, created a national water authority (ANA), and three hierarchies of water governance institutions. The 2009 law that emerged from a long, divisive process satisfied no one, but defined the roles of new institutions, set water use rules and priorities, and codified water rights. It called for IWRM, decentralization, and user participation in watershed governance. The law defines water as state property to be managed “for all Peruvians” and affirmed national respect for traditional *campesino* (peasant) and indigenous community water rights, but it created an institutional playing field that is anything but level. The law gives the state the power to distribute water according to what it sees as its highest and best use, overriding other legal commitments (Guevara Gil, 2014). It prioritizes efficiency over equity and sustainability, and large commercial water users over small cultivators and communities in the Sierra (Roa García, 2014).

Peru’s new water bureaucracy reflects the contradictions inherent in the water law. ANA engineers see their mission as building infrastructure and promoting sophisticated irrigation technologies. The agency lacks agronomists who can assess

the implications of cropping patterns for water supply. Nor does it have the capacity to address water quality, public health, or social and environmental concerns. With its engineering expertise, ANA can amass large quantities of hydrologic data, but lacks staff who can address the sierra's water stresses in their full complexity. The banks invested heavily in the devolution of responsibility for water governance to pilot watershed councils whose members would in theory represent the full gamut of water users. The idea was that councils would be able to balance the competing needs of Sierra water users. Unfortunately, most Sierra water users—especially rural communities, small-scale irrigation organizations, and ordinary urban and periurban families settlements—would be underrepresented. The reform raised national consciousness about water, but continued to favor economic development over protection of highland waterscapes even as climate change poses ever graver threats.

NOW WHAT?

Peru's water reform institutions are unlikely to offer strong protections for Andean waterscapes and the communities that depend upon them for their sustenance and their livelihoods. The ability of people in the highlands to adapt to climate change is threatened by neoliberal water governance practices (Stensrud, 2016), Andean community members often feel abandoned by the state and see outmigration as their only option (Rasmussen, 2015). However, counterbalancing this despair is a growing appreciation of Andean waterscapes and a willingness to challenge the technocratic water bureaucracy and its beneficiaries. New coalitions of water users, peasant associations, and NGOs are focusing international attention on the water stresses that Andean people are facing and resisting changes that threaten Andean ecosystems and communities.

NGOs are bringing national and international attention to threats to Andean waterscapes and experimenting with practical programs to control pollution and to preserve waterscapes. Peru's Instituto del Bien Común (IBC) has mapped mineral and hydrocarbon concessions, highlighting the extent of threats to Peru's watersheds. Although it works mainly in the Amazon basin, the IBC supports research on the location of water sources, their importance for local communities, and the threats to their existence. The Mountain Institute, an international NGO, plays a more direct role in the Andes. Its programs, supported by USAID and international foundations, include efforts to monitor glacial lakes to prevent outburst floods, help communities to adapt to water scarcity with traditional technologies, and document the value of Piura's *páramo* as a water source for the region. These larger NGOs are connected to international donors and academics as well as to local NGOs, municipal authorities, and community organizations.

While at times NGOs foster cooptation rather than resistance, by recognizing the role of highland communities in constructing and maintaining waterscapes and expanding the repertoire of responses to water crises, these organizations heighten highland residents' awareness of their role in protecting Peruvian waterscapes. They are increasingly demanding recognition and payment for these services. And, as Colca Valley farmers push back against the Majes project, they are using IWRM precepts: they argue that because water diverted by the project has economic value they deserve compensation from the enterprises that benefited from diversion. They hope to use compensation to fund tree planting, microdam construction on the puna, and bofedal protection (Stensrud, 2016).

Despite a long history of fragmentation, collective action to control the worst impacts of development on Andean waterscapes is becoming more common. Urban-rural alliances lent visibility to the conflicts in Caraz, Conococha, and Cajamarca. In the early 2000s, CONACAMI, an anti-mining federation took up the cause of watershed protection as part of its broader agenda (Bebbington, Bebbington, and Bury, 2010). Waterscape protection is also a key component of indigenous rights agendas throughout the Americas. These movement organizations and alliances face an uphill struggle, but it would be a mistake to underrate their capacity to make positive change. In October 2016, the Peruvian government dropped plans to build 20 new dams on the upper Rio Marañón destined to export energy to Brazil. The decision may reflect President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski's reluctance to do business with ethically compromised Brazilian construction companies, but it may also be a response to grassroots efforts to protect Andean waterscapes.

To conclude, the history and political economy of water management in highland Peru shows how, over time, political and economic actors at the local, state, and international levels have reshaped both the rules governing water access and use and the physical nature of hydrosocial systems that have long had enormous symbolic and cultural as well as economic value for the peoples of the Andes. This process of reshaping has given rise not only to endemic conflict, but to a new appreciation of this fundamental resource.

NOTES

- 1 For a first-hand narrative of the water war see Olivera (2004).
- 2 In San Marcos (Cajamarca), for example, irrigators referred to the *surco* or furrow as a measure of land, a measure of time allocated to diverting water into a field, and an ideal measure of yield (Lynch, 1988).
- 3 When Fernando Belaunde Terry ran for president in 1980, his party, Acción Popular, made small investments in cement and pipes for small-scale irrigation and potable water projects. These works were easily identified by concrete markers engraved with the words “El pueblo lo hizo” or “Made by the people.”
- 4 Many workers, male and female, who contributed their labor to small- and medium-scale irrigation projects associated with Plan MERIS received payment in the form of oil and flour or soy meal supplied by the Alliance for Progress and the World Food Program. Workers whom I interviewed in the 1980s in Puno and in Cajamarca complained that the foods supplied had no value for the household and that the cash they brought on the open market was in no way commensurate with the labor they were putting in on the projects. Their complaints revealed a certain disconnect from the projects themselves. Those who contributed their labor did not necessarily stand to benefit from the completed project as promoters had anticipated.
- 5 Bebbington, Bebbington, and Bury, 2010 note that mining may well affect over half of Peru's registered campesino communities and that large proportions of the watersheds that supply irrigation and drinking water are covered by mining concessions.

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PART II

ENGAGING WITH ANCESTRAL
LEGACIES





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CHAPTER FOUR

RADICAL CHANGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANDEAN CIVILIZATION



William H. Isbell

INTRODUCTION

Archaeologists have tended to characterize the Central Andean past in terms of cultural continuity. Social units described in the sixteenth century for the Incas, such as *ayllu* and *pachaca*, are inferred for Early Intermediate Period societies, and even among Late Preceramic cultures. Verticality, described by John Murra (1972) for the sixteenth century, is a favorite model for explaining earlier culture. Curation of elite mummies, another distinctively Inca practice, is inferred for many prehistoric Andean cultures. Dual organization is also an assumed feature of the past. Although Andeanists caution against creating a timeless past in this manner, the warning is not always heeded (e.g. McIntyre, 1975).

While it does seem that the Andean past is better understood using Andean models from ethnohistory and ethnography rather than analogies with other civilizations, Central Andean prehistory provokes me to interrogate the archaeological record for profound and surprising changes. It is not my intention to deny long-term continuities or structural patterns that define a distinctly Andean world, but rather to explore an alternative vision of the past. In this chapter I examine transformational changes that took place in Andean prehistory as a critique of popular inferences of cultural continuity. I am persuaded to undertake this discussion first, because it definitely fits with an Andean approach to the past, in which culture change was not gradual, but in *Pachacutec*—cataclysmic, earth-shaking events. Second, my studies of the Middle Horizon convince me that Wari represents such a magnitude of transformational change that it should be described as cataclysmic. The Middle Horizon witnessed the invention of empire and take-over of much of the Central Andes by a rustic bunch of mountain folk. Demographic and political dominance of the great north coast valleys was wrested away in favor of the South-Central Highlands. The largest city of the era was built in the modest Ayacucho Valley. New architectural forms characterized urban built environments, and an entirely new religion was founded and spread across the Central Andes.

This chapter reviews culture development from the inception of sedentism through the Middle Horizon, when imperial urban society was firmly established. Employing the popular chronology of horizons, intermediate periods, and preceramic phases, I

hope to determine whether the evolution of Andean civilization was a process shaped by continuity in cultural practices, or whether the trajectory was characterized by chaotic processes and transformational changes that broke with old patterns. Does the archaeological record support an understanding of the Central Andean past in terms of transformational changes that could not have been predicted? And to the degree that *Pachacutec* were important in prehistory, how much cultural continuity should be assumed in the Andean past?

MIDDLE PRECERAMIC (CAL. ~ 7000–3000 BC)¹ AND MORTUARY PRACTICES

Central Andean cultural changes were less dramatic than those for many post-Pleistocene Americans, but the Middle Preceramic Period witnessed a major innovation in the social production of landscape. Employing elaborate mortuary practices, community memory and identity were fostered along the arid Andean coast. Cemeteries were established together with remarkably extravagant rituals involving complex curation of human bodies, extending the act of burial over a prolonged time. Great effort invested in processing cadavers expressed new ideas about community, social practice, and the supernatural.

The most impressive of the Middle Preceramic mortuary cultures is the Chinchorro of the Atacama Desert, north coastal Chile, and southern Peru. Chinchorro fishermen produced the world's first mummies, fabricating “highly artistic mortuary icons” (Arriaza et al., 2008, p. 51) from about 7000 through at least 3000 cal. BP.² These mummies are found in small cemeteries and include adults of both sexes as well as children, suggesting nuclear family graveyards. However, as the age and sex of the bodies belie this, the nature of these mortuary groupings remains unexplained.

Reminiscent of the Chinchorro burials in the prolonged and elaborate treatment of bodies, as well as curious spatial groupings, is interment in the Late Las Vegas culture from coastal Ecuador. Burials are known from a single cemetery that dates between 8250 and 6600 cal. BP (Stothert, 1985). Treatment includes primary burial of some individuals, secondary bundle burials of others who were de-fleshed, and numerous disarticulated skeletons in large ossuaries. Many Middle Preceramic cemeteries have been studied along the Peruvian coast, so the innovative mortuary strategies were apparently widespread.

LATE PRECERAMIC (CAL. ~ 3000–1800 BC) AND MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE

The Late Preceramic period witnessed an almost complete abandonment of rituals involving mortuary treatment. Instead, an immensely costlier strategy was adopted for producing new social landscapes—monumental architecture. Many platform mounds built during the Late Preceramic are truly enormous, provoking some investigators to conclude that these societies should be identified as state polities, with citizens residing in cities (Shady Solis et al., 2009; Shady Solis et al., 2014). As stages for community rituals, mounds, plazas, and stairways formalized memory in vast new public landscapes that linked individuals to entire settlement systems and

cosmologies (Benfer, 2012). Although one area seems to have excelled in monumental building during these centuries, Peru's north-central coast (Huaaura, Supe, Pativilca, and Fortaleza Valleys), only slightly less impressive mound centers are found as far south as the Chillón Valley, and north to the Zaña Valley.

The most intensively investigated of the monumental Late Preceramic sites is Caral in the Supe Valley. In one popular developmental interpretation, Caral gives its name to the entire monument-building culture of the Late Preceramic Period, the Caral Civilization. Furthermore, Ruth Shady Solis argues that Caral was the urban capital of the first Andean state, administering labor drawn from neighboring settlements and valleys to establish the foundations of Andean civilization. By her reckoning it is from this Supe Valley origin center that complex society, or civilization, spread throughout western South America.

Did Central Andean social complexity originate with Caral, following a trajectory of cultural continuity from this single origin center? Certainly, Caral is one of the largest and most impressive of the Late Preceramic central coastal monumental centers, but it is not the oldest. That honor belongs to Sechín Bajo in the Casma Valley (Fuchs et al., 2009), which predates Caral by half a millennium. Indeed, if an origin center for Andean civilization lies in the Late Preceramic of the central coast, there is more to be learned about the beginnings of the cultural processes.

Some Late Preceramic monumental centers contain residential areas, including perishable little houses constituting hamlets or small villages, usually located at the edge of seemingly ceremonial and public areas with platform mounds. Larger houses also appear, adjacent to individual pyramid mounds, suggesting their identification as special residences. However, total residential areas are diminutive, not exceeding five percent of the site at Caral. At Caballote, where domestic architecture constitutes the largest proportion of any of the Late Preceramic centers' surfaces, residential areas constitute perhaps twenty percent (Haas, Creamer, and Ruiz, 2006, p. 755). The Late Preceramic building focus was not urban housing, but rather ritual platforms, stairways, and sunken courts. There is little evidence for social inequality or construction episodes of significant magnitude. Classifying these sites as cities and states seems to deflect the most interesting questions about their organization and developmental processes. These early centers probably represent social formations ethnographically unknown to anthropology, and thus deserving of descriptive interrogation.

Significantly, it is not Caral and Peru, but rather Coastal Ecuador that reveals an early settlement size hierarchy best associated with centralization of authority and power, although certainly not state organization, and definitely modest by comparison with Caral's monumentality. Valdivia was a precocious ceramic-producing culture contemporary with Peru's Late Preceramic societies that appeared by 3500 BC, and lasted until about 1500 BC. By the middle of this span its people lived in several villages with large numbers of inhabitants, earth mounds, and ritual functions best understood as central settlements surrounded by small villages. At Real Alto burials of privileged individuals were placed in a special charnel house at the center of the community that was flanked by a plaza surrounded by a ring of residences (Zeidler, 2008). Apparently, Ecuador did not abandon mortuary practices in favor of monumental construction, as in Peru, establishing its own steps toward social complexity.

INITIAL PERIOD (CAL. ~ 1800–800 BC) RISE OF ARTS, CRAFTS, AND ESOTERIC ICONOGRAPHY

The Initial Period is distinguished by the appearance of pottery. Monumental architecture continued as a principal strategy for constructing place and promoting political and religious integration throughout the Central Andes. Indeed, construction of great platform mounds would continue for two and a half millennia after the first pottery appeared, before more or less breaking down during the Middle Horizon. During the Initial Period mortuary activities also reappeared as a social strategy, although not universally. However, transformational innovation is evident in portable arts and crafts, especially pottery, loomed textiles, stone sculpture, and, before the end of the period, gold metallurgy. These new artifacts became powerful media for imagery of the real and the supernatural, as well as vehicles for enhanced sensibilities of style.

Inequality made an incipient appearance during Peru's Initial Period. It is documented by several classic hallmarks of power, although these diagnostics are distributed among different sites and cultures, rendering their meaning puzzling. Although a pair of carved stone thrones, each representing a jaguar, came from Pacopampa, a monumental center in the north highlands, no other thrones have been reported. A building complex in the Casma Valley is considered an early palace (Pozorsky and Pozorsky, 1987). And gold crowns occur in burials from the Kuntur Wasi temple (Onuki, Kato, and Inokuchi, 1995) as well as Late Cupisnique interments (Elera, 1998). Stylistically distinctive Tembladera ceramic figurines from the Initial Period and/or the Early Horizon Jequetepeque Valley represent elaborately dressed adults—men and women equally. The males play flutes. Burtenshaw-Zumstein (2013, pp. 141–145) infers that the figures' fancy garments mark them as leaders, but musical instruments associate the men with ceremony, not rule. If the figures represent “early elites or their idealized ancestors,” as proposed, a political landscape of embryonic inequality was developing during the Initial Period/Early Horizon in which clothing, musical instruments, pottery, figurines, and other craft objects played essential roles.

During the Initial Period ceramics became important to habitual ways of doing things, from food preparation to ritualized etiquette. Rituals and ranks were depicted in clay figurines. Pottery became a medium for style and meanings, providing a domain for symbolic expression of social relations and boundaries. Decorations, typically incised or modeled on dark-colored bottles, came more and more to materialize mythical concepts specific to particular emerging polities.

Loom weaving spread during the Initial Period, greatly increasing the availability of textiles. New techniques of production facilitated increased loads of meaning. Virtuoso weavings reveal the presence of master artists and technicians who must have been at least part-time specialists, if not full-time artists. As with pottery, textiles were a superior medium for expressing structures and relationships that materialized particular communities of practice within ancient political landscapes.

Stone sculpture became popular, along with wood carving and shell work. Gold metallurgy in some late Cupisnique burials includes not only crowns, but other markers of high rank, such as large ear spools, bracelets, pectorals, and highly decorated artifacts associated with shamanic hallucination.

Monumental architecture continued to provide one of the most important materializations of Initial Period political and community identity. Many old Late

Preceramic monuments were abandoned, and much of the Supe Valley seems to have been depopulated during the Initial Period. Conversely, the central coastal valleys of Rimac, Lurín, Chillón, and Chancay saw construction of numerous new pyramids of the Manchay tradition, characterized by distinctive “U”-shaped ground plans. Ceremonial spaces included immense plazas and controlled access to smaller spaces, often distinguished by polychrome relief sculptures on their facades (Burger and Salazar, 2008).

During the millennium-long Initial Period, intensive irrigation agriculture more or less replaced foraging in forested river valleys. Irrigation farming begun in the Late Preceramic spread as canal systems expanded. These successes depended on well-organized communal labor in a dialectical relationship with social and political organization, and probably also with temple building and religion. An increased number of domesticated plants combined with domesticated animals provided larger and more secure food supplies, although health may have declined somewhat as a result of increased dependence on crops. Fishing continued to supply many needs, and foraging for ritual and medicinal plants continued.

The location of many new peer polity temple complexes, including “U”-shaped pyramids of the central coast Manchay tradition, rounded corner pyramids of the Casma Valley, and platform mounds like Huaca de los Reyes of the Cupisnique tradition in the Moche Valley identify strategic centers of small, internally integrated hydraulic communities. Individual valleys generally hosted several of these peer polities. It is unlikely that any exceeded 10,000 families, probably cultivating land watered by a single grand canal system. On the north coast, where valleys were largest and water abundant, Late Cupisnique polities may have been the largest, developing social and ritual inequality, but apparently without officials wielding strong secular power. Significantly, burials as well as residential buildings around Manchay temple centers document only modest status difference (Burger, 2014).

New sculptural arts of the Initial Period reveal warfare and glorification of victory. Cerro Sechín, one of several temple pyramids with rounded corners in the Casma Valley, was faced with relief-carved stone slabs representing armed men marching around the building towards the front entrance. Victors walk over the remains of dismembered corpses—severed heads, arms, legs, and bodies. Some of the victims are cut in half, spilling intestines from wounds. Consensus is that this grizzly parade represents the triumphal march of war victors over the vanquished. While scarcity of fortified locations implies that warfare was not common, this iconography shows that conflicts occurred, perhaps even territorial warfare.

EARLY HORIZON (CAL. ~ 800 BC – 100 AD) AND SHARED ICONOGRAPHY/IDEOLOGY

The Early Horizon witnessed the formation and dispersal of a new and more or less unified religious iconography that spread across much of the Central Andean political landscape. Although synthesized from Initial Period antecedents, the new religion radiates from a capital at Chavín de Huántar in the north highlands, where the most elaborate version of the ideology was represented in beautifully carved stone sculptures. These carvings, which were models for weavings and other portable art

distributed throughout much of Peru during the Early Horizon, were placed in and around a spectacular stone building with plazas, stairways, enclosed passageways, and interior galleries arranged on several floor levels. The site and its surrounding heartland are replete with ceramics in diverse styles, rich offerings of exotic luxury goods, and musical instruments that attest to impressive rituals. Many Initial Period temple complexes throughout Peru were abandoned during the Early Horizon and new ones were built, often in new locations and in accord with new plans. Great numbers of arts and craft objects circulated, many distinguished by elaborate Chavín imagery. While this cultural transformation may have been less profound than earlier changes, it represents a qualitative increase in centralization, shared identity, and number of people communicating with the same religious imagery.

The Chavín de Huántar temple building employed a modified version of the Manchay culture “U”-shaped temple, as well as the circular sunken court with axial stairway. Furthermore, it represents a curious mix of large patios, small courts, and highly restricted interior galleries for ritual activities, perhaps associated with what John Rick (2005) terms “advanced shamanism.” Ceremonies for small numbers of participants appears to have intensified.

Representational stone sculpture is elaborate at Chavín de Huántar, while clay sculptures on temple facades, as well as decorated textiles, are found at coastal centers. Diagnostic iconography also appears on ceramics; stone, bone and wood sculptures; metal objects; and anthropomorphic mythical figures that look almost like puppets. Unfortunately, meanings of the imagery as well as that of the temple complexes remain poorly understood. Nonetheless, for the first time in the Andean past, a shared religious tradition greatly exceeded the reach of a single polity, the peer polities of an entire valley, or even neighboring groups of valleys. While stylistic preferences in most arts of the Initial Period affirmed local or small regional identities, Early Horizon craft conventions declared participation in a common and widespread religious phenomenon.

Some archaeologists downplay the sudden influence of the Early Horizon—or Chavín—Period, arguing that Chavín de Huántar is best understood as a highly influential ceremonial center beginning in the Initial Period and continuing through the Early Horizon (Kembel and Rick, 2004). As one of numerous centers its late prominence does not represent a transformational innovation, but perhaps something of a revitalization movement after centuries of Initial Period religious and social developments. This interpretation seems to fit well with recent dates from Chavín de Huántar, demonstrating occupation from the Initial Period into the Early Horizon. On the other hand, wave-like diffusion of Chavín religious ideology with its iconographic materializations fits well with what is documented for Peru’s south coast.

As Chavín conventions became prominent elsewhere in ancient Peru, and the Paracas style emerged in several south coast valleys, new Chavín imagery overwhelmed everything in both south coastal pottery and textile decorations (Figure 4.1). This regional variant of Chavín endured through at least the first seven or eight phases of the Paracas sequence (Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson, 1964), becoming immensely prominent among the offerings associated with Cavernas mummies excavated by Julio Tello (1959) on the Paracas Peninsula. Also famous are startlingly pure Chavín images painted on cotton textiles that may have been imported to the south coast from more authentic Chavín centers to the north (Wallace, 1991).

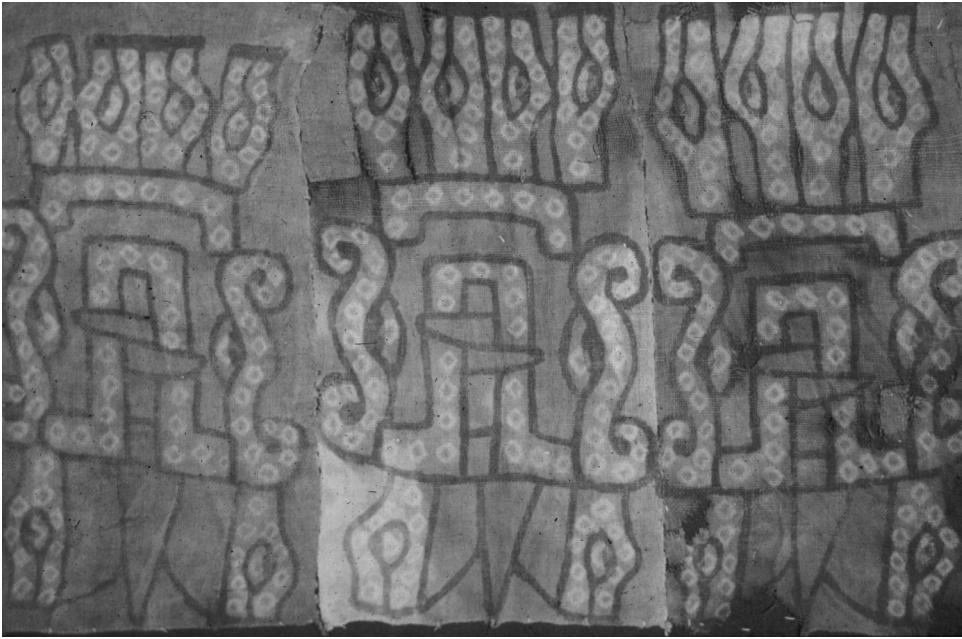


Figure 4.1 Early Horizon Chavín textile from Carhua, Paracas Peninsula

Photo credit: William H. Isbell.

Whatever the explanation, abrupt intrusion of Chavín religious imagery is indisputable on the south coast about 800 BC. This is consistent with the model of Chavín as a cultural innovation exploding onto the international religious scene at the beginning of the Early Horizon.

While the Chavín style spread throughout much of Peru, the southern Andes—south highlands Peru, southwestern Bolivia, and northern Chile—was unaffected. A different style of stone sculpture, the Yaya-Mama Religious Tradition (Chávez, 2004), spread widely through the region centered on Lake Titicaca. Monoliths and sometimes natural stones are carved with relief figures that include male and female anthropomorphs, a rayed head, quadrupeds with long tails curving over the back, arrows with zig-zag shafts, crosses, and other designs resembling petroglyphs. These stelae are associated with rectangular, semi-subterranean courts that have a single stairway, usually offset from the center of one side. The monoliths appear to have been placed in the center of the stone-walled court or at the edges of the stairway, but very few sculptures have been found in original contexts. As Chavín fell into crisis around 200 BC in the north, Yaya-Mama culture experienced an apogee in the south. The Pucara culture, centered in the northern Titicaca Basin, constructed a great terraced platform nestled against a giant outcrop of reddish stone shaped like a reclining puma. On top of the platform are three semi-subterranean courts. Pucara's rich representational art includes spectacular textiles (Bergh, 2012) and one of its monoliths was removed to Tiahuanaco, probably as a victory trophy affirming Tiahuanaco's ascendancy toward the end of the Early Intermediate Period.

EARLY INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (CAL. ~ 100 – 650 AD) AND THE POWER OF RITUAL PERFORMANCE

The Early Intermediate Period (EIP) is recognized for superb arts and crafts, impressive monumental architecture, spectacular religious and mortuary rituals, efficient irrigation agriculture, large populations, dense residential centers, and unmistakable regional styles (Isbell, 2014). Current scholars question long-accepted convictions that these distinctive regional styles represent unified political formations. In particular, the distinctive Moche art of Peru's north coast was long imagined to be indicative of a community that shared a common history, identity, and political unity, ruled by elites at the Huacas de Moche archaeological complex. Scholars now argue that local and regional autonomy were more common than formerly imagined (Castillo and Uceda, 2008), with many polities no larger than the lands irrigated by one great canal complex. But, of course, political relations were fluid and warfare was a popular theme in Moche as well as other EIP art styles. Still, some archaeologists consider the EIP, and particularly Moche culture, to have developed the first Andean state polity and urban settlement system.

In many ways the EIP stands out for what many view as its perfection of earlier practices. But, perhaps most significantly, this period witnessed unparalleled intensification of ritual performances involving high-relief drama that culminated in bloody human sacrifice (Benson and Cook, 2001). Some of these rituals were apparently public while others were private. However, these performances were ubiquitous themes in religious art, including imagery on portable ceramics, body-part trophies, textile decorations, and ornamented architectural facades, at least among the better-known Early Intermediate cultures such as the Moche. While human sacrifice was not new it was promoted to a new extreme in the service of spectacle surrounding identity politics. If we are to recognize a single great transformation in the EIP, it was the Cecil B. DeMille-grandiosity of religious ritual, particular to different polities and regions, centered on performances at monumental ceremonial complexes. Immense stages, elaborately costumed characters, extravagant paraphernalia, loud music, and bloody executions were employed.

The EIP followed the decline of Chavín and its unifying religious art. Initially an era of cultural convulsions, the first century or two were characterized by the appearance of new ceramic styles, still poorly understood, such as Salinar, Huaraz, Miramar, and Topará. These distinctive pottery styles broke entirely with Chavín standards, raising questions about political and cultural continuity, as well as demographic persistence in many Andean regions. Only in the southern Andean Yaya-Mama/Pucará is continuity apparent, in an area that never experienced Chavín.

Toward the middle of the EIP many Central Andean districts developed new and distinctive regional styles in pottery, weaving, architecture, metallurgy, and other crafts thought to represent robust social formations, local to regional in size. The north coast Moche, discussed above, achieved the maximum in social inequality during this period with an astonishing elitism in artistic representation, costume, and mortuary practice (Alva and Donnan, 1993). However, the degree of centralized hierarchy varied from time to time, and region to region, with the highland cultures the least stratified of the EIP proto-states. Prominent coastal styles besides the Moche include Lima and Nasca, while highland styles are Cajamarca, Recuay, Huarpa, Qotakalli, and the Altiplano tradition of Yaya-Mama/Pucará.

Human violence was salient in the EIP. Scenes of combat and of armed elites dominate several representational traditions, and human sacrifice was an iconic obsession (Donnan, 1976; Proulx, 2006). In the southern Nasca and contemporary Pucará cultures, ceramic decorations show warriors engaged in head hunting, often carrying an axe or knife, and one or more “trophy heads.”³ Furthermore, Nasca trophy heads have also been excavated by archaeologists. In the ceramic art of north coast Moche, warriors engage in combat, while temple facades show defeated captives being led to death by sacrifice (Figure 4.2). Remains of executed captives, including de-fleshed skeletons, have been found archaeologically. Such violence must have produced extremely emotional rituals, suggesting that the EIP was characterized by powerful social boundaries and dehumanization of the other. Many archaeologists consider competitive, conquest warfare an important feature of this period.

The central coast of Peru is poorly known during this time, in spite of enormous pyramid complexes. Many were severely damaged or erased by the spread of the modern city of Lima. However, it seems likely that this Lima region (Rimac, Lurín, and Chillón Valleys) was divided into multiple polities, each with a capital settlement at a key pyramid complex, such as Maranga, Pachacamac, Cajamarquilla, and Pucllana.

The south coast EIP is named the Nasca Culture, after the valley where it is best known. Nasca-style pottery, diagnostic of the culture, developed directly from Late Paracas pottery as the Early Horizon gave way to the EIP. However, toward the end of the Early Horizon, a foreign cultural influence known as Topará overcame



Figure 4.2 Early Intermediate Period façade of the Huaca de la Luna Pyramid, Moche, showing prelude to human sacrifice

Photo credit: William H. Isbell.

Paracas (Wallace, 1986; Peters, 1991). Its most obvious expression is the Paracas Necropolis assortment of mythical images embroidered on textiles shrouding tightly flexed mummies. These mythical figures were completely new to the Paracas culture, radically transforming arts, crafts, and regional religion.

Topará /Paracas mythical images went on to become the iconography of EIP Nasca (also spelled as Nazca) Culture. Early in this period, however, a great translocation took place. The supernatural beings virtually disappeared from textiles, to become the dominant themes painted on polychrome pottery (Silverman and Proulx, 2002). Furthermore, it seems that the fine pottery, which totals about half of the ceramics broken at residential settlements, was produced in one part of the Nazca Valley, near the ceremonial center of Cahuachi. This obviously represents another transformation in ways of doing (painted pots require far less labor than embroidered textiles, involve different technologies and craftspeople, and participate differently in rituals) while retaining the pantheon of supernaturals. South coast people experienced another transformational culture change.

Radical cultural transformations continued in EIP Nasca culture. At the beginning of the EIP a great ceremonial center was created at Cahuachi, in the lower Nazca Valley. Some scholars believe that it effected the unification of the Nazca and Ica Valleys into a single ritual community, perhaps achieving political amalgamation as well. Temple complexes and offerings, including women's costumes, leave no doubt that Cahuachi was the prime ceremonial location, although before the middle of this period construction ceased and only mortuary ritual survived at Cahuachi. Across the river on the rocky desert poorly understood Nasca rituals involved immense geoglyphs—long lines, huge trapezoids, and representational figures, but these activities also declined by the end of the Early Intermediate.

Highland EIP cultures are less known than coastal contemporaries. Recuay boasts impressive architecture, thought to represent communal residences, as well as mortuary buildings and stone sculptures probably representing ancestors (Lau, 2016). Charming polychrome ceramics are sometimes modeled to represent well-dressed male elites, occasionally surrounded by women, one of whom may present an infant to the male. Highly graded rank appears to be represented by these ceramic sculptures and elite mortuary contexts, although they are modest compared with Moche, and even some Nasca, tombs.

Yaya-Mama and Pucará are the best known other highland Early Intermediate styles, although Tiahuanaco (also spelled as Tiwanaku) rose to prominence late in this period. Decorated pottery depicts the Pucará warrior-man with feline attributes that imply mythical status. A reciprocal icon is a female image associated with camelids and wool. The male is always shown in profile, while the female appears only full frontally (Chávez, 2004). This binary is reminiscent of dual structure reported widely for Andean cultures, also recalling the front-face Staff God, and the Profile Attendant, two images formalized in the Triadic Pantheon of the Middle Horizon. Unfortunately, most other highland styles lack representational decoration.

WARI, THE MIDDLE HORIZON (~ AD 650 – 1000) AND TRANSFORMATIONAL CULTURE CHANGE

Wari altered the experience of the Andean world. The new capital city and its provincial administrative organization reshaped quotidian life, from built environments to mortuary preferences to agropastoral practices (Isbell, 2014). Great temple pyramids

virtually disappeared. Wari improved techniques for irrigation and terracing in geographically complex highland environments, combining sophisticated engineering with successful management of community labor and other resources (Isbell and Young-Sanchez, 2013). With growing populations and strong, centralized state government, south-central highlanders overshadowed the great north coast Valleys to become Peru's demographic and political center. A new imperial political formation embraced a vastly larger area, deploying innovative approaches to social memory and group solidarity. Most prominent was a new religion that sanctioned social performances affirming shared identities across ethnic and political boundaries. While not the immediate heir of Wari, the Inca Empire was made possible because of new demographic patterns, organizational structures, and the sense of international participation promoted by Wari.

As the Middle Horizon began, Wari undertook a religious innovation expressed in a collection of decorative themes on Chakipampa and Ocros ceramics. However, this novel Nasca-Wari hybridization was soon eclipsed in favor of a more radical and newly minted pantheon. Depicted especially in Conchopata- and Viñaque-style pottery (Isbell and Knobloch, 2009), the new set of anthropomorphic deities constitutes a Triadic Pantheon—Staff God, Profile Attendant(s), and Rayed Head—that was aggressively spread throughout the Andes.

Surprisingly, the Triadic Pantheon was shared with the other great imperial capital of the Middle Horizon, Tiahuanaco, located 700 km to the south on the Bolivian shore of Lake Titicaca. The two cities differed enormously in other respects, however. Their built environments contrast sharply as did mortuary practices. Conversely, the two capitals did work in synchrony to accomplish some important undertakings. Wari and Tiahuanaco inserted colonists into the coastal Moquegua Valley at about the same moment and apparently without conflict.

It is now clear that the ancient roots of the Triadic Pantheon lie in the Titicaca-region Yaya-Mama and Pucará tradition of religious art, but synthesis of the three deities into a unified pantheon took place more or less simultaneously at Huari⁴ and Tiahuanaco. This could not have transpired without the combined agency of powerful, multi-ethnic religious leaders acting in concert (Isbell and Knobloch, 2009), perhaps through an ecumenical council at the pilgrimage capital of Tiahuanaco that brought religious leaders together from many cultural centers. Huari was among the most influential. The priests hammered out a consensus in iconography, ideology, and liturgy that was carried back to respective homelands. In the Wari sphere, the new religion was quickly disseminated by zealots of conquest and subjugation, who surely legitimized their political incursions in the name of the Triadic Pantheon. However, it is unlikely that a universal authority held power over the new religion, for differences in imagery—signaling deviation in ideology—began to appear almost immediately. One set of giant Wari vessels from a provincial center in the Nazca Valley depicts two Staff Gods, one male and the other female. Similarly, at Pachacamac on Peru's central coast, a fourth figure joined the Pantheon, a winged feline (Menzel, 1964, 1968).

Huari was the capital city of the Empire (Schreiber, 2012), as confirmed by its centrality, large size, and great monumental remains. It was the largest city in Peru during the Middle Horizon, with an urban core of immense, rough-stone buildings embracing some 2 km², and a greater area of artifact scatter surrounding it (Figure 4.3). Population estimates range from 25,000 to 40,000 inhabitants. It is the only city with megalithic tombs so impressive that they must be classified as royal (Isbell, 2004; Cabrera and

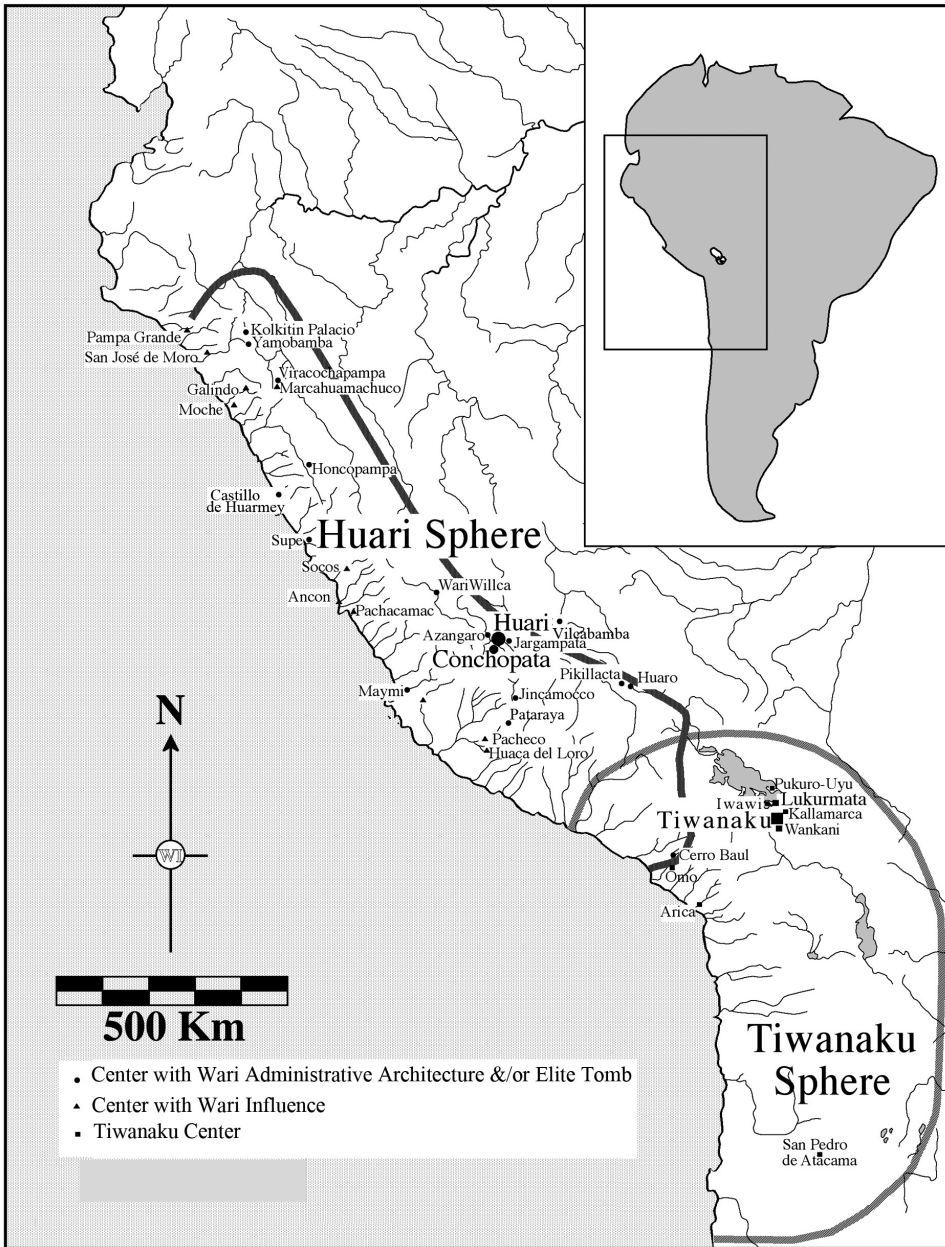


Figure 4.3 Middle Horizon map, locating Middle Horizon sites with Wari administrative architecture or elite Wari tombs

Map credit: William H. Isbell.

Ochatoma, 2016). Furthermore, Huari was the focus from which innovation in ceramics, weaving, metallurgy, and other arts emanated, materializing Wari identity across the Empire.

Huari achieved its imperial goals by establishing distant colonies and erecting administrative capitals in newly incorporated regions. This is documented by orthogonal cellular compounds throughout the Peruvian highlands. Understood as administrative centers, the list includes Pikillacta, Wari Willka, Viracochapampa, Jincamocco, Pataraya, Honcopampa, and Cerro Baul, along with less investigated centers. Simultaneously, long irrigation canals were constructed, lands were terraced, and agropastoralism was intensified. Tiahuanaco fails to compare with Wari as a centralized, imperial state.

Astonishing megalithic chamber tombs discovered at Huari confirm a cadre of supreme officials in the capital, even though the bodies and goods of these elites were looted long ago (Cabrera and Ochatoma, 2016). Rich graves discovered far from the capital city, often replete with spectacular Wari-style artifacts, document Wari provincial organization. Best understood as crypts for subordinate provincial officials, a tomb containing impressive Wari regalia at Espiritu Pampa, near Inca Vilcabamba (Fonseca Santa Cruz, 2011) shows that the Empire exercised control in this high jungle region. Another spectacular Wari burial complex was discovered at the Castillo de Huarmey (Giersz and Makowski, 2016), on the border of the Moche region, and looters located impressive Wari tombs at several locations south of Cusco.

While new religion, agropastoral intensification, orthogonal cellular architecture, a great city, and spectacular tombs provide some measure of the changes wrought by Wari, another key social performance involved ritual affirmation of international identity. Wari perfected feasting as a tool for building unity while promoting inequality. Brewing, drinking *chicha* beer, and ritual smashing of elaborate serving vessels is abundantly documented for Wari and the Middle Horizon. Consistent with later social displays among the Incas was ritualized drinking of toasts. Inca rules of etiquette dictated that a woman fill two tall flagons that were then taken up by the male host. One flagon was offered to a male guest. Receiving the vessel, the pair drank down the liquid in a mutual toast that involved verbal pledges and symbolic gestures affirming relative status. This practice was widespread and probably ancient during Inca times, ideally employing a diagnostic vessel known as a *kero* or *aquilla*, of carved wood or gold, respectively. Furthermore, these distinctive flagons often came in pairs of more or less identical size and appearance.

The Wari archaeological record includes numerous tall drinking flagons remarkably similar to Inca *keros* and *aquillas*, as well as fermenting equipment and breweries. The power of drinking ritual is best shown by analogy with Inca practice (Cummins, 2002, pp.16–20). When Pizarro and his soldiers reached Cajamarca on November 15, 1532, the governor sent several horsemen, led by Hernando de Soto, to parley with the Inca in his camp across the valley. When they arrived, de Soto was offered a flagon of *chicha* to drink with the Inca, but fearing that it might contain poison he emptied it onto the ground. Nothing equivalent to *keros* and their international ritual is apparent in Central Andean archaeology prior to Wari and the Middle Horizon. However, they were popular throughout the Tiahuanaco sphere, perhaps spreading in conjunction with the Triadic Pantheon in both regions.

CONCLUSION

In the Central Andes, the Middle Horizon represents a radical change in the long-term patterns of Andean cultural development. But radical culture changes seem to

have characterized much of the Andean past. They do not correspond precisely with the popular chronological scheme, but they were frequent enough to be described in terms of the “horizons and intermediate periods” framework.

It is not my intention to deny significant cultural continuity through the Andean past. Indeed, some continuities are firmly documented by material remains—the multicultural drinking ritual, for example. But Andean archaeologists should also be cognizant of numerous and transformational changes that took place in Andean prehistory. Adoption of monumental architecture—pyramids and plazas—as the principle strategy for promoting social solidarity in the Late Preceramic, while virtually rejecting mortuary rituals that had carried the burden of social memory for millennia, represents but one of the greatest revolutions. Apparently the change was successful, for monumental platforms and plazas continued as premier social strategies on the coast, and in some of the highland cultures, until Wari and the Middle Horizon. While Wari did construct great buildings, they eschewed temple pyramids and grand plazas in favor of high-walled enclosures, one of many radical changes instigated during the Middle Horizon.

Technological change in the EIP provided craft goods that assumed much of the burden for new and more complex social communication, although monumental pyramids and plazas continued to provide the most visible and costly social statements. Perhaps demands on social communication bifurcated at this time, with community solidarity continuing to be affirmed by monumental architecture, while inequality, power, and social difference were proclaimed by new crafts and luxury goods. In many respects the EIP represents a continuation of the Early Horizon, with its emphasis on monumental buildings and impressive new luxury goods. However, new iconographic conformity in ceramics, stone sculpture, textile decoration, and other media implies that the new arts were participating more effectively in promoting interethnic solidarity than during the Early Horizon. Perhaps Andean society experienced disruption with the affirmation of difference and disparity in the social body, requiring the intensification of inter-community solidarity in portable arts of the era.

The EIP undertook an explosion in visual arts and other media for social communication, too numerous and complex to analyze in this short chapter. What does stand out is the intensity of ritual experiences choreographed for group members. In at least some cultures, such as Moche, Nasca, and probably Pucará, monumental stages, brilliant costumes, music, and other experiences, perhaps including hallucinogenic trance, were all harnessed to produce desired social meanings. Perhaps centripetal forces of growing inequality required especially vivid experiences of community to counteract discord, leading to an emphasis on human sacrifice.

While trophy heads continued to be taken and displayed in Wari, a new cultural transformation reformed Middle Horizon ritual to stress feasting, drinking toasts, and promotion of international identity. Solidarity rather than inequality seem to have been a focus. Other changes include the virtual disappearance of massive pyramids and great plazas. Agropastoral innovations altered the demographic landscape as imperial urban civilization recreated the political landscape. Political authority resided in a new urban capital built in the highlands. The Andean world was shaken to its foundations yet again, warning archaeologists that cultural continuity may never have been more important in the Andean past than were transformational culture changes.

NOTES

- ¹ Dates with “cal” mean that they have been calibrated to correct for difference between radiocarbon years and calendar years.
- ² My usage of both BP and BC is consistent with current writings about Peruvian prehistory, which are themselves inconsistent. BP (“Before present,” i.e., before January 1, 1950) is designated generally for the earliest periods of Peruvian prehistory. BC dates (“Before Christ,” sometimes rendered as BCE or “Before Common Era,” or dates previous to the “Common Era” year CE 1, or AD 1, “Anno Domini,” which is tied to the Christ’s supposed birthdate, “year of the lord”) are commonly assigned to later times, especially for periods with pottery.
- ³ Andean archaeologists have long debated use of the term “trophy head,” suggesting, for example, that “Severed Head” would involve fewer assumptions about the nature and meaning of decapitated human remains. However, the traditional term remains popular and has been employed here as the examples discussed do seem to represent organized violence rather than, for example, curation of the heads of revered ancestors.
- ⁴ Huari is an alternative spelling for Wari. I have suggested that to promote precision in our discussion of the Middle Horizon, Andeanists use Wari for the broad spread culture, as well as objects and materials from outside the immediate hinterlands of the capital city. Huari, on the other hand is used for the capital city, and its immediate hinterlands, along with the goods, materials, and architecture of the urban capital.

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CHAPTER FIVE

PREHISPANIC SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, INTEGRATION, AND HIERARCHY



Izumi Shimada

INTRODUCTION

Social reconstruction in the prehispanic Andes has been challenging to archaeologists as they struggle to overcome limited and biased material evidence. This chapter discusses our current understanding of (1) major social organizational forms and their origins, (2) the contexts and means that led to social integration and hierarchy, and (3) their diverse forms of expression in the prehispanic Andes. Given the breadth and complexity of the subject at hand and uneven information quality and quantity, discussion is selective and emphasizes societies that have been most well studied (Figure 5.1)

KEY SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS AND THEIR ORIGINS

Social organization is conceived here as the ordering of social relations resulting from either shared kinship (e.g., clans, lineages, tribes) or voluntary associations, such as guilds and clubs. In the prehispanic Andes, the pervasive forms of social organization are those of the first type, known historically as *ayllus* and moieties. To identify them and their ranking in prehispanic contexts, archaeologists commonly rely on associated qualitative differences that may be expressed in clothing, hair style, artificial cranial deformation, residential architecture, and/or mortuary treatment (including grave goods).

Ayllu

Much has been written on the diverse facets and history of ayllu (e.g., Murra, 1961; Isbell, 1997; Weismantel, 2006). In his critical treatise on the ayllu, Isbell (1997, p. 2) characterizes it as the “virtually universal unit of Andean social organization, above the level of the household” at the time of the Spanish conquest. Ayllu and other basic Andean institutions, practices, and beliefs are often and tacitly presumed to have been pervasive, persistent and unchanged, tenuous thinking that I call “Andean uniformitarianism” (Shimada and Vega-Centeno, 2011, pp. 582–583). In fact, the ayllu changed over time along with its broader, dynamic contexts.

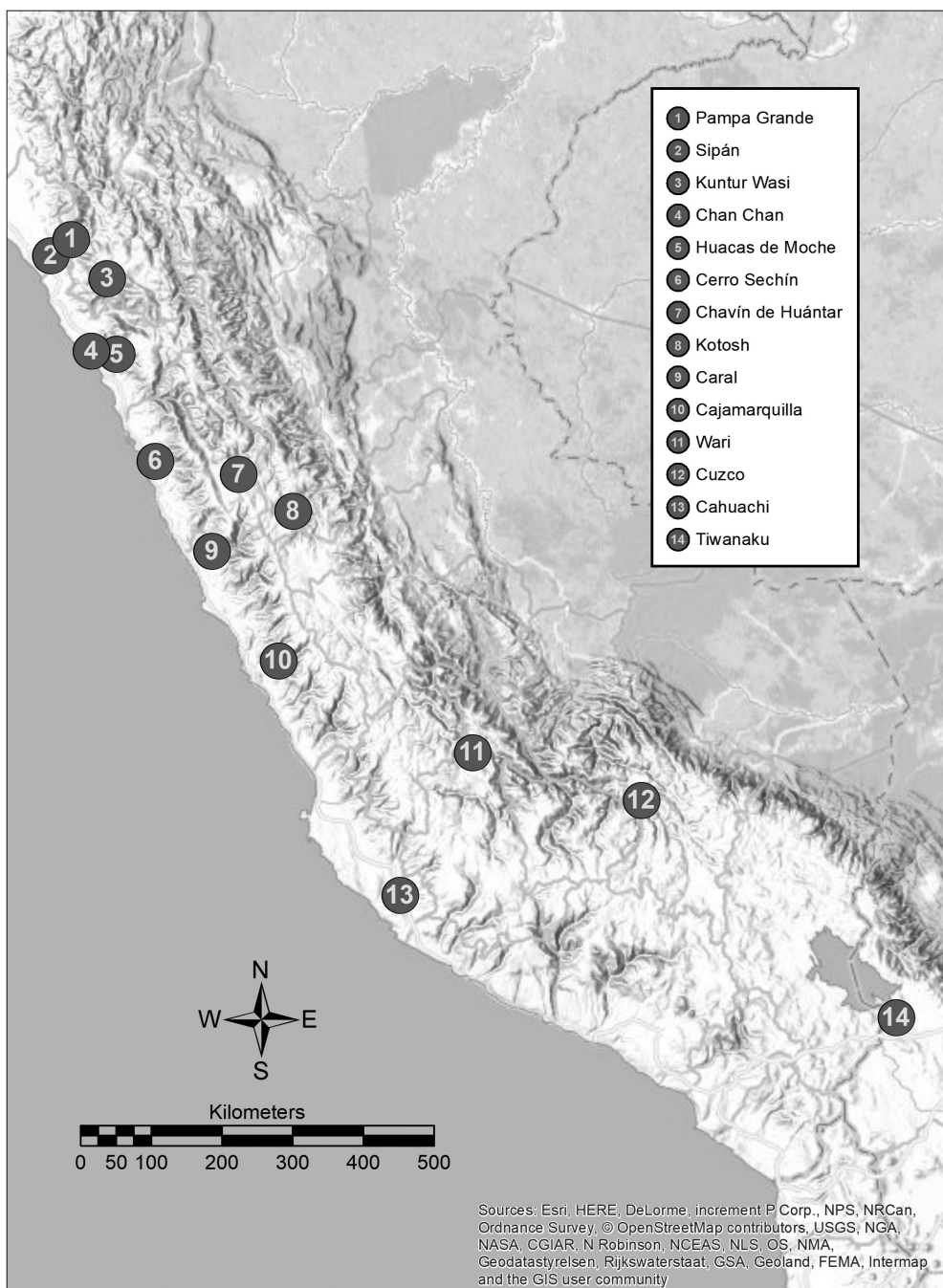


Figure 5.1 Locations of archaeological sites specified in the text

Prepared by K. Sharp. Map © OpenStreetMap contributors.

For our discussion of the prehispanic Andean ayllu, we rely primarily on ethnohistorical information regarding highland societies on the eve of the Spanish conquest and define it as a corporate descent group that shared founding ancestors, resources—most importantly, agricultural and grazing lands—and labor and ritual obligations (cf. Isbell, 1997, pp. 98–99). Ayllu membership appears to have varied considerably from hundreds to tens of thousands of members. A small ayllu might have corresponded to a single lineage, while a large one might have corresponded to a moiety (see below) or a set of ayllus that were internally ranked.

The major features of the ayllu, such as shared common descent, served to create internal cohesion. Additional integrative features were the principles of reciprocity and economic self-sufficiency. The latter was best seen in land usage. Collective land of the ayllu was often discontinuous as people adapted to different Andean ecological/productive zones and natural resources. By having their members simultaneously exploit as many of these zones and resources as possible on a rotational basis, ayllu maximized the productive potential of land and achieved economic self-sufficiency. Along the mountain slopes, the resulting pattern of land usage and ownership by highland-based ayllu (and larger and more complex *señoríos*, ethnic polities or chiefdoms) has been characterized as an “archipelago model of verticality” (Murra, 1985). Similar “scattered territoriality” (Ramírez, 1985) or “horizontality” (Shimada, 1982) has been found on the coast where resources and production zones were generally horizontally distributed.

Discontinuous territoriality implies that an ayllu was *not* commensurate with a residential community as its members could live in multiple, dispersed settlements, while a given settlement could be inhabited by members of diverse ayllu (Ramírez, 1996, p.19), thereby creating the impression of a complex mosaicked, ethnic landscape. Andean settlement patterns should be assessed with the preceding caveat in mind.

The principle of reciprocity underwrites all shared communal obligations in the Andes (e.g., Murra, 1980). Traditionally, able-bodied household heads owed their share of various labor services for collective benefit of the entire ayllu—for example, annual cleaning of canals that irrigate communal lands and cultivating plots allocated to the *curaca* (local hereditary leader) and *huaca* (sacred entity and/or place)—in return for that household’s share of communal resources (e.g., a parcel of land large enough to sustain the household). It was the responsibility of the *curaca* to properly apportion resources and oversee the performance of communal labor services by ayllu members and provide them with food, drink, and tools for these tasks. The apparent largesse of *curacas*, however, was made possible by their share of communal resources that were cared for, or acquired by, the labor services of ayllu members; in other words, the well-being and cohesion of all ayllu members were built upon symmetrical reciprocity in which two parties (including the *curaca*–ayllu pairing) gave and received what they perceived to be just and comparable.

The *curacas* not only managed intra-communal affairs, but were also the critical nexus with the outside world, whether another ayllu or an intrusive state such as the Inca Empire. It was, in fact, their internal and external managerial-mediation roles and the respect they commanded that led them to play a key role in the Inca state strategy of indirect administration (e.g., D’Altroy and Earle, 1985; Ramírez, 1996). For the management of vast and diverse subject populations and state economy, the Inca adopted the widely known and respected reciprocity principle (primarily labor services) and

the ayllu model of tripartition of resources—curaca, ayllu, and its huaca (e.g., Murra, 1980). The Inca chief thus assumed the role of curaca writ large and cultivated a benevolent, generous image, but his relationship with subjects was far from being symmetrical.

The built-in, self-sustaining and regulating features would seem to explain the pervasiveness and persistence of the ayllu. But how and when its ancestral form originated is a matter of debate. One hypothesis is that it originated perhaps as early as 4000 BCE as a cooperative response on the part of a group of related households to efficiently attain economic self-sufficiency from the complex and dispersed resources-production zones of the Andes (Moseley, 1992). This hypothesis is as yet unproven.

An alternative hypothesis argues that the ayllu formation represents a collective response by local kin groups to assure equal sharing of resources and labor obligations in response to the threat of the emerging state around 200 CE to imposed class-based obligations and resource control (Isbell, 1997, pp. 124–135). The timing, factors, and process of the ayllu's genesis will be revisited later.

Moiety

The term moiety refers to a form of dual social organization based on unilateral descent, either patri- or matrilineal, that was widely distributed in the Andes at the time of Spanish conquest. Using detailed ethnohistorical descriptions from the north coast of Peru, Urton (2015, p. 159) summarizes the ayllu-moiety relationship in Inca times:

Local moieties, which were usually hierarchically related to each other, were commonly referred to . . . as hanan (Q. “upper”; the one that takes precedence”) and hurin (Q. “lower; the subordinate group”). In most local socio-political organizations, the moieties were made up of multiple ayllus, each headed by a curaca.

In the Inca capital city of Cuzco, the two moieties were each composed of ten Inca royal ayllus called *panacas* and ten non-royal ayllus (Zuidema, 1989). Curacas of the ranked ayllus that composed each moiety were correspondingly ranked (Figure 5.2); the curaca of the most powerful ayllu as well as the hanan moiety held the position of the head curaca (*cacique principal* in Spanish). The head of the hurin moiety held the position of second-ranked curaca (*segunda persona* in Spanish).

The asymmetrical, nested character of this moiety system meant that, in theory, the head curaca had access to all the able-bodied men and resources of *both* moieties, if he so chose, while the second-ranked curaca was limited to those of the hurin, thus creating a potentially significant power and wealth imbalance. While this potential existed in principle, it seems that it was rarely exploited. Despite the asymmetry, these leaders conceived of their moieties as essential complements to form a whole. Reflecting this widely held part-whole vision, the north coast moieties are called in colonial Spanish *parcialidades* (settlement units).

The broader significance of the moiety system and the structural principles and power relationships that it embodied for prehispanic Andean societies are succinctly summarized by Netherly (1990, pp. 463–464):

Hierarchical Level

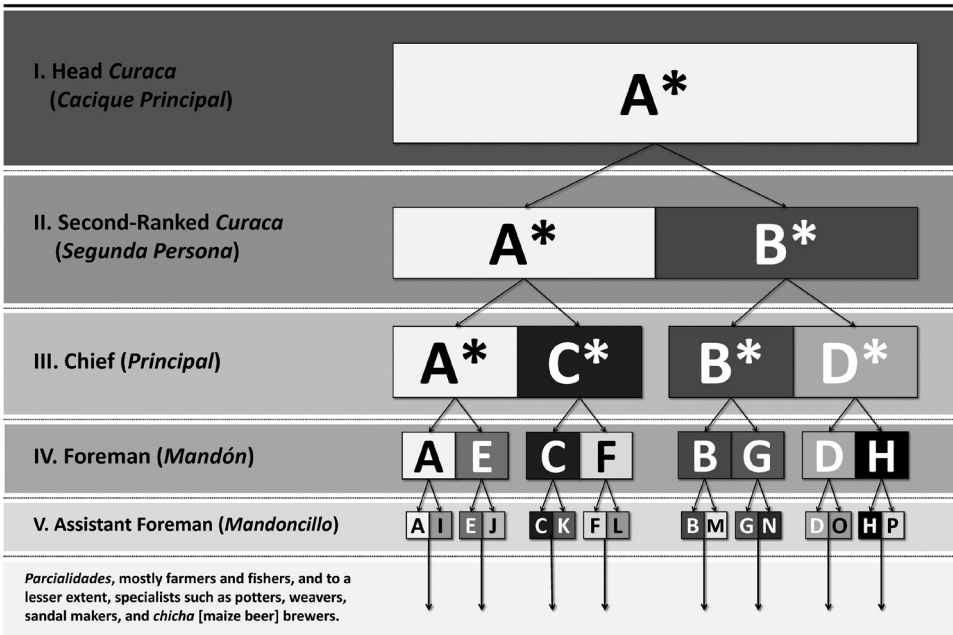


Figure 5.2 Diagram representation of late prehispanic moiety system on the north coast of Peru

Based on Figure 1 from Netherly, 1990, p.464. (Prepared by K. Sharp).

no ruler, not even the paramount, governed alone. While one ruler may have been paramount or highest ranking at any given level, his rule was limited by the fact that only a part of the lower levels of the polity were subject to him directly. The required presence of the lords of the other principal sections of the polity *acted as a check on unilateral action* by a paramount lord . . . This conciliar political organization is one of the salient features of Andean government. Its efficiency for the mobilization of human energy is the reason for the success of the Andean states. The structure of this organization also explains how it was possible for large expansive states to grow so quickly and why lower-level political units did not disappear when the large empires [such as those of the Chimú and the Inka] broke apart [emphasis added].

Beyond the above ethnohistorically-based discussion, what can we say about the prehispanic moiety organization? How old and how widespread was it? Moseley's (1992, p. 82) inference that "the continent's first colonists were moiety kin groups" is a tenuous case of Andean uniformitarianism. The genesis of the moiety remains elusive largely because, as with the case of the ayllu, archaeology still has not established an adequate operational definition. Thus, most archaeologists have opted to

speak of the principle of duality or generic “dual social organization” rather than specifically of moieties (Moore, 1995, p.168). This generalized approach has its own problems, as seen below.

For example, it has been suggested that the famous, low-relief clay sculpture of crossed hands inside the Late Preceramic temple at Kotosh (ca. 2500–1500 BCE; Izumi and Terada, 1972) as well as the co-existence of twin temple chambers of different sizes expressed the principle of social duality (Burger, 1992, pp. 48). But the same crossed hands have also been interpreted as an expression of male–female duality (Izumi, 1971, p. 68). The art of the later Chavín (centered in the north highlands of Peru, 1300–500 BCE; e.g., Rick, 2013a, 2013b) and Yaya-Mama religious traditions (southern Titicaca basin, 900–200 BCE; e.g., Chávez, 2004) and the later, north coastal Mochica are replete with depictions of different dualities. Lathrap (1985) argued that the widespread U-shaped configuration of Andean ceremonial centers embodied the duality in society and the broader cosmos; that the parallel wings of the U represented the opposing but complementary forces within society and the cosmos with the central architecture at the base of the U symbolizing their synthesis. This view, however, does not explain variability in the configuration of contemporaneous ceremonial centers in the same and different regions, for example, U-shaped versus the rectangular, multi-level platforms of the Cupisnique Religious Tradition on the north coast (Onuki, 2013).

One alternative approach to the archaeological identification of moiety organization is to focus on paired architecture or settlements that are mirror opposites in location but differ in size (e.g., Anders, 1986). There are indeed many sites with paired but differently sized mounds (e.g., Late Preceramic Caral on the north-central coast, and the Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna at Huacas de Moche, the capital of the Southern Moche polity; Figure 5.1) or residential sectors (e.g., those of the fourteenth-fifteenth century Lupaqa Kingdom) in various regions of the Andes. But, were these “paired” structures in fact contemporaneous in construction and use? Could they have represented different functions and use (religious versus administrative)? What about the many sites with more than two mounds? What do these mounds represent?

A study that makes a strong case for the existence of a moiety-like social organization in late Andean prehistory concerns the ten gigantic royal compounds called *Ciudadelas* at Chan Chan, the capital of the Chimú kingdom (ca. 1150–1470 CE) on the north coast of Peru. This study (Cavallaro, 1991) distinguishes itself from all other archaeological studies for being *independent* of ethnohistorical information on dual social organization. It revealed the spatial (east versus west) and temporal pairings (contemporaneous construction) of the *Ciudadelas*. It also supported the ethnohistorically-based hypothesis (Zuidema, 1990, p.501) that paired *Ciudadelas* functioned simultaneously and were comparable to the hanan–hurin bipartition of Inca Cuzco.

Overall, varied lines of evidence presented above, although individually not robust, taken together suggest that moiety-like dual social organizations were widespread in the prehispanic Andes. But we need to persist in our efforts to improve our ability to recognize how such institutions manifest themselves in different archaeological contexts (see Moore, 1995). Also, as in the case of ayllus, we cannot assume that these organizations remained unchanged and homogeneous in time and space.

Not surprisingly, archaeologists working in different areas and time periods have realized that horizontally differentiated (segmented) forms of social and political integration fit data better than the externally (Old World) derived models that emphasize vertical hierarchy, monolithic, and centralized power and that uncritically treated apparently homogeneous art styles as a reliable reflection of political and social unity. New models (see e.g., Quilter and Castillo, 2010, Sharp, 2018, and Shimada, 2014 for the Mochica, Gallinazo and Sicán on the north coast, respectively; Janusek, 2008 and Stanish, 2013 for the Tiwanaku in the Bolivian high plateau), in contrast, recognize not only the complexity and mosaic-character of Andean social and ethnic landscapes, but also the importance of kinship and religious connections and collaborative actions among different social and/or ethnic groups.

SOCIAL HIERARCHY

Social hierarchy is a common aspect of social organization that results from the vertically differentiated ranking of the members of a given group or groups based on diverse variables such as age, gender, ethnicity, kinship affinity, and membership size. Ranking commonly manifests in differential access to valued goods (including food), services and even space and time.

The emergence of social hierarchy: contexts and means

How and when did social hierarchy emerge in the Andes? The ayllu serves as a good point of departure, as its ideal of economic self-sufficiency had, at the same time, a built-in potential for the development of social inequality. The productive potential of ayllu land could vary significantly depending upon its location. Access to highly productive and/or varied zones could spur a population increase of the privileged ayllu and/or competition from ayllus that sought access to the same zones. The rank and status of a curaca apparently “correlated with the size of the population he controlled” and his “ability to facilitate the functioning of the economic system was perhaps the most important reinforcement of his rank and position” (Ramírez, 1996, pp. 15, 24). Expansion of agricultural terraces or the range of accessible zones by means of llama caravans and/or by skillful negotiation, for example, could result in significantly greater complexity in resource management for the curaca than the traditional reciprocity-based setup. Elite formation in traditional Andean society could have had its roots in the curacas who structurally transformed reciprocity into redistribution to set up “an economic system in which resources flow disproportionately to an elite group” (Stanish, 1992, pp. 24–25). Similarly, expanding the size and the duration of residency in dispersed production/resource zones could have led to the discontent of communal members there, or even efforts to splinter off from their home ayllu. In these scenarios, again, the curaca’s prestige, authority, and negotiation skills would have been critical and afforded them opportunities to gain heightened prestige and power.

While curacas of señoríos enjoyed their recognized power over the life and death of their subjects, birthright was not a guarantee that they would be able to hold on to their positions, as the curaca could be deposed by subjects by means of rebellion or murder if they failed to live up to expectations (Ramírez, 1996, pp. 24–26). Thus, “[t]he *curaca* redistributed goods . . . as much for his own self-interest as for the

material benefit of his people” (Ramírez, 1996, p. 25). The curaca’s administrative authority and prestige as well as his negotiation skills and the extent of their/his chiefly generosity and hospitality went hand-in-hand with the rank and power of the ayllu.

Various opinions exist regarding approximately when, how, and in what context social hierarchy might have emerged in the Andes. Critical in this regard are inter-related developments during the third millennium BCE (i.e., Late Preceramic Period) when new agricultural lifestyles spread throughout much of the Andes and intensive maritime exploitation was firmly established on the Peruvian coast. The precocious development and remarkable concentration of corporate monumental ceremonial centers in contiguous river valleys in the north-central coast of Peru, such as the planned site of Caral, are instructive.

Caral covers 66 hectares and consists of 32 “public structures” and numerous small residential groups, including six multi-level platform mounds surrounding a large central plaza for open-air public gathering (Shady, 2008, p. 34). Although its multi-phase construction spanned several centuries, the impressive principal mound measured 171 m × 150 m × 30 m (Shady, 2008, pp. 37–38), which suggests the presence of leadership capable of mobilizing considerable human and material resources over generations. Being centrally located between the Pacific shore with year-round access to abundant and diverse marine resources, and inland/highlands with productive agricultural lands and complementary natural resources, Caral’s leaders likely emerged to manage intra- and interregional economic networks (Shady, 2000; Haas and Creamer, 2006). The abundant resources would have heightened the prestige and power of both the leaders and their ceremonial center. Additionally, given the multiplicity of ceremonial centers in this region, it is probable that these centers competed with each other by hosting feasts and/or theatrical ritual performances to attract new members.

Shady (2008, p. 36) argues that the asymmetrical, binary (north–south) distribution of larger and smaller mounds at Caral reflects the presence of a moiety system like that known at Inca-Cuzco over 4000 years later. Other material indicators of inferred social inequality and personal wealth, however—e.g., sumptuary personal ornaments fashioned out of native gold and copper—emerged ca. 3500–4000 years ago in highland and coast villages that were transitioning to sedentary agrarian lifestyles (e.g., Burger and Gordon, 1998; Aldenderfer et al., 2008). At Cerro Sechín (ca. 2000–1800 BCE) in the Casma valley on the north coast, low-relief carvings celebrated a bloody combat victory. The primary individual is shown with headgear and possibly a weapon alongside decapitated heads and other dismembered body parts. Although the scale and frequency of such armed conflicts remain to be established, the investment of time and effort to publicly record and display the event strongly suggests self-glorification or legitimization of authority, power, and status of the depicted individuals. In general, material and symbolic representations of institutionalized social hierarchy, including accumulation of sumptuary personal items, emerged by the beginning of the second millennium BCE in various regions of the Andes.

During the successive Initial Period (1800–900 BCE) and Early Horizon (900–200 BCE), the presence of social hierarchy became even more clear and spread throughout the Andes along with evidence of increasing population. Religious cults and traditions (e.g., the Cupisnique, the Yaya-Mama, and the Chavín) that were largely regional in spatial coverage and overlapping in time inspired not only construction of numerous

ceremonial centers, small and large, throughout the Andes, but also social integration and inequality.

Such centers were a key feature of Andean civilization and precocious compared to the late emergence of cities (e.g., Cajamarquilla, Pampa Grande, Tiwanaku, Wari) in the seventh century CE. Andean cities are widely regarded as having co-emerged with political states and were relatively short-lived and rare (e.g., Schaedel, 1978; Shimada, 1994; Makowski, 2008). Along with precursors of the historical ayllu and moiety, the ceremonial center was one of the most pervasive, durable, and venerable social institutions of the Andes, from at least ca. 3500–3000 BCE. Ritual performance at such centers, whether inclusive (public) or exclusive (private), served to communicate, reinforce, and/or legitimize religious beliefs and related social conventions. Those who partook in it affirmed their commitment to the group identity and its guiding ideas and to putting religious, social, or political dogmas and conventions into practice (e.g., Turner, 1969, 1975; Kertzer, 1988).

At the same time, as exemplified by findings at the major centers of Chavín de Huántar (north highlands; 1300–500 BCE; Rick, 2013a,b) and Cahuachi (50 BCE–400 CE; south coast; Orefici, 2016), periodic and occasional ritual offerings from near and far and feasts stimulated interregional interaction and sumptuary craft production. Offerings and imported items included agricultural produce, fine textiles and ceramics, llamas, humans, as well as hallucinogenic materials (e.g., San Pedro cactus [*Echinopsis pachanoi*]), *Strombus galeatus* (large tropical marine snails) for making trumpets, and cinnabar (mercuric sulfide; pigment).

The economic and religious interaction most likely stimulated social changes. Regarding the Chavín cult, Burger (1992, p. 203) argued that “regional leaders encouraged the adoption of the cult to circumvent long-standing social conventions that affirm the egalitarian principles embedded in local ideologies, and thus opening opportunities to appropriate exotic and sumptuary goods for personal gains.” Indeed, we see a notable increase in the accumulation of sumptuary personal items in tombs of this period. For example, four shaft tombs at the major ceremonial center of Kuntur Wasi (dated to ca. 1000–800 BCE) in the upper Jequetepeque Valley (Onuki, 1995) revealed three mature adult males and one female with *Strombus* (conch) trumpets, gold crowns, and chest ornaments, most of which were decorated with embossed representations of supernatural beings with feline features. These gold objects are skillfully and elaborately decorated in the style and iconography unique to the site. These qualities not only highlight the power of visual symbolism, but also raise the possibility that the high artistry, as well as the ability to have the objects made or to acquire them, may well have accorded prestige, power, and legitimacy to the elites (e.g., Helms 1993; Vaughn, 2006). The notable surge in technical virtuosity and artistic originality and sophistication expressed through various media during this and the succeeding period (when the Mochica and the Nasca flourished on the coast) suggests that excellence in craftsmanship may have served as an important avenue for social mobility for artisans.

SOCIAL HIERARCHY IN LATE PREHISTORY: FORMS, MEANS, AND MATERIAL EXPRESSIONS

During late prehistory, the forms and means of attaining and expressing social inequality became much more evident and diverse. Below we illustrate some of

these using examples from three successive prominent cultures on the north coast of Peru: Mochica (a.k.a Moche, ca. 200–750/800 CE), Middle Sicán (a.k.a. Classic Lambayeque, 900–1100 CE), and Chimú (ca. 1150–1460 CE).

The Mochica, widely regarded as the primary cultural development of the first millennium CE on the Peruvian coast is known for its naturalistic and narrative art style and sophisticated ceramics and metalworks (e.g., Pillsbury, 2001; Benson, 2012). Perhaps more than any other prehispanic Andean group, they employed portable arts and large public murals and rituals to express social and religious precepts and concepts as well as the social order and roles humans played in the natural and supernatural worlds. For example, a series of realistic Mochica “portrait vessels” (Donnan, 2004) represent the same male elite (with a highly diagnostic scar) at different ages, suggesting that he held a high birthright status. The geographical distribution of such vessels of same individuals has been interpreted as having demarcated the domain under their control (Larco, 2001).

Mortuary contexts became theatrical and perhaps idealized representations of the Mochica social hierarchy that was composed of at least three strata. Widely publicized excavations of sixteen elite burials pertaining to various periods (ca. 350–700 CE; Aimi et al., 2016) in the mausoleum at Sipán in the mid-Lambayeque Valley effectively illuminated the highest echelon of the Northern Mochica hierarchy, as well as the importance of kinship ties. Alva (2001, p. 223) recognized two broad, ranked categories of individuals: the first and upper rank consisting of “ruling lords, priests, [and] military leaders” and the second and lower rank of “assistants to military leaders and priests.” Ranking was inferred based on the quality and quantity of grave contents including the number of sacrificed attendants, and the size and disposition of funerary spaces. The social categories and roles of these individuals were inferred from the composition of different ornaments, weapons, and ritual objects found on or near the remains of the individual (Alva, 2001, pp. 223–224). Burial location was also differentiated by the inferred social roles of individuals.

Overall, the Sipán funerary data suggest a rigid hierarchy of social roles and functions among the Mochica elites that evolved over time from “a dual, balanced religious-military authority represented by the single figure of the Old Lord to a situation . . . [of] separation of roles and functions, evident in . . . the [later] Lord of Sipán and the Priest” (Alva, 2001, p. 243).

The reader should be mindful, however, that the preceding vision pertains only to Mochica elites in the Lambayeque Valley; our understanding of the Mochica masses pales in comparison and burials excavated at the Huacas de Moche site (the presumed capital of the Southern Mochica) did not sort themselves neatly into the Sipán model of social hierarchy in terms of the quality and quantity of precious metal grave goods (Shimada, 1999). The social hierarchy and diagnostic markers of rank at Huacas de Moche may not have been as rigid as at Sipán. Additionally, we know neither the Mochica criteria for choosing which of the many roles an individual may have had to represent in his burial nor the relative ranking system within each social category. With the living in charge of burial, they could even potentially misrepresent the status, wealth and/or role of the deceased as they saw fit (Brown, 1995).

What can be said with greater confidence on the basis of our DNA analysis is that the members of the highest echelon at Sipán were related along maternal lines

(e.g., Shimada et al., 2005). As with the case of later Andean ruling families (e.g., the Middle Sicán and the Incas), the Mochica elites at Sipán appear to have practiced endogamy, perhaps to preserve the purity of their blood line, status, power and/or wealth. At the same time, such social barriers could be circumvented through an arranged marriage with a hereditary elite or by securing the trust of such an individual to attain fictive kin status as documented in the Inca Empire (e.g., Murra, 1961).

The multi-ethnic Middle Sicán culture had a well-defined social hierarchy and segmentary political system inferred to have been composed of six elite lineages (Shimada, 2014, pp. 70–75). With its unprecedented production and use of arsenical bronze and gold alloys, metals became their visible social markers. Figure 5.3 reveals that the distribution of metals in funerary contexts and, more generally, funerary treatment, sorts neatly into four groups. “High elites” enjoyed access to all metals available in Middle Sicán society including high karat gold. The unrivaled *symbolic* importance of gold in the prehispanic Andean world is well documented (e.g., Emmerich, 1965; Lechtman, 1984). While much the same pattern of differential access to metals was seen among Mochica burials, only with the greater availability and use of metals during the Middle Sicán period did metals become pervasive (also durable and portable) status markers (see Figure 5.3).

The above interpretation of metals as social symbols finds independent support in indigenous origin myths on the north and central coasts of Peru (Calancha, 1976 [1638]). One account tells us that kings and lords emerged out of a gold egg, royal and noble women out of a silver egg, and common men and women from a copper egg. Another relates how a pair of stars gave rise to the kings and nobles and a lesser pair gave rise to common people, servants and the poor (Carrera, 1939 [1644]). Both accounts were likely to have been intended to underscore the tremendous and immutable gulf between the privileged elites and the rest of the society (Rowe, 1948, p. 47).

Bioarchaeological studies offer a glimpse of what the above “gulf” meant in real life and the possible ethnic identity of the non-elites in the Middle Sicán society. Sicán elites generally enjoyed a healthier and less physically taxing life style than non-elites, as seen in lower frequencies of degenerative joint disease (Shimada et al., 2004; Klaus et al., 2017). Elites probably ate less starchy carbohydrates (e.g., maize, potatoes, and yuca/manioc) and more terrestrial and marine protein. DNA analyses, mortuary treatments and other lines of evidence also suggest that these non-elites were the descendants of an earlier Mochica population who served under the Sicán elites (Klaus et al., 2017).

Monumental architecture can be a potent, highly visible symbol of power and social inequality. The aforementioned Ciudadelas—ten Chimú royal compounds—on the average occupied 140,000 m² and were enclosed by towering adobe walls ca. 9 m high (Day, 1982). The “gulf” was further reinforced by restricted access via single-file, unidirectional traffic through a narrow entrance and long, narrow interior corridors. The lower elite occupied 35 scaled-down versions of the Ciudadelas with varied dimensions (600 to 109,000 m²; known as Elite Compounds) that likely reflected the diversity of ranks and roles of the lower elite (Klymshyn, 1982). Together with Elite Compounds, much of the some 1 km² of small, irregularly agglutinated residences of the “lower-class” or “proletariats” and their craft workshops surrounded the sequentially built Ciudadelas (Topic, 1982).

	First Tier: High Elite Males	First Tier: High Elite Females	Second Tier: Low Elite Males	Second Tier: Low Elite Females	Third Tier: Commoner	Fourth Tier: low status commoners; captives?
GRAVE GOODS						
High-karat gold alloy objects	♦♦	♦♦				
High-silver-copper alloy objects	♦♦	♦♦				
Low-karat gold (<i>tumbaga</i>) and/or gilt copper objects	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦		
Silver-gilt copper objects		♦♦		♦♦		
Copper-arsenic objects	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	
Cinnabar paint	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦		
Semi-precious stone beads	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦		
Amber	♦♦			♦♦		
Shell beads	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦		
<i>Spondylus princeps</i>	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦		
<i>Conus fergusonii</i>	♦♦	♦♦				
Double-spout bottles	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦		
Single-spout bottles	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	
Utilitarian plain and <i>paleteada</i> pottery			♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦
Ochre paint					♦♦	
BURIAL POSITION						
Seated	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	
Extended			♦♦	♦♦	♦♦	♦♦
Flexed					♦♦	♦♦

Figure 5.3 Middle Sicán social hierarchy based on differentiated access to metals and other mortuary treatments

Prepared by K. Sharp and I. Shimada.

The different sizes and relative placement of the above three major architectural types mirror the Chimú social hierarchy as well as the power relations and roles of their occupants. The binding, interdependent relationship among the nested circles of the ruler–palace complex, subjects/retainers–workshops, and farmers and other suppliers in the hinterland formed the foundation of Chan Chan, Cuzco (Kolata, 1997) and many other cities in both the New and Old Worlds.

CONCLUSION

Illuminating types of prehispanic Andean social organization without the aid of written sources has long challenged archaeologists largely due to their intangible character. Thus, there is a constant temptation to project historically known basic forms such as the ayllu and moiety backward in time as if they had remained unchanged, a potentially problematical approach to the task. However, shared resources, ancestors, and kinship as well as the reciprocity principle likely have stabilized and unified members of ayllus and moieties over time and in many areas.

Nevertheless, along with changes and variability in societal composition and complexity and the mosaic character of the natural environment, these organizations must have evolved and varied as well. In fact, the curaca-ayllu reciprocal partnership (i.e., hereditary leadership of the curaca) and internal ranking of constituent ayllu of moieties contained the seeds for social inequality and the resultant hierarchy. For example, skillful management of human and natural resources and inter-communal relationships could have offered communal leaders opportunities for establishing social inequality as well as a higher ranking for their ayllu. It is not surprising that material indicators of inequality emerged (by 2000 BCE) in the context of the transformational transition to the agrarian life when the effective management of water, labor and land became critical. By the early first millennium BCE, social inequality was firmly established in much of the Andes. During the succeeding periods, we see diversification of expression and means to achieve and reinforce social hierarchy. In this critical trajectory, ceremonial centers with their powerful centripetal attraction and ability to disseminate influential religious precepts, social conventions, and political agenda contributed to the legitimization and establishment of social inequality and centralization of power and wealth.

This chapter also examined the thorny issue of untangling moiety from dualism and dual social organization. The moiety, however, does illuminate the important point that hierarchical and horizontal social differentiation often coexist. An in-depth understanding of moieties and social hierarchy in the prehispanic Andes needs to consider both forms of differentiation and their dynamic interrelationship. Overall, this chapter has illustrated many expressions and effects of, as well as avenues to establishing, social hierarchy, but the subject is highly complex and requires our continuing research efforts.

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CHAPTER SIX

LIFE AND DEATH IN THE CENTRAL ANDES

Human biology, violence, and burial patterns in ancient Peru



Haagen D. Klaus

LIFE IN THE ANCIENT ANDES: BIOARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

There are many anthropological approaches that can reconstruct and understand the peoples of the ancient Andean world. This chapter provides a brief overview of some key findings in the study of Andean burials and human remains to reveal aspects of how Andean peoples lived, what they believed in, the roles of violence in society, and the significance of death. The Andean archaeological record is particularly rich, containing often well-preserved vestiges of a multitude of cultures spanning hunter-gatherer societies to perhaps half a dozen pre-Hispanic states. More than a century of scholarly studies of Andean architecture, iconography, ecology, and settlement patterns has been joined by an emerging emphasis on the study of ancient Andean funerary contexts and their biological and cultural contents.

In the Andes, climates and ecosystems generally aid in preserving organic remains better than most places on Earth. Unsurprisingly, skeletons and mummies have been encountered since the dawn of nineteenth century scientific Andean archaeology. Although early twentieth-century expeditions collected pathological specimens from looted pre-Hispanic cemeteries, research foci involving human remains were slow to develop. Several factors were at play, including the fact that the deeply influential 1940s Virú Valley Project failed to incorporate a physical anthropologist. Since the 1990s, however, bioarchaeological research has proliferated in Peru, more broadly demonstrating the potential of human remains to inform us about the past.

Foundational paleopathological studies of Andean mummies (e.g., Allison, 1984) that pursued the identification of tuberculosis, trauma, cranial deformation, and parasites have provided the groundwork for questions entertained today: the natural history and coevolution of disease, and the myriad effects of economy, social structure, and belief systems on human biology, violence, social inequality, and ancient genetics.

Andean origins

Evolutionary genetics and studies of skeletons converge in the field of biodistance, where the study of variation of ancient DNA and inherited size and shape of crania

or teeth address a range of questions, including the origins of Andean populations. Andean peoples, unsurprisingly, demonstrate clear genetic ties to a common ancestral population in northwest Asia (Shinoda, 2015). Following the initial peopling of the Andes some 14,500 years ago, analyses of dental trait variations reveal that a microevolutionary process occurred around 4,500 years ago involving the demographic and geographic expansion of early agriculturalists. These people and their genes spread from north to south, subsuming or replacing whatever population remnants of their ancestors remained, first through the highlands and then the coast. Changes in food-producing economies thus drove a large-scale demographic transformation of Andean peoples that impacted their genetic structures (Sutter, 2005). It is from these people that all later Andean populations arose and diversified.

Disease and biological stress

Broadly, biological stress is any phenomenon (e.g., disease, malnutrition) that disrupts normal physiology (Figure 6.1). Diseases such as tuberculosis can produce signature patterns of abnormal bone growth or bone destruction, although most infections produce generalized inflammatory changes. Other forms of biological stress can include the skeletal effects of anemia (porotic hyperostosis lesions of the cranium), tooth formation defects (enamel hypoplasias), or altered patterns of growth such as stunting.

The earliest hunter-gatherers (circa 12,500 BCE) and their descendants left a limited archaeological footprint, partly owing to their small population size and high mobility. Thus, comparatively little evidence exists on which to base a bioarchaeological assessment of hunter-gatherer societies in the Andes. We know that peoples from the Zaña valley making the transition from foraging to farming were generally quite healthy, which is expected for small, low-population density societies. Elsewhere, at Paloma (central coast) and Kasapata (Cuzco valley), commitment to sedentary lifestyles came with a price: increased biological stress, disease, and morbidity (Benfer, 1990; Sutter and Cortez, 2007).

By the time complex societies and farming economies arose in the Andes around 2600 BCE, various trends unfolded. Many lines of evidence show a continuously downward trajectory in health due to the effects of population growth, crowding in villages and urban settings, and ecological degradation (Allison, 1984; Ubelaker and Newson, 2002). Around 100 BCE, if not earlier, social stratification created social classes, inequalities of sociopolitical power and what appears to be the bifurcation of biological stress patterns in many societies. Small groups of elite or high-status people were quite healthy and well nourished, while the majority of morbidity and stress was concentrated among non-elite or social commoners (Pechenkina and Delgado, 2006; Klaus et al., 2017).

The Americas were not a disease-free paradise before European contact. Paleopathological and molecular studies definitively establish the presence of tuberculosis in the Andes. Tuberculosis genomes found in pre-Hispanic Peruvian skeletons reveal the origins of Andean tuberculosis around 6,000 years ago (Bos et al., 2014). A pre-existing strain of tuberculosis in seals and sea lions was likely acquired by humans who ate infected meat. Tuberculosis is notably more widespread in late pre-Hispanic Peru, again underscoring links between disease, population size, and social

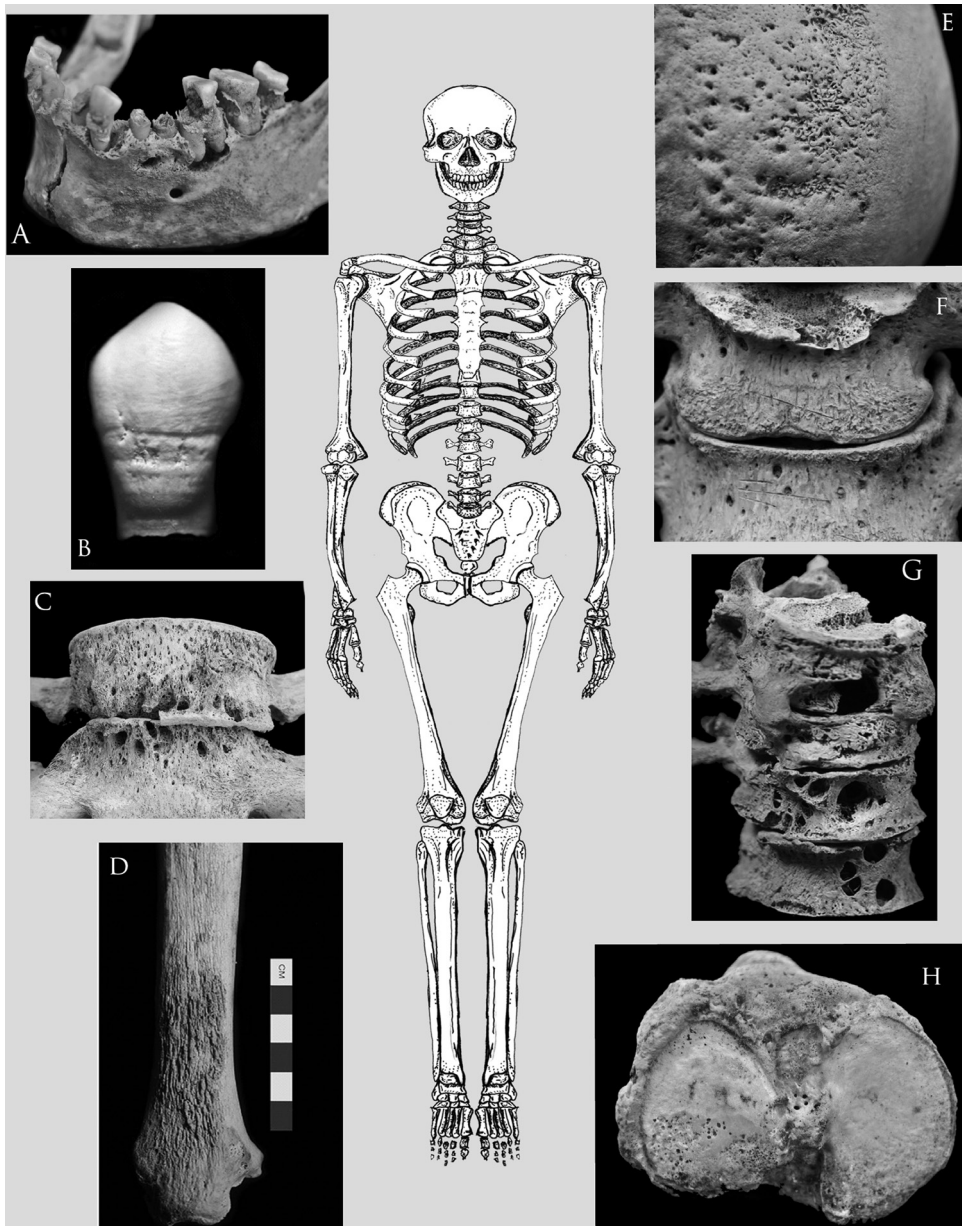


Figure 6.1 The human skeleton contains a wealth of detailed information about how people in the past lived. Many of these lines of evidence are discussed in the text and illustrated here in skeletal remains from the Lambayeque Valley Complex on the north coast of Peru. A) Oral health; B) enamel hypoplasia; C) cancer; D) non-specific forms of skeletal infection (e.g., *Streptococcus/Staphylococcus*); E) chronic anemia; F) intentional acts of violence (sacrifice-related sharp-force trauma); G) specific infectious diseases (tuberculosis), and H) degenerative joint disease or osteoarthritis

Photo and drawing credits: Haagen Klaus.

inequality (Klaus et al., 2010). Also, although some form of treponemal disease was present in the Andes (Klaus and Ortner, 2014), but is unlikely it was a pre-Columbian ancestor to venereal syphilis.

Large-scale patterns of cranial lesions appear to link anemia in the Andes to environmental stressors such as parasitism and infectious disease rather than to dietary anemia (Blom et al., 2005). Other metabolic disorders such as scurvy (vitamin C deficiency) have been identified (Klaus, 2016a). Although various kinds of cancer appear to have been present, including leukemia and prostate cancer (Klaus, 2016b, 2017), a broader understanding of ancient Andean cancer awaits further study.

Economy, diet, and mobility

Bioarchaeology is keenly interested in the reconstruction of ancient diets. Patterns of oral health (dental caries, antemortem tooth loss, abscesses, calculus, and gingival disease) are strongly influenced by foodways (Larsen, 2015). Further, because we are what we eat—at least chemically—the isotopic composition of human bone provides additional windows on paleodiets.

The small skeletal samples of Andean hunter-gatherers appear to demonstrate very good oral health as they consumed a diverse and nutritious variety of terrestrial and marine plants and animals (Verano and Rossen, 2011). Oral diseases increase in lockstep with the intensification of agriculture. Farming economies, which focused on a far less diverse and nutritious range of starchy cultigens, may have been the economic driver underscoring the growth of large-scale societies, but again bore a human cost (e.g., Lambert et al., 2012). The interaction of oral microbes with starchy sugars (the basic ingredient in corn or beans) drove dental decay and related pathological conditions. For many Andeans, poor oral health was the greatest source of physical suffering (Verano, 1997a). In late pre-Hispanic cultures, lower quality, starchy, and cultigen-focused diets appear to have been more widely consumed by low status socioeconomic groups, while elites seem to have the privilege to consume higher quality foods (Verano, 1997b; Klaus et al., 2017).

Strontium and oxygen isotope patterns can reconstruct mobility and migration patterns. In general, comparing isotopic values in tooth enamel (containing the chemical signatures of where someone lived during childhood) to the chemical signature of the region where they were buried traces movement of peoples across geographic space. This approach has helped us better understand the motivations and mechanisms behind the expansion of the Tiwanaku Empire that included migration of people from Tiwanaku core territories to their lower-altitude colonies (Knudson and Price, 2007). This, however, contrasts with the local biogeochemical signatures seen in people from other Tiwanaku colonies (Knudson, 2008) or in settings of later Inka conquest (Toyne et al., 2017), highlighting how Andean states used many strategies of to rule and manage different territories and peoples.

Patterns of osteoarthritis (or degenerative joint disease, DJD), do not reveal specific activities or occupations, but do speak to the intensity of physical activity and long-term, repetitive movements and motions of specific joints. While DJD has been not well studied in the ancient Andes, it is commonly observed in skeletons. On the central coast of Peru, differing DJD patterns in men and women indicate that gendered

divisions of labor likely emerged with increasing social complexity (Pechenkina and Delgado, 2006). On the north coast, elites led lives of privilege and were shielded from long-term patterns of physically stressful work whereas their subjects were not (Klaus et al., 2017).

TREPANATION AND CRANIAL DEFORMATION

Many ancient societies practiced trepanning, which are surgical procedures that cut or drill holes into the cranium, sometimes removing very large portions of bone. Such procedures probably originated in the southern coast Formative-era Paracas culture. Later trepanations were almost exclusively in the highlands, from Ancash to Cuzco (Verano, 2016). Many Andean trepanations followed serious head injuries to relieve pressure from life-threatening intracranial hematomas. Other trepanations were conducted in the absence of injuries and may have represented attempts to alleviate perceived neurological disorders. Some also likely had magico-religious functions. The degree of healing seen in later pre-Historic trepanations indicates that as time progressed, Andean cranial surgeons became more experienced and proficient as a greater proportion of their patients survived these procedures.

Artificial cranial deformation was widespread throughout the Andes. Low-grade chronic pressure applied to the still-malleable skulls of children creates a permanently altered form. In the Andes, two general styles were common. Fronto-occipital modifications involved flattening the back of the cranium, creating a broad head. Annual modifications compressed the sides of the cranium, resulting in a narrow, long, and high head shape. At least in the south coast and southern highlands of Peru, skull shaping may have intentionally encoded ethnic group membership into the body. Where multiple cultures were in contact (e.g., Tiwanaku colonies in southern Peru), head shape may have communicated different cultural identities without anyone ever speaking a word (Blom, 2005). On the north coast of Peru, cranial deformation was also common, but a single style of fronto-occipital deformation crosscut all known social groups and classes. There, head shape seemingly carried no social messages and was an unintentional byproduct of cradle-boarding childcare practices (Klaus et al., 2017).

POLITICS AND VIOLENCE

Violence is a remarkably complex phenomenon. In both pragmatic and theoretical respects, conflict is one of *many* social strategies people have used throughout time to manipulate a particular social or religious outcome under specific conditions. Burial contexts and skeletal remains can help directly gauge the patterning, scale, and meanings of violence. Violence in the Andes took place over the course of thousands of years, and was sometimes inseparable from politics, human-ecology interactions, and religion.

Early traces may be present in the Zaña valley on the north coast of Peru, ca. 5800–3000 BCE, when settlements grew increasingly sedentary and aggregated. Dillehay (2011) considers subtle bone breakage patterns as potential reflections of intermittent conflict between households or communities perhaps motivated by resource inequality. Later coastal polities depicted disembodied and bleeding human heads in murals, but none surpass Cerro Sechín in the lower Casma valley (ca. 1600 BCE).

There, megalithic stone carvings depicted victorious warriors interspersed between mutilated bodies, decapitated heads, spilled viscera, and piles of eyeballs and vertebrae (Samaniego et al., 1995). The meaning of these carvings is actually unclear. They could have commemorated a battle, served as political propaganda, or represented something else entirely.

The Moche culture (100–800/850 CE) is renowned for its depictions of armed combat, particularly in exquisite fineline narrative paintings on ceramic vessels. For many decades, these scenes were assumed to reflect a conquest-minded militaristic state. Yet Moche skeletal series from throughout their territories are characterized by low prevalence of interpersonal injuries (Verano, 1997a). Recent interpretations (Topic and Topic, 2009) wisely emphasize the probable ritual nature of Moche warrior combat, and Moche expansion likely involved intricate negotiation and coexistence with local ethnic groups rather than conquest and subjugation.

In clear contrast, expansion of the Wari Empire (ca. 600–1000 CE) out of the Ayacucho basin was far more militaristic in nature. Wari militarism was galvanized by rituals where elite warriors participated in the capture of prisoners from outlying communities. Captives appear to have been taken to the imperial center to be killed and turned into trophy heads (Tung, 2012). Elsewhere in the Wari realm, social tension was high. In the Majes valley, nearly a third of all adults exhibited violent cranial trauma, probably reflecting a combination of repeated episodes of violence. Women frequently experienced cranial injuries consistent with being assaulted while fleeing or in a defensive position, perhaps related to corporeal punishment or injury during raids (Tung, 2012). At the same time, similar patterns of violence are absent in the Tiwanaku world (ca. 200–1100 CE), suggesting a very different approach in the expansion of that empire. Although Wari and Tiwanaku colonists came into contact and territorially overlapped in southern Peru, this interaction appears to have been non-violent.

Following Wari disintegration around 1000 CE, violence took new forms in the south-central Peruvian highlands as the Chanka culture emerged. Fatal violence was targeted against specific groups reflecting strategic mechanisms to eliminate rivals, control limited resources, build allegiances, or legitimize leaders (Kurin, 2014). Again, this contrasts with the contemporaneous Middle Sicán culture on the north coast (900–1050/1100 CE), where sites (including the capital) were unfortified. There is no evidence of a standing army of any kind and violent skeletal trauma is virtually absent. The Middle Sicán state likely expanded and operated using negotiation, indirect rule, and integration of diverse groups into their booming economy.

Between 1000–1400 CE, the Chimú and Inka empires rose. Both were predatory expansionistic states that subsumed many smaller polities. Although ethnohistoric sources describe the professional Chimú armies, archaeological traces are virtually non-existent. For the Chimú, war may have been a seasonal undertaking, with diplomatic strategies involving negotiation, reciprocity, alliance building, and gift-giving pursued before conflict; fortified imperial sites may have represented the threat of violent authority that was channeled into conflict resolution (Topic and Topic, 2009). Yet, in at least one setting, force was used. At the seaside site of Punta Lobos (Huarmey valley), some 170 boys and men of fighting age were killed in a mass execution. Dating to the time of Chimú expansion, this event is plausibly understood as a reprisal killing of locals who resisted Chimú occupation (Verano, 2009).

Projection of Inka power was principally accomplished through diplomacy, establishing strategically located administrative centers, road building, and population resettlement that integrated scores of diverse ethnic and linguistic groups into their empire. Backing up these policies was perhaps the largest and most professional pre-Hispanic military force. The Chimú had no intention of submitting to Inka rule. Local lore recalls Inka armies violently routing the Chimú, though no traces of such a conflagration have been found. Following the change in leadership, relatively little regarding the nature of daily life seems to have changed. On the north coast, the Chimú and Inka were equally interested in controlling local labor, trade networks, and the uppermost levels of local politics; rigid imposition of a foreign religion or culture would have sabotaged these goals in creating aggrieved client populations.

RITUAL VIOLENCE

Violence was not only a political tool in the ancient Andes, but also fulfilled a range of religious functions. Ritual violence often transforms the otherwise profane act of killing into a justified rite or offering to the divine. The archaeology of sacrifice offers revealing observations on ancient societies, as these acts not only embodied some of the deepest-held ideals about religion and the cosmos, but were also intertwined with politics, social organization, and economics.

Andean ritual killing emerged with stratified societies. Although a few central Peruvian coastal Formative cultures (post-3000 BCE) likely practiced sacrificial killing, the lack of physical evidence of violent death makes these cases forever ambiguous (Klaus and Toyne, 2016). Between 1500–650 BCE, Cupisnique art on the north coast depicted a class of supernatural “decapitator” entities, including an anthropomorphized arachnid holding a severed head. These early images seem to set the broader foundation of sacrifice in the Andes, which links death to the (re)generation of life. Cupisnique and Paracas art entwined human decapitation with metaphors of vegetal fertility, cuttings of root plants, and liquid nourishment. Sacrifice appears cosmologically generative and necessary to strike a balance between the natural/supernatural forces that sustain life.

Physical evidence of ritual killing emerges with the later Moche, whose artistic record indicates that sacrifice was the conceptual nexus that structured political authority, religion, and understandings of the natural world (Bourget, 2016). Moche victim treatment was complex. Some had their throats slit or had their heads bashed in by a blunt object, while others were skinned and dismembered (Verano, 2008). One sequence of mass killings appears as a response to a mega El Niño rain event around 550 CE that destabilized Moche politics and religion (Bourget, 2016).

While sacrificial imagery was less common following the Moche, the scale of ritual killing increased within north coast late pre-Hispanic states. While many of these rituals had precedents partially rooted in earlier Moche practices, they also involved new practices, such as a shift towards children and eventually female victims; chest opening (heart removal) and decapitation were at times practiced as well (Klaus et al., 2016). In Middle Sicán society, one sacrificial tradition was associated with elite burials offerings requiring an intact victim, while the other involved blood sacrifices outside the capital among ethnically Muchik communities (Klaus and Shimada, 2016). Discoveries outside of Chan Chan point to Chimú rites involving large-scale sacrifices of pairs of children and juvenile camelids (Prieto et al., 2015). These killings

seem broadly rooted in concepts of the regeneration of life and symbolism involving the importance of water in the arid desert (Klaus and Shimada, 2016).

Ideas and practices involving decapitation developed differently on the south coast of Peru. Formative-era Paracas people embroidered textile iconography that linked head-taking and plant growth such that severed heads were metaphors for seeds, and plants or bean sprouts emerge from wounds or severed heads (Frame, 2001). From 800 BCE to 650 CE, Paracas peoples, along with Nasca culture that followed, produced distinctive and fastidiously prepared trophy heads that included carrying cords (Verano, 1995). Nasca trophy heads were associated with supernatural beings in their art and eventually buried in caches in temples or tombs. These were not trophies of vanquished enemy warriors, but formidable ritual objects. Isotopic data strongly indicate Nasca trophy heads were of Nasca people selected from *within* their own society (Knudson et al., 2009).

The Wari also produced trophy heads, but some were likely of foreign captives. Wari trophy heads blur distinctions between political and religious violence as they also involved religious sacrifice. Such trophy heads were given social, religious, and generative power during their postmortem preparation. From a Wari perspective, trophy heads bestowed upon their handlers ultimate legitimacy (Tung, 2012). Again, Wari practices strongly contrast with suspected Tiwanaku sacrificial practices, which appear to focus less on killing and more on rituals created by lords to fortify Tiwanaku cultural identity (Blom and Janusek, 2004).

Inka state religion conceptually distinguished different kinds of human sacrifice, but the best known today is *qhapac hucha* (alternatively spelled as *capacocha* or *capac hucha*). Various translations as “solemn sacrifice,” “royal obligation,” or “great sacrifice,” these rituals involved mountaintop sacrifices of children. Selection of *qhapac hucha* children was a political tactic to exert power and influence by “honoring” members of various conquered communities, thus bonding them to the state. Some victims may have been willing participants who wanted to elevate the status of their families and communities.

High-altitude fieldwork by Reinhard and Ceruti (2010) and others has documented remarkably preserved victims still wearing high quality textiles and garments, including headdresses. Stable isotope variation of victims’ hair demonstrates that supplicants from many locations were indeed taken on a pilgrimage to Cusco where they were celebrated and consumed a ritually distinctive diet for a year or longer (Wilson et al., 2007). Taken to a sacred mountaintop to die, some victims were dispatched via strangulation or a blow to the head. Others appear to have been entombed alive and/or perished from starvation, exposure, or the effects of high altitude. Such acts fulfilled vital religious functions, understood by Spanish chroniclers to involve the “feeding” of mountains and ancestors with the human life force of children, whose very existence was thought to occupy a space between the mountain realm (where the human soul or “spirit” originates) and the living world. Their deaths thus propagated and balanced cosmic and agricultural cycles and were required to sustain life on Earth.

DEATH IN THE ANCIENT ANDES

Although the study of Andean burial patterns arguably began with the late-nineteenth-century work of German archaeologist Max Uhle, several decades would pass before they were studied for their social and symbolic significance (Dillehay,

1995; Eeckhout and Owens, 2015; Shimada and Fitzsimmons, 2015; Figure 6.2). In the intervening time, burials were studied in the search for decorated grave goods to define chronologies and to further iconographic studies. Descriptive studies of grave construction, grave goods, body orientation, limb positioning, and other salient features set the stage for recent Andean mortuary theoretical and interpretive studies with ancestor veneration perhaps being the most enduring theme.

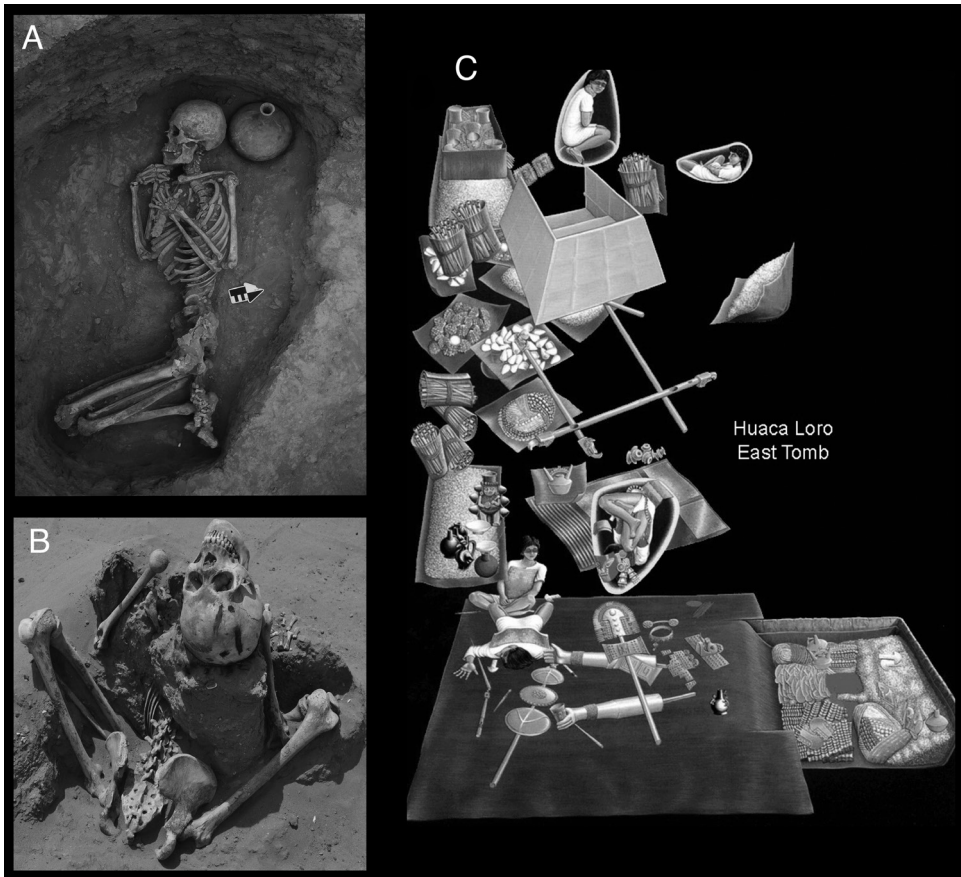


Figure 6.2 Some examples of burials in the ancient Andes. a) A relatively simple Formative-era burial from the site of Ventarrón (Tomb 12-2009, circa 1500–650 BCE, Lambayeque Valley, north coast of Peru); b) A few millennia later, Burial 22 was that of a social commoner interred at the site of La Pava (Middle Sicán period, ca. 1000 CE, La Leche Valley) in a tightly flexed position with their head looking skyward), and; c) a three-dimensional reconstruction of the Huaca Loro East Tomb (Middle Sicán period, ca. 1000 CE; La Leche valley; painting by Cesar Samillán and Izumi Shimada). The profound social status differences of the scale and complexity of burial in Middle Sicán culture can be appreciated between the commoner at La Pava and the Sicán lord at the center of the Huaca Loro East Tomb

Credits: (A) Ignacio Alva/Proyecto Arqueológico Ventarrón-Collud; (B) Haagen Klaus; (C) Cesar Samillán and Izumi Shimada/ Proyecto Arqueológico Sicán.

The ethnohistory and ethnography of historic and contemporary Andean peoples suggest that biological death represented a transition to a new state of existence. The dead were powerful animate beings who exerted influence in the living world. Veneration of specific progenitors who wielded supernatural powers contributed to agricultural success, a community's critical resource rights (territory and water sources), physical health, and other forms of economic production (DeLeonardis and Lau, 2004). Andean ancestors could be charitable, neutral, or profoundly malevolent if they were not propitiated and symbolically fed. Further, the act of placing a corpse in a tomb may have been conceptually akin to seed nurturance, cultivation, and human fertilization.

While these interpretations may serve as a starting point, they are not guaranteed to accurately reflect realities of the remote pre-Hispanic past. Inferences of ancestor worship must be carefully assessed from archaeological data, such as protracted forms of burial, tomb re-visitation, grave markers, post-burial offerings, iconography, and feasting (DeLeonardis and Lau, 2004). Regardless of the fact that such forms of evidence are found in the Andean archaeological record, ancestor veneration still cannot be assumed to be an Andean universal. This practice had an origin and developmental arc in the Andes. Not every dead person was an ancestor, and clearly, ideas about the dead were expressed in ways that were modified and shaped for specific times and places.

THE LIVING, THE DEAD, AND MORTUARY COMPLEXITY IN THE ANCIENT ANDES

Very little is known about the mortuary rituals of the earliest humans to occupy the Andes. Paiján hunter-gathers graves on north coast of Peru date to around 8,000 years BCE (Chauchat, 2006) and show they carefully disposed of their dead in simple pits placed in close proximity to their camps, positioning flexed bodies on their sides with knees drawn up towards the chest. Reed mats may have also wrapped some bodies, and at least one grave was associated with ritual use of fire preceding burial.

The most complex mortuary rituals of Andean hunter-gatherers were associated with the Chinchorro fisher-gatherers of far southern Peru and northern Chile (Arriaza, 1995). Their rituals involved ritualized de-fleshing followed by the reconstruction and encasing of the corpse in mud and other materials in the form of a living body. While these may be some of the earliest manifestations of ancestor veneration, mobile hunter-gatherers almost never bury their dead in formal cemeteries as did the Chinchorro. Cross-culturally, cemeteries represent symbolic forms that strategically mark a group's claims over specific territory, rights, and resources. These complex hunter-gatherers seem engaged in incipient sociopolitical inequality, territoriality, and intergroup competition. The transition from foraging to farming in the Andes was a long, non-linear process. In the Zaña valley, the living carefully broke and sorted bones of mostly men between 7800–5800 BCE (Verano and Rossen, 2011). These activities may have gone beyond complex ritual processing of corpses and involved a kind of garden magic to ensure agricultural success.

The rise of complex societies corresponds to a limited mortuary record, although one of the best early mortuary samples comes from Paloma, where the dead were placed under the floors of dwellings and mortuary rites possessed an intense “domestic”

quality (Quilter, 1989). Burial in later Formative cultures such as the Cupisnique indicate rather great diversity in mortuary rites, spanning the definite establishment of formal cemeteries, burials under household floors, and use of diverse grave goods (personal adornments, food, ceramic vessels). Bodies were varyingly placed in flexed and extended positions, and complex symbolism linked the dead to the sea (Kaulike, 2015). A few tombs such as at Kuntur Wasi (Onuki and Inokuchi, 2011) begin to incorporate precious metal items (gold), which reflects the emergence of elite social status and new forms of political authority.

On the south coast, the funerary rites of the Paracas peoples were distinct from those of the north. Some of the most famous Paracas interments show immense investment in their dead, as bodies were wrapped in the most extraordinary embroidered textiles ever produced in the ancient Andes. Placed in underground collective tombs containing the funerary bundles and grave goods of multiple individuals, these tombs were occasionally reopened as the living—still connected to their dead—rewrapped some mummy bundles with new textiles. Overall, Paracas funerary bundles express a theme noted in many later Andean cultures, whereby the ancestral dead were viewed as life-generating entities. Encased in womb-like covering, funerary bundles were conceptually likened to seeds, and as such, “planting” them in the act of burial ensured the continued fertility of the earth (DeLeonardis and Lau, 2004).

Perhaps around 100 CE, death was used as a profound social and political tool in complex chiefdoms and early states. Burial rituals were generally standardized to express formalized cosmologies and to solidify group identities, claims to resources, and the right to rule. On the north coast of Peru, Moche burials probably reflect at least three to four social classes (Donnan, 1995; Millaire, 2002). The most resplendent burials so far discovered in Peru belong to the Moche. The sixteen tombs excavated at the royal mausoleum of Sipán demonstrate extraordinary technical and artistic skills in gold, silver, and lapidary work (Alva, 2001). The messages communicated in these tombs show that Moche leaders held absolute power over life and death. In contrast, Moche commoners were usually placed in a simple pit, with the body extended on its back and aligned to a north-south axis. Burials often contained a few items such as ceramic vessels, utilitarian copper items, and food offerings that probably reflected funerary feasts that preceded interment.

Burials in the Wari empire also may correspond to multiple levels of hierarchy between social classes. Clear notions of collectivity seem reflected in Wari tombs containing multiple individuals buried in flexed and seated postures while some age- and gender specific symbolic representations may also be visible. Many Wari dead were also ritualistically revisited by the living (Isbell and Korpisaari, 2015). As the southern neighbors of the Wari, many religious ideas were held in common with the Tiwanaku empire. Their burial patterns, however, seem to have only demonstrated an elite/non-elite distinction.

On the north coast, the Middle Sicán culture was an economically powerful theocracy with an elite ancestor cult at the center of the state religion. Much like Moche before them, leaders employed funerary rites as a means of expressing ostentation, power, and the legitimacy to rule. They constructed massive and deep shaft tombs by the flanks of monumental adobe brick platform mounds. Some shaft tombs were filled with more than a ton of exquisite metal items and bodies of multiple retainers to create scenes that encoded complex social messages and cosmological symbolisms; no two

tombs were alike (Shimada et al., 2004). Social status was communicated in the tightly controlled access to gold, silver and bronze objects (Shimada et al., 2004). Symbolic forms found in elite burials communicated and manipulated a distinct identity that marked membership within an elite Sicán ethnic group. This contrasted with the funerary symbolism of the commoners who expressed a Muchik ethnic identity that emerged from the ancestral Moche populations on the north coast (Klaus et al., 2017).

A combination of archaeological data, DNA patterns, and dental variation help decode the complex symbolic choreography of elite Middle Sicán tombs (Shimada et al., 2004). Indeed, the principal personages of these tombs were close kin. Death was seen to transform a Sicán lord into an omnipotent life-giving ancestor. Political structures also come to light, as these and other forms of biocultural evidence indicate Middle Sicán society featured a multi-layered, segmentary, and patriarchal elite power structure shared among a group of genetically distinct Sicán peoples (Klaus et al., 2017). This group was very small (perhaps half a dozen royal families), and generally closed to intermarriage with the local population. Also, mtDNA patterns suggest that the ancestors of the lords of Sicán emigrated from southern Ecuadorian regions as recently as 850/900 CE.

Other discoveries effectively illustrate the diverse and enduring physical and symbolic connections between the living and the dead in Moche, Sicán, and other Peruvian coastal societies (see Shimada and Fitzsimmons, 2015). Burial at Pachacamac, the most important oracle and religious center in the Andean world (located just south of Lima), featured elaborate, textile-wrapped funerary bundles containing multiple individuals in communal tombs. The living frequently reopened, altered, and repositioned tomb contents, replaced older bundle wrappings with new textiles, and periodically provisioned a variety of post-interment offerings (especially food and libations) to the dead.

In the late pre-Hispanic highlands, large, open sepulcher *chullpas* became a common way of disposing of the dead. These above-ground communal burial towers were linked to a form of social organization called an *ayllu*, or a lineage that made claims to the control and stewardship of specific resources and territories. Ayllus embodied kinship literally in the ancestor mummy of the group's founder. This ancestor and other deceased kin were curated inside chullpas, and were regularly visited and venerated by the living. Again, ancestors were understood to be the source of resource entitlements, rights, privileges and probably cosmological powers involving the renewal of life and life cycles (DeLeonardis and Lau, 2004).

Centuries of looting devastated the Chimú capital of Chan Chan, particularly the monumental royal burial platforms located within the most sacred spaces of the city's multiple colossal walled compounds. If the size of the platform ruins is any indication, tombs of Chimú lords surpassed the physical and material complexity of Sicán practices. Early written accounts detail how Inka lords were mummified, wrapped in the finest clothing and other royal accouterments, curated, fêted, adored, provisioned with the finest of foods, taken on public processions, and consulted as oracles. They were not "dead" at all in the Western sense, but transformed into ancestral beings actively involved in the world of the living. Veneration of elite Inka ancestors by their kin and the populace embodied powerful metaphors of social reciprocity, religious and political organization, and social memory that was at the core of Inka society and cosmology (Sillar, 1992; Kaulike, 2013). Elsewhere, mortuary rituals in the Inka

provinces were more diverse; when conquering an area, the Inka did not demand religious conversion. On the north coast of Peru, local burial traditions persisted, unaltered by Inka administrative presence (Klaus and Toyne, 2016).

CONCLUSIONS

Although significant gains have been made in the fields of bioarchaeology and mortuary archaeology in understanding the Andean world since the 1980s, we have admittedly only scratched the surface. There are untold numbers of sites that await future investigation and research questions that we have yet to imagine. Next generation DNA analyses stand to radically expand our knowledge of ancient human, microbiome, and disease genomes. These are joined by new techniques in paleodemography, biomechanics, 3-D scanning of bones and burials, applications of new approaches in burial excavation, and a growing theoretical focus exploring the synthesis between bioarchaeology and mortuary archaeology. While there are certainly many challenges ahead, there is far greater promise regarding what is yet to be uncovered and understood from skeletal and funerary remains to reveal the complexity of life, society, and history across the ancient Andean world.

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PART III

ANDEAN COSMOLOGIES





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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE ANDEAN CIRCULATORY COSMOS



Peter Gose

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the circulation of life as a distinctive and enduring Andean cosmological concern, one that underwrites agrarian practice but also articulates shifting regimes of political power. Spatial understandings of this circulatory world have been remarkably stable over time, but the animating forces that drive it have changed and arisen out of human affairs. The main task here will therefore be to link the political and the cosmological in two successive Andean animation regimes, and characterize the transition between them. The result will be a more political and temporally differentiated account of Andean cosmology than is usual. Let us nonetheless begin with a brief sketch of this world's extra-human contours.

Colonial and ethnographic sources indicate an enduring cosmological schema that treats the Andean world as a continental island surrounded by an aquatic periphery. Non-Andean portions of South America, particularly Amazonia, get short shrift or disappear entirely. Guaman Poma's *mapamundi* (Figure 7.1) graphically depicts this view (1615, pp. 983–984).

Modern ethnography presents a similar picture of the earth as an inverted pottery bowl or crust floating on the sea, with occasional perforations that allow subterranean water to seep to the surface (Casaverde, 1970, p. 167; Allen, 1988, p. 51; cf. Urton, 1981, pp. 37, 59). Colonial and ethnographic accounts agree that the earth has a central position not only horizontally, in relation to an aquatic periphery, but also vertically, in relation to the sky and a subterranean realm. Then as now, these celestial and subterranean domains recycle the water that flows off the earth's surface to its oceanic periphery via rainfall and springs. The Milky Way, known in Quechua as the *Mayu* or River, is key to this counter-movement. Partly celestial and partly subterranean, it is the conduit by which water returns from the ocean to the Andes (Urton, 1981, pp. 38, 60). One of its effects is that underground rivers flow in the opposite direction to rivers on the earth's surface (Allen 1988, p. 52). Thus, the earth's horizontal and vertical peripheries receive and return water from it in over-arching and subterranean cycles that define the Andean cosmos in a fundamentally circulatory manner (Figure 7.2).



Figure 7.1 Guaman Poma's *mapamundi*. Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615, folios 1001–1002)

Courtesy of Royal Library of Copenhagen, Denmark, GKS 2232 4° [or “4to” or “quarto”].

This system requires a power that can drive the uphill recycling of water from the sea. Two such forces have been the sun and the constellation of the llama, which (in diurnal opposition) arise in the east, transit through the sky, descend into the

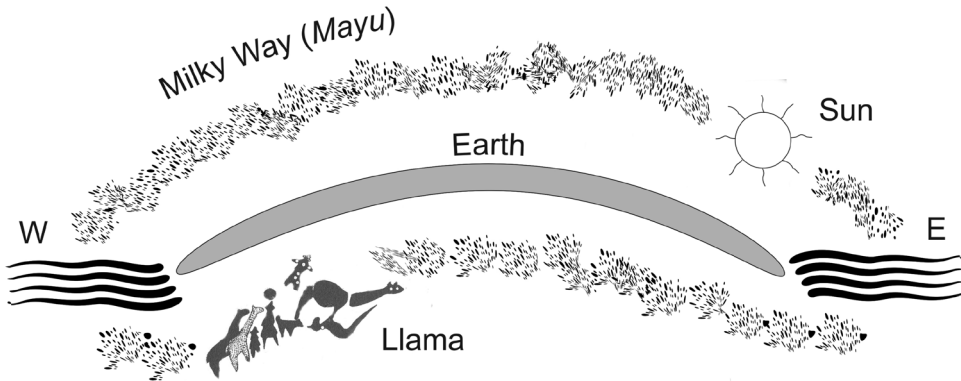


Figure 7.2 Andean circulatory cosmos

Peter Gose; after Arnold and Yapita, 1999, p. 209.

westerly ocean, journey underground and rise in the east again, bringing water up with them. The Quechua-language *Huarochirí Manuscript* (ca. 1608) describes how the celestial llama (Yacana) walks through the night sky and when it reaches the earth on its western horizon, descends into the sea drinking all of its water. It then returns to the east walking under the rivers where it eventually passes through the earth's surface and into the sky again (Salomon and Urioste, 1991, Chapter 29). Arnold and Yapita's excellent ethnography (1999) replicates and expands upon these points. As a water-retaining camelid and a beast of burden accustomed to long journeys, the llama is well-suited to this water-bearing function. Somewhat less intuitively, the sun plays a similar role, and is sometimes even said to be brighter, hotter, and larger in the sky during the rainy season, when it imbibes more water on its nocturnal journey (Urton 1981, p. 69; cf. Casaverde 1970, p. 167). The sun's fiery heat is not simply opposed to water, then, but also sustained and increased by it as an animating substance, in accordance with Allen's analysis (2015). Indeed, it is almost as if the sun and the llama, by virtue of their heat and drought-tolerance, are able to accumulate and command water, driving its circulation within this cosmos as animating figures more powerful than other water-dependent beings.

Yacana, the celestial llama constellation, is described as the *camaquin* (henceforth normalized as *kamaqnin*)—double or commanding animator—of earthly llamas (Salomon and Urioste, 1991, p. 132). The sun, particularly in its Inca articulation, animated all life forms as a force that subsumed and totalized their specific commanding doubles, as we will see in greater detail below. Thus, the ability of these celestial bodies to accumulate the animating power of water is key to their ability to recycle it cosmologically through their diurnal movements as animating figures. Although they may seem remote from human affairs, it is worth noting that the sun was the Inca state's emblem, and the llama arguably denoted the dominance of pastoralists over agriculturalists in inter-*ayllu* (descent group) power relations (Duviols, 1973). We will explore how these bodies accumulated such political import below.

If water is fundamentally what circulates in the Andean circulatory cosmos, it does so as a vehicle of animation capable of transmitting and kindling life. Breath (*sami*) is another important circulating manifestation of life that is closely connected to water (Allen, 1988, Chapter 1). Working from this basis, Allen (2015) argues that animism is the basic organizing principle of the Andean circulatory cosmos and depicts it as a largely de-centered affair in which all entities participate more or less equally by virtue of the life that moves through them. This understanding faithfully reflects the viewpoints of animated beings interconnected by circulating vitality, but also reproduces their partiality. Behind its apparent monism lies a dualism of life-form and vitality, one that is manifest in death when life withdraws from one embodiment, assumes a relatively distilled form, and then is reclaimed by another being. Death, in other words, is the primary condition of life's circulation, and the unspoken question to which animism is an answer. It reveals an embodied remainder as the locus from which animistic concerns make sense. In the Andean world, however, this viewpoint has long been subordinate to powerful overarching figures who direct the flow of life. For example, the Huarochirí Manuscript recounts how the overlord Pariacaca fought Huallallo Carhuincho to animate humanity and all other beings on the landscape over which they struggled (Salomon and Urioste, 1991, p. 68). Such animating figures

introduce political power into the constitution of life worlds and the circulation of life through them. To do justice to the long tradition of Andean divine kingship and their hierarchical modes of animation, de-centered notions of animism need reformulation. Instead of simply focusing on life when charting how this cosmology operates, we minimally need to attend to a triad of animator-animation-animated and inquire into the political constitution of these relationships.

Questions of temporality quickly emerge from this revised approach to the Andean circulatory cosmos. A recurring (and largely justified) criticism of work on this topic is that it presents Andean cosmology as a static framework that has not changed from pre-Columbian times to the present. To be sure, there are remarkable continuities but in no way do they neutralize the fact that Andean people recognize that their world is composed of a succession of animating regimes. Indeed, the untranslatable Andean notion of *pacha*, initially a place, earth or world, is always temporally inflected by the epochal regime that animates it (Salomon and Urioste, 1991, pp.14–15). Let us now turn to the first of two distinct regimes of animation to be considered here.

ORIGIN POINTS AND MUMMIFIED ANCESTORS

Mummified founding ancestors (*mallkis*) articulated one regime of animation within the circulatory cosmos outlined above, one that lasted from approximately the Late Intermediate to the mid-colonial period in western historical time (circa 1000–1700 AD). They were said to have originated in cohorts from the Pacific and Lake Titicaca, two large bodies of water at opposite ends of the cosmos. *Waris*, those who emerged from the Pacific, undertook subterranean journeys of colonization leading upward into the Andes, breaking into smaller groups that emerged on mountains from which they further dispersed in underground journeys eventually to resurface from springs, crags, or trees to settle warm agricultural valleys. *Llakwashes*, those who emerged from Lake Titicaca, typically ascended into the sky and were deposited by lightning strike, first in other large lakes such as Chinchaycocha, later dispersing on various mountain tops and finally sub-dividing further in agro-pastoral territories through subsequent lightning strikes (Duviols, 1973). Wherever a cohort of ancestors emerged or fell on the earth's surface was called a *paqarina* or origin point, after the Quecha verb *paqariy*: “to dawn.” This term immediately locates these ancestral journeys within the sun's diurnal cycle, as do Lake Titicaca and the Pacific in its circulation of water from high to low and back again. Thus, waris journeyed eastward and underground to the territories they were to settle, whereas llakwashes moved westward and through the sky, each following a separate phase of the sun's trajectory. We thus see that human origins participate in this cosmic diurnal cycle.

On arrival at their final *paqarina*, ancestral cohorts had usually sub-divided to husband and wife or father and son groupings, which were the initial units of settlement. Through extra-human feats that shaped the landscape, these founding ancestors established the conditions of livelihood in the localities they colonized. Waris (presumably named in memory of that pre-Inca state) were often taken as indigenous and the founders of agriculture. They were said to have emerged with seeds, effortlessly creating irrigation canals, terracing and nucleated settlements. Sometimes called “town-owners” (*llaqtayoq*) they were considered prosperous and skilled in the arts of civilization. By contrast, the llakwashes (named after a technique

of sacrificing camelids) were said to be pastoralists. Notable for their relative poverty and bellicosity, these llakwashes were intrusive conquerors who used their association with lightning, hail and rain to subdue wari ancestors, altering the landscape through their displays of extra-human strength. Rather than expel wari populations, however, llakwashes tended to intermarry and establish relations of agro-pastoral complementarity with them (Duviols, 1973, 1986; Salomon and Urioste, 1991). In these different ways, then, ancestors established occupations, patrimonies, forms of coexistence and rule that they bequeathed to their descendants.

With these exemplary deeds accomplished, ancestors ended their days as human beings, most notably by turning into stone, an act which signified deification and a permanent accumulation of life, not ordinary mortality. In this condition, founding ancestors acted as kamaqnins for their descendants, animating prototypes who ensured the continuity of the orders they established. Their immediate descendants had similar status and were mummified as mallkis, sources of group life and apical members of the ancestral community. Henceforth, in this imperishable form, they would direct the reproduction of human, animal, and agricultural life on the territories they established, and become the object of ancestral worship by their ayllu, who inherited and lived on the patrimony they established. They also founded political offices with ancestral titles like *apu*, *wamani*, and *mallku* through which the most able of their direct descendants could direct group life under their ancestral guidance and sustain a productively deferential relationship with them through seasonal rituals that treated them as the adjudicators of agrarian prosperity (or ruin). On death, all ayllu members were mummified, stored in mortuary caves or monuments and integrated into the ancestor cult. Most ceased to be remembered after a few generations (Cobo, 1653, p. 165), however, and their mummies might be allowed to deteriorate. Special curatorial care went only to mallkis and the mummified bodies of deceased rulers, who formed a direct link to the founding ancestors.

Ayllus discharged their obligations to the dead during festivities at key moments in the agricultural cycle. The most basic and widespread pattern had two major celebrations per year for the mummies, one at the beginning of the rainy season (*poqoymita*), and the other at the harvest (*karwamita*), but additional festivities for the dead existed in many areas. Prior to these ceremonies, officials called *kamachikuqs* (“those who cause existence”) collected sacrificial offerings from their ayllus, whose priesthoods would also confess and purify members. Then the living members of an ayllu brought their mummified dead down to ceremonial plazas (*kallans*) in front of the mortuary caves, and gave them new clothing, sacrifices, and libations, performed ballad-like songs (*taki*) that commemorated the founding ancestors’ journey from remote paqarinas to the ayllu’s territory, and engaged them in dancing and oracular communication before returning them to the caves. By directing care, sustenance, and celebration towards their ancestors at key moments in the agricultural cycle, ayllus recognized them as primary authors of the harvest, who could grant or withhold abundance. Thus, these seasonal sacrificial rituals expressed a hierarchical circulation of vitality, in which the living sustained the dead, who in turn graded into the ancestral deities that sustained the living. Reciprocal ancestor worship often linked wari and llakwash descent groups in these festivities. It presupposed that pastoralists controlled water and that agriculturalists controlled desiccated life forms (Gose, 1993), so that the transition between wet and dry seasons would be an

appropriate moment for the two to reaffirm their relationship ceremonially. Here, alternation between ayllu and their dead established a circulatory pulse that maintained the earth's fertility.

These seasonal rituals also integrated the recently dead into the ancestral community housed in ayllu-based mortuary caves (Salomon and Urioste, 1991, p.73; Gose, 2008, pp.214–216). Their conversion into an agrarian productive force becomes clearer when we examine how death altered the basic animating relationship between founding ancestors and their descendants. In bodily terms, death initiated a process of separation that began with evisceration and culminated in mummification, effectively a loss of moisture and fleshiness and a retrenchment around the hard, dry, bony qualities of the person as mummy (Salomon, 1995: 328). This made palpable the notion that the loss of life is the loss of water and so that water is life. As with the body, the “soul concepts” relevant to death present it as a matter of separation, the division and geographical reallocation of different aspects of the person. One element, the *kamaqnin*, was localized and stayed with the body in the mortuary cave. It derived from the *kamaqnin* as an objectified ancestral form, the mummy, statue or petrification of a founding ancestor, who gave its human descendants (and their patrimony of fields and herds) life and in so doing, made them *kamasqa*, “infused.” This relationship was expressed through the Quechua verb *kamachiy* which on strictly analytical grounds means “to cause to exist” but primarily meant “to command” (Taylor, 1974–76, p. 236) in an ontological order that inseparably linked animation to political rule. Through this animating relationship, the ancestral *kamaqnin* replicated itself inside the person as a soul-like entity, also known as a *kamaqnin*, that people commonly located in the heart (Duviols, 1986, pp.67, 143–144). In death, the *kamaqnin*'s power persisted as a localizing or fixing influence manifest in the accumulation of mummified bodies in the mortuary cave over which it presided. Extirpation of idolatry documents frequently mention the mummified dead's thirst (Duviols 1986, pp. 198, 217, 230) and all dealings with them required offerings of corn beer. Their preservation thus implied a loss of water and vitality embodied in another aspect of the person that did not remain under the *kamaqnin*'s command.

This second soul or component of the person was called the *upani*, which meant shadow or deaf-mute being (Duviols, 1978, pp. 143–144; Taylor, 1980, pp. 51–55). In contrast to the *kamaqnin*'s fixity, it journeyed to the abode of the dead (*upaymarka*) generally located in distant, large, and important mountains or bodies of water (Duviols 1978, p. 136; Taylor 1980, p.58). Thus, the *upani* was affiliated to the moist part of the person lost in death. This moisture was not merely lost to the dead person but also the locality of his or her ayllu, and to that extent was a geographical issue. The *upani*'s journey to the *upaymarka* enacted in reverse the founding ancestors' journey from their remote points of origin in the Pacific or Titicaca, which were not only the maximal *paqarinas* of the Andean cosmos but also ultimate collecting points for the watery aspect of the dead (Duviols 1986, pp. 150, 171, 200, 227, 268–269). Thus, ancestral colonization and the *upani*'s post-mortem return to their ancestors' origin points defined a cycle based on the differentiation of dry, local *paqarinas* from distant wet ones, which drove the redistribution of life between them. Petrified or mummified ancestral bodies lost water to the distant centers from which they originated but also commanded its return in a cycle where animation and political control were endlessly lost and regained (Gose, 1993).

To summarize, a kamaqnin contrasted with an upani in several ways. While the former was an exemplary and powerful ancestor who remained in the locality it colonized, an upani was a weak and insignificant shadow that drifted away. The kamaqnin was a repository and replicator of group life whereas the upani was a remnant of an individual life lost to the group and its locality. A kamaqnin stayed dry and hard above ground whereas an upani journeyed underground through the earth's aquatic interior. Finally, a kamaqnin never really died, but continued to speak through oracular mediums, and was deemed mute (*opa mudo*) or done (*atisca*) if it could not, signaling the end of its ancestral career (Albornoz, 1967, pp. 18, 37; Duviols, 1986, p. 180). By contrast, the deceased upani was categorically unable to speak.

Death broke the kamaqnin's binding and animating influence, leaving a radically diminished entity, the shadowy deaf-mute upani, to begin its journey through the chain of paqarinas to their aquatic apex. From the localizing perspective of a kamaqnin, death was a loss of control, not only over a replicated life form but also over the water that animated it (Duviols, 1978, p. 134). Duviols argues that the concept of upani included this lost animation, which was indeed released as water by the mortal conversion of a living person into an upani and flowed toward the maximal paqarinas. Some accounts affirm the upani's reconstitution or reincarnation in the upaymarka (Santillán, 1553, p. 33; Cobo, 1653, p. 154). Others suggest that despite its abundant fields, the upaymarka was filling up with the casualties of early colonial epidemics (Duviols, 1986, p. 171). No cyclical reincarnation process obtained here, although a *pachakuti* (epochal cataclysm, see below) could invert the relation between the worlds of the living and the dead in a violent earthquake. To prevent such a cataclysm, people poured libations when the earth shook (Cobo, 1653, p. 233). Abnormally heavy rainfall might also indicate a *pachakuti*'s onset (Murúa, 1613, p. 313). Apparently, the generation of water was to be confined primarily to the land of the dead to avoid overwhelming the living, whose strength lay in their exemplary desiccated life forms. Even under stress, the segmentary system of paqarinas attempted to maintain a polarity between wet and dry, universal and local, weak (*upani*) and strong (*kamaqnin*), which underwrote most ritual operations connected to it. Normally, the strong remained at the local level and used their dryness to bring water back to it, as did processions of Inca mummies to stimulate rainfall during droughts (Polo, 1554, p. 10). The weak, however, could not resist the pull of large bodies of water and succumbed to the inverse attraction of dry by wet. Death thus allocated different parts of the person, and different sorts of people, to different cosmic poles so that personhood was distributed across the landscape.

By separating, withdrawing, and recycling water from desiccated bodies and allowing its redistribution across the landscape, death enabled the Andean circulatory cosmos. Geographical separation between the dry and wet poles of ancestral paqarina itineraries ensured that the circulation of life was not tightly confined to humans in any reincarnation cycle but instead suffused the land itself, and was shared with other beings that lived on it, including plants and animals. This circulation's driving force, however, was the founding ancestors whose original journeys laid down the pathways by which life moved, and whose dry, imperishable bodies drew lost vitality back across the landscape to animate the local life worlds over which they presided. Their remote origins and local fixity defined these animating circuits. Their compelling dryness was a powerful antidote to centrifugal loss of water on death and thus

secured a circulatory, bi-directional flow of life across the landscape. If this was a species of animism, it was far from the de-centered affair often associated with that term, but rather one dominated by the figure of the animator, the *kamaqnin* who replicates and commands life forms and summons vitality from afar.

PACHAKUTI

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the animating order described above broke down across the Andes under various colonial pressures. The most obvious was the extirpation of idolatry, a series of episodically institutionalized campaigns against Andean ancestor worship and related practices that smashed shrines and burned mummies (Duviols, 1971). However, Andean people repeatedly reconstructed these ancestral manifestations, for example by substituting statues for mummies, so frontal attacks on “idolatry” do not explain its ultimate demise. More important were a host of colonial developments that undermined the *ayllus*’ previous organization and internal solidarity. First, settlement consolidation (Spanish *reducción*) moved them away from their old *paqarinas* and relocated them around churches, which in turn significantly Christianized death. Then many fled their re-located *ayllu* to escape colonial tribute and became internal migrants (Spanish *forasteros*) in other *reducciones*, which undermined descent as a principle of community membership. Finally, *ayllu* members tired of their *kurakas*’ (ethnic lords’) complicity in colonial rule and eventually rejected the ancestor cult as an expression of *kurakas*’ hereditary power during the revolutionary ferment of the years 1740–1784 (Gose, 2008, Chapters 4–7).

The result was not the end of the Andean circulatory cosmos but a *pachakuti* that re-articulated it around a new cast of central, animating figures, the mountain lords. These beings arose out of the previous regime’s animated landscape to assume the ancestral titles (and functions) that mummified founding ancestors had previously held, such as *apu*, *wamaní*, and *mallku*. They articulated new forms of community that were no longer based on descent and ancestor worship but rather on co-residence and immersion in place, and so included the many internal migrants who had fled their *ayllu* of origin. These communities replaced *kurakas*’ hereditary rule with direct internal democracy and a rotation of members through positions of authority. They were markedly more egalitarian than ancestor-worshipping *ayllus*, arose around the great eighteenth-century insurrections and acquired republican inflections after independence. Out of this new sociality mountains emerged as revised animating figures who defined a second regime of animation, to be sketched in the following section. Since contemporary Andean oral tradition consciously reflects on the coming of this new (and present) epoch, let us begin by briefly considering what it has to say about this same transition.

Contemporary Andean people describe a cataclysm in which an earlier humanity, variously called the *gentiles* (pagans), *ñawpa machus* (primordial old ones) and *chullpas* (tomb-dwellers) were parched and mummified by a new sun. Most accounts explicitly identify them as the mummies that remain in mortuary caves and monuments throughout the Andes—in other words, the ancestors of the previous animation regime. They often describe this remnant humanity as the hard-working inventors of traditional agriculture and weaving, the backbone of Andean agrarian lifeways. Despite these ancestral qualities, which resemble those of *waris* in the

previous animation regime, the gentiles' covetousness, adultery, incest, and idolatry ultimately disqualified them as ancestors and led to their demise. Angered by their arrogance and immorality, God resolved to wipe them out, in one account driving them to mountain tops with a flood, then scorching them with two suns, one that rose from the east and another from the west (Fuenzalida, 1977, pp.61–63). In another account, God extinguished their copper sun and scorched them with a rain of fire, leaving agonized expressions on their mummified faces (Casaverde, 1970, p.151).

Some narratives identify the author of this earlier humanity's demise as Roal, the principal mountain lord, who created a new sun that burned and blinded the gentiles, driving them underground and replacing them with a new humanity led by *Inkarri*, the Inca King (Núñez del Prado, 1964, pp. 275–276). Others reverse this sequence by having the Inca arise against the gentiles and then create the mountain lords as his agents (Roel Pineda, 1965, p.25; Fuenzalida, 1977, p. 66). In either case, Christianity, the Inca, and the mountain lords join forces to vanquish the gentiles and create a new regime of animation: a new humanity living in a new epoch. Since this epoch-defining team of Christianity, the Inca and the mountain lords does not readily conform to Western historical understanding, their connection requires some explanation. Perhaps the most important premise is that the Incas, not the Spaniards, usher in the new Christian era: the sun that destroys the gentiles becomes the Incas' primary deity. This view is not entirely indigenous in origin. Early colonial providential theology also Christianized the Incas (Gose, 2008, Chapter 2) and the Catholicism that Spanish missionaries brought to the Andes also linked the sun and the Christian God (Dean, 1999). Modern Andean celebrations of Corpus Christi, which occur around the June solstice and Inca Festival of the Sun (*Inti Raymi*), further link the sun, the Inca, and the body of Christ (Gow, 1974, pp. 58–59; Platt, 1987, pp.140, 149, 160; Sallnow, 1987, pp. 231, 237). That Andean people alternate between addressing the sun as Wayna Qhapaq (an Inca sovereign) and Jesus Christ (Allen, 1988, p.52) further establishes the Christian character of the Inca sun that vanquished the gentiles.

The mountain lords' Christianity has been even harder for many commentators to accept, to the extent that they view them as emblems of a primordial and unmediated indigenous life world. Yet the ethnographic record is replete with such affirmations such as the apus "were created by God" to act as guardians of towns and communities, in which capacity "they meet with Him three times a year, but especially during Holy Week" (Marzal, 1971, p.250). Salazar Soler's peasant informants further insist that God or Christ created the wamanis (2002, p. 183), who frequently syncretize with saints, and like them are patrons of local communities or advocates of particular activities who act as intermediaries with God. They frequently assemble in groups of twelve, like the apostles (Salazar Soler, 2002, pp. 184–186). In Kuyo Grande, some claim that the mountain lords are surrogates of the Christian God, with whom they confess and take communion annually during Holy Week (Casaverde, 1970, p. 143). Throughout the southern Andes, people equate sacrificial offerings to the mountain lords with church mass, their officiants with Catholic priests, and their shrines with altars. Sainly images and *retablos* may preside over these altars, or crosses of reeds or straw. Arguably, these affinities between mountain lords and saints also extend to miraculous apparitions of Christ, since the latter typically occur on mountains and bear the honorific title of *tayta* or *taytacha* (father or little father; see Sallnow 1987, p. 54), as mountains often do. Wamanis are said to inhabit crosses, usually those on

mountain peaks, and chapels above church-based settlements (Isbell 1978, pp. 59, 152–153). Andean people often call the mountains directly above valley towns Mount Calvary (Cerro Calvario), thereby Christianizing them (Gose, 1994, p. 83). Thus, Andean ethnology broadly supports these narratives' implication that the mountain lords define the current Inca/Christian order, and not a primordial past. Let us now turn to how they act as animating agents within this new dispensation.

MOUNTAINS AS ANIMATORS

Mountain lords in the contemporary Andes may appear as humans, pumas, hawks, condors, wild bulls, grass, fire, and in many guises other than that of their primary embodiment in a physical mountain. This non-identity with their geological form and ability to change appearance enables and expresses their animating role. In effect, they extend their being into the subordinate manifestations that they encompass. Thus, the mountains' mutable appearance signals the hierarchical nature of their animating relationship to other life-forms. Since the pioneering study of Morote Best (1956), ethnographers have, for better or worse, designated these shape-shifting beings as "mountain spirits" as a matter of convention but also to capture their animating extension into subordinate life-forms and consequent non-identity with the mountains that nonetheless ground and localize this process.

A second dimension of hierarchy arises from encompassing relations between mountains, such that some places subsume others in segmentary fashion. These relationships can be based on relative elevation, when higher places incorporate and outrank lower ones. More commonly, however, they are based on circulation processes, such as the distribution of water within a locality or region (Sikkink, 1997), or the payment of tribute in precious metals from lower-ranking to higher-ranking mountains, hierarchies that frequently mirror ranked agrarian functions and levels of the state that also organize relations between mountains (Earls, 1969, p.68; Gose, 1994, pp. 211–215). These circulation processes are seasonally differentiated, such that water is the main focus while the crops grow during the rainy season, and questions of tribute, restitution to the mountains, and political power come to the fore during the harvest and dry season. Let us briefly examine each of these phases.

The growing season is unambiguously oriented towards raising crops, whose primary need is water, whether provided by irrigation or rainfall. Growing season rituals emphasize the imagery of death, and suggest that it is the ultimate source of water. The Laymi hold that the dead return to this world during the rainy season and bring the rains with them (Harris, 1982). In Huaquirca, the matter is similar but more complex. As in the previous regime of animation, death involves a splitting of souls, in this case *alma* (embodiment) and *ánimo* (vitality). Whereas the latter dissipates in the form of a hyperactive fly, the former undergoes a long and humiliating journey in which dogs, cats, chickens, guinea-pigs, and pots exact their revenge upon it for mistreating them in life. Finally the *alma* arrives at Mt. Qoropuna on the world's western edge, where St. Peter judges it, and either allows it inside or sends it on to Mt. Solimana, abode of miscreant souls. The heat of Qoropuna's interior causes the dead to shrink and expel water (the vitality that they are no longer able to embody) eastward back into the land of the living. This water is turbulent and charged with energy: it mostly travels underground but surfaces in various "wild

lakes” that control rainfall in their regions, and thus distribute it to plants, which are thus the immediate beneficiaries of human death. Above the jungle, at the far eastern edge of the Andean world are Mts. Sawasiray and Pitusiray, owners and animators of maize, who earmark water returning from the west for agricultural recuperation. Thus, the mountains of death in the west and the mountains of maize in the east define a largely subterranean cycle by which life is transferred from people to crops (Gose, 1994, Chapter 4). Intermediate mountains and associated lakes contribute to this cycle by redistributing water locally, but the bookends of Qoropuna-Solimana and Sawasiray-Pitusiray define its fundamental character.

In the dry season, a different redistribution of life occurs, one that is based on sacrifice, not passive human death. Life-forms are primarily what circulates here, not the pure vitality that animates them. Agriculturalists burn maize-husk bundles filled with maize, flowers, llama chest fat, coca, and scrapings of metallic rocks and coins to “feed” or “pay” mountains for their contribution to a successful harvest, nominate them for future agrarian functions, and to make new animals. Pastoralists augment these offerings with fetuses and blood sacrifice to hierarchies of mountains that connect their immediate environs to distant important mountain “owners” each kind of livestock they keep (Gose, 1994, Chapter 7). Mountains receive these offerings and reportedly have machines in their interior that extract gold and silver from them, which they then transport up their tributary chains of command, which may culminate in the president’s office in Lima (Earls, 1969, p. 70). This process is not entirely extractive but is also redistributive, since gold and silver constitute new agrarian life-forms as a distilled essential couplet that people constantly invoke during these rites. By receiving them, mountains have the fungible wherewithal to reallocate the substance of life across its different forms. To be sure, questions of animation also arise here, but sacrificial rites subsume them under the creation of new life-forms, a concern largely missing from rainy season rites.

Struggles over mining in the contemporary Andes speak directly to this differentiated circulation of life. Depending on how it is practiced, mining either drives or destroys this circulation and the mountains that underwrite it (Gose, 1986, Salas 2017). Neo-liberal mining has tipped that precarious balance in an unambiguously destructive direction. Its decapitation of mountains is an assault on the entire animating order that they articulate and further proof that the Andean cosmos is susceptible to human intervention.

CONCLUSION

This cursory review of two Andean regimes of animation shows that there is more to the circulatory cosmos than its largely invariant spatial structure or the astral beings that cycle through it. In each case, a terrestrial network of animating beings articulates with this larger infrastructure and mediates its relation to the formation of local and regional life-worlds. Ancestors and mountains not only deliver lost vitality back to their worlds, but also redistribute the basic stuff of life-forms within them, overseeing their increase and decrease. Andean people understand this redistributive mediation as rule. In the ancestral regime, this was most clearly expressed through the verb *kamachiy*, which not only denoted animation but also command. To the extent that the mountainous regime forms a shadow-state that owns and administers all life-forms under its sway, its political significance is even more overt. Nor are these successive

forms of divine kingship entirely terrestrial in scope or inward-looking. It seems that each is associated with a different sun, such that even this seemingly invariant feature of the Andean circulatory cosmos is subject to change. That the sun of our epoch is Inca and Christian shows, furthermore, that earthly developments project into the constitution of this supreme astral body.

The differences between these successive regimes of animation therefore matter. Each regime is qualitatively distinct and the pachakuti that separates them was more than a simple inversion of upper and lower moieties or a dominant and a latent order. Whereas the hierarchy of paqarinas polarized around the two ultimate sources of Titicaca and the Pacific, that of contemporary mountains seems more oriented towards the structures of the state than the solar cycle. Similarly, the “soul concepts” by which life assembles and breaks apart differ in each regime. Alma and ánimo are not differentiated in the same way as kamaqnin and upani and so imply slightly different principles of circulation and recombination. The modern alma lacks the kamaqnin’s fixity and characterizes a relatively more fluid regime in which local control over life-forms is diminished. Finally, the ancestral regime’s animated landscape, orchestrated by the comings and goings of paqarina networks, enabled the mountainous regime’s emergence, in which the land seized titles and functions previously invested in ancestors, and became an autonomous network of forces. This development was at once cumulative and a testament to the open-ended possibilities of the Andean circulatory cosmos, in which new points of departure arise on the basis of established orders.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

NORTHERN ANDEAN COSMOLOGY AND OTAVALAN HIP HOP

—•♦—
Michelle Wibbelsman

INTRODUCTION¹

The first sounds heard as the sun rises over the Otavalo valley of northern Ecuador are those of mechanical looms and radios in each household along with tunes played by musicians rehearsing new riffs on a guitar or a *charango* (small stringed instrument), composing *sanjuanito* melodies (a regional musical style related to the *huaynos* of the southern Andes) for the upcoming ritual season, or honing their skills on a variety of instruments in anticipation of transnational journeys. Among Quichua² speakers of the region, the production of both crafts and music results in economic, cultural, ritual, and everyday expressions that are centrally entwined with local histories, collective memory, meaning-making practices, and broader Andean epistemologies. In their outward facing representations, both craft and music production are highly sought-after icons of Otavalan culture to the more than 350,000 tourists who visit the area annually (*El Comercio*, 2016). In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, moreover, these cottage industries propelled Otavalans into the world with commercial and travel opportunities abroad.

The back and forth movement of the loom shuttles, the repeating musical motif of ostinato patterns in the music, the flow of transnational repeat-return indigenous migrants, and the cycle of generations combine as “alternating registers [that] resonate with each other” (Tomlinson, 2014, p. 34), revealing a pervasive oscillating cadence in the life of the valley. The cycle of coming and going, and of introspection and distant knowledge is, in fact, fundamental to Otavalan self-awareness, cultural transformation, and social regeneration. It is deeply embedded in the artistic creativity, musical innovation, and lived experiences of Otavalans as a persisting configuration which, as Barbara Butler (2006, pp. 81–82) points out, is more than just customary or habitual. As something that is acted out in ritual and observed in nearly every aspect of Andean life, this “double movement,” as Butler insists, must be understood as a basic cosmological principle.

In this chapter I examine some ways by which contemporary Otavalan expressive culture taps into Andean symbolic registers to index pan-Andean cosmological themes and draw attention to the relevance of the historical and mythic past in guiding the present and the future. I take on the challenge of Otavalan hip hop music as a transnationally influenced form that at first glance might suggest a radical break

from traditional Andean aesthetics. Within this musical scene, I focus on one particular group whose music defies this assumption and instead bridges old and new forms, past and future utterances, and local and global sensibilities. My analysis of the song lyrics, musical composition, and performance style of the group shows how the progressive and unconventional musical statement of this hip hop band, in fact, aligns with time-honored Andean cultural politics and indigenous cosmological assumptions. Standing at the intersection of continuity and change—not only as a place of historical reconciliation and cultural translation but also of poiesis—the music and message of this group speaks to emergent identities as well as longstanding Andean communities of practice, memory, lived experience, meaning making, oral tradition, and collective action.

“SITUATED KNOWLEDGE AND NOMADIC SENSIBILITY” IN THE MUSICAL AESTHETICS OF LOS NIN

Monserrat wambrakuna kaypimi kanchik
Ama kungashun maymanda shamujunchik
Shuk llaktapi purishpa,
kayta chayta purishpa
Ñukanchik runa kawsayta
jawa jawaman apashun
(Youth of Monserrat neighborhood here we are
Let's not forget where we come from
Walking together as one people
Walking here, walking there
Our people's way of life
Let's elevate it, take it higher)³

Los Nin “Identidad” (Identity)⁴

In the summer of 2014, guided by the lyrics of one of their songs, I ventured into the Monserrat neighborhood in Otavalo, Ecuador, in search of a hip hop group that had emerged relatively recently in the Otavalan music scene. Los Nin (Those Who Say or Speak Up) formed in 2006 and quickly gained notoriety as talented young musicians who rapped in Quichua and Spanish. Their unique musical fusions reflected the sophisticated musical training, diasporic experience, and transnational influences of a new generation of Otavalan youths. Four siblings—Rumiñahui, Sumay, Ati and Kury Cachimuel—and two additional members, Diego Guzmán and Daniel Proaño, constitute Los Nin. The group members are conservatory trained and some have gone on to study music at university. The Cachimuel brothers are second-generation professional indigenous musicians in a family of 11 siblings who make up the acclaimed international performance ensemble Yarina, which operates primarily out of Boston, Rhode Island, and New York. Rumi, Sumay, Ati, and Kury grew up as part of the Otavalan transnational diaspora, living periodically in the United States and Otavalo, and touring internationally.

Given the group's trajectory, during my initial interview with Los Nin I first asked questions about musical innovation and new cultural production among young generations of the Otavalan global diaspora. When I inquired about their influences and musical tastes, I expected to hear, at least to some extent, about popular culture trends

in the United States, Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. Instead, group members responded that regardless of their contemporary performance styles, their expression remained anchored in Andean sensibilities. “*Nunca nos hemos desligado de esas raíces*” (“We’ve never abandoned those roots”) they insisted, pointing to their use of Andean instruments and Quichua language, attention to microtonal sounds, and reliance on Andean baseline tracks in their recordings.

Over the course of two summers of ethnographic research in 2014 and 2015, Los Nin progressively steered our conversations toward discussions of Andean aesthetics, symbolism, and worldview, which eventually led me to recognize the profound connections to enduring Andean themes in their songs and to appreciate continuities with long-established Andean epistemologies in their musical production. The intensely local and at the same time intensely global politics and musical poetics of Los Nin embody what George Lipsitz (1994, p. 44) describes as an aesthetic of “situated knowledge and nomadic sensibility.”

I explore this aesthetic in the accelerating rap of Los Nin, which highlights the intensity of social and cultural changes in Otavalo and communicates urgency in recovering a clear and compelling sense of orientation. I begin by explaining the historical and mythic significance of the name of the group, then highlight the profoundly Andean political and social message manifest in the lyrics of the songs, and finally delve into the reiteration of Andean symbolic constructions in their musical composition and verbal art.

WHAT IS IN A NAME?

The very name of the group stirs up enduring historical, political and mythic Amazonian and pan-Andean themes. Los Nin translates as “The ones who break the silence” or “The ones who proclaim” with a message to “rise up” (*katary*).⁵ Given Los Nin’s strong social-political stance against inequality and injustice, the message of the group no doubt alludes to late eighteenth century national independence Aymara leader, Tupac Katari (Julián Apasa Nina), whose *nom de guerre* was in turn inspired by two earlier Andean rebel leaders, Tomás Katari and Tupac Amaru. Tupac Amaru I, emperor of the last Inka stronghold in the Amazonian city of Villcabamba, was beheaded in the main plaza of Cuzco in 1572. Tupac Amaru II (José Gabriel Condorcanqui) and Tupac Katari suffered a similar fate two centuries later in 1781 after having laid extensive siege to the cities of La Paz and Cuzco in the largest rebellion in colonial Spanish American history. They were both decapitated and quartered, their body parts either buried or publicly displayed in the outer corners of the city (Walker, 1999, p. 53).

These Andean and Amazonian rebellions endure in Latin America’s social imagination. The events and their protagonists are reinvoked through time in resonant contexts. In their social critique of a twenty-first century world fraught with injustices, Los Nin often quote Tupac Katari: “*Huaranga huaranga kutin tigramushun; Volveremos y seremos millones*” (“We will return and we will be millions”), evoking the multiethnic, millenarian movement led by Katari that prophesied the return of the last Inka king along with a legion of ancestors to restore the world to its proper order.⁶

Beyond the historical allusion to Andean and Amazonian insurgencies, by referencing Katari the group also invokes a powerful myth found in Amazonian and Andean oral traditions. *Katari* in Aymara and *amarun* in Quechua/Quichua both mean “serpent” and refer to the mythic anaconda. The names and fate of the rebel leaders along with the prophecy of their return resonate with the myth of the colossal boa constrictor.

Norman Whitten (1988) relates that among Canelos Quichua people in Amazonian Ecuador, when one comes upon an anaconda or other type of boa it is common practice to slay the animal, severing the head from the body and burying the two parts separately on land at a distance from water. The myth of the amarun reflected in Canelos Quichua narratives and art foretells that, once buried, the severed body of the beast will grow steadily toward the head underground, and that when the body rejoins the head, an even more powerful mythic anaconda will emerge. This encounter of the body and the head of the anaconda—referred to as *tupaj amarun* (Whitten, 1988, p. 295)—produces an inevitable and cataclysmic overturning of time-space known as a *pachakutik*, which allows for the conditions of the past to return to the future to restore social and moral order for the production of a better life.

Colonial public executions were clearly intended to dissuade insurrection. Whether or not European colonizers realized how deeply their own methods of decapitation and quartering followed by burial of the limbs in far-flung places coincided with the myth of the amarun is uncertain. Regardless, the historical coincidence generated an ironic twist with political ripple effects. The eschatological phenomenon of the *pachakutik*, along with the millenarian promise of the return of the last Inka (Inka Rey or Inkarrí) and the restitution of a good society, reverberate throughout the history of Andean rebellions (Campbell, 1987, pp. 115, 134).

Given this context, it is significant that Los Nin self-identify as a movement rather than simply as a musical group. Their message of Marxist class struggle urges people to come together to make a better world. The lyrics of their songs echo the call to action of Andean rebel leaders of the past and also reference modern and contemporary Latin American revolutionaries like Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara of the Cuban Revolution and Subcomandante Marcos of the Mexican Zapatista or EZLN movement, positioning Los Nin as political actors in a broader legacy of insurgency. Los Nin describe the progression of this movement in history as a serpent that emerges from the earth and grows across the Latin American landscape. They assert that although in moments of historical transformation the serpent sheds its skin, it never loses its essence (liner notes Los Nin *Shinallami-Kanchik* CD).

LYRICS AS SOCIAL FORCE AND MUSIC AS INSURGENT ACTION

Mushuk kapak runa shamunchik

Kai mushuk runakunawan

Takinapak kaypi kanchikmi

Jatari jaku ñawpaman

New supreme/sovereign people let's come together

Here with the new people

We are here to make music/dance

Rise up quickly and go forward (toward the past)

Los Nin "Mushuk Runa" (New People)⁷

A call to action is repeatedly expressed in Los Nin's song lyrics, which also articulate a redefinition of the field of engagement, the terms of insurgency, and the stakes. Embedded in the proclamation of *Runa* (indigenous; plural, *Runakuna*) perseverance, the call to revolutionary uprising and the genesis of a new identity in their song

“Mushuk Runa,” we find an intriguing reference to dancing and music making—“*takinapak kaypi kanchikmi*.”⁸ Here, the suffix *pak* signals purposeful action, and the emphatic suffix *mi* in *kanchikmi* translates as “we are” (with stress added). With this in mind, a literary interpretation of the third line of the chorus yields something like “the purpose of our being here is to make music” or “the reason for our existence is to make music.” Similarly, in their song “Fronteras” (Borders) Los Nin sing, “*avanzan los pueblos con danza y batalla!*” (“the people advance with dancing and battle cries!”). In both cases, Los Nin redirect our attention to music as social force and insurgent action, pairing insurrection and Andean performance traditions.

The revolutionary tenor inciting people to rise up and move forward is curiously cast against the ambiguity of the term “*ñawpaman*,” a cursory interpretation of which yields “forward” or “frontwards.” However, within Andean conceptions of an inverse relation between space and time, the term more specifically connotes advancing forward in space while simultaneously moving backward in time. As Julián Pontón and native Otavaleño anthropologist Enrique Cachiguango write, in Andean cosmovision the past and the future are inextricably linked: “The future is inscribed in the past and, at some point, the past actually becomes the future” (Cachiguango and Pontón, 2010, p. 60; translation mine). Throughout the Andes people consider this insight a message of wisdom for Runakuna that if they want to walk toward the future in a self-determining way, they should not lose sight of the past. (See also Rappaport, 1998 [1990], pp. 8–9, 175–195).

The lyrics of “Mushuk Runa,” in effect, rally people to assert their progress by returning swiftly to the moral order of the historical and mythic past. Similarly, the message of a song entitled “Yuyay” (memory) is that, as Andean youths step into an increasingly globalized world, positive transformation hinges on remembering and valuing their heritage. The double meaning of *ñawpaman* and the notion of rejoining with the past appears again in Los Nin’s song “Identidad” (entitled “Katary” on their first CD), which begins in Spanish with the line, “*Yo no olvido de dónde vengo; antes que nada donde quiera que me pare digo lo que represento*” (“I don’t forget where I come from; above all else, wherever I stand, I say what I represent”). The song goes on to describe changes and outside influences on Otavaleño culture, the trend toward an ever-expanding and potentially disorienting transnational migration, and the crisis of Otavaleño youths caught between international expectations and local obligations. The rapid fire rap in Quichua in the chorus beckons:

<i>jatarichik wambrakuna punchallami</i>	Rise, young people, at the coming of the dawn
<i>runa kanchik</i>	We are Runa!
<i>kaypimi kanchik</i>	We are here!
<i>shamunajunchik jaku ñawpaman</i>	We are coming quickly forward (toward the past)
<i>ama pingashpa runa yuyaywan</i>	Without being ashamed of the ideas, the memories of Runa people
<i>runa kawsayta allikachishpa</i>	The Runa way of life is good (needs to be valued) ⁹

In another section of “Identidad” Los Nin play with the lyrical structure of the Quichua moral tenet now registered as Article 83 of the 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution under

Citizen Responsibilities: “*Ama killa, ama llulla, ama shua*” (“Don’t be lazy, don’t lie, don’t steal”). In their playful reprise of this familiar maxim, Los Nin proclaim a new imperative that underpins what it is to be a true Runa. Once again, Los Nin define this foundation in terms of a disposition to progress forward without forgetting, without abandoning, and without getting lost.¹⁰ The following song lyrics constitute an anchor, especially for youths caught in a whirlwind of dramatic change, transnational flows, migration, globalization, multiculturalism, multilingualism, innovation, colonial legacies, modernity, inequality, racism, and opportunity:

<i>Ama kungashpa</i>	Without forgetting
<i>Ama chingashpa</i>	Without getting lost
<i>Ama sakishpa</i>	Without abandoning
<i>Ama “chayguta” nirishpa</i>	Without saying just any little thing

The last line of this section—*ama “chayguta” nirishpa*—reminds youths that to speak up does not mean to repeat clichés heard in the media or to say just anything, (where the “just anything” is highlighted by use of the diminutive suffix *gu*). This line also bridges registers, and at a meta-discursive level reaffirms that Los Nin—those who say or declare—have something significant to say, not just any little thing. Their lyrics are not trivial poetic manipulations to fit the rhythm and rhyme of the rap. Lest we get carried away by the seductive rhyme or lost in the velocity of the delivery, Los Nin remind us to listen intently in order to hear the underlying message of transformative hope based on a return to past ideals, which repeats much like an ostinato pattern (sometimes taken for granted, sometimes overlooked), not only in their songs, but throughout Andean history. The knowledge that derives from hastening forward toward the past is what Otavalans refer to as *ñawpa yachaykuna*, “our deep knowledge of the past in all of its dimension [sic]” (Interview with Delia Quilumbaqui January 21 2013). It is what lies at the heart of being Runa; it is the essence that prevails in moments of transformation.

As Los Nin proclaim the dawn of a new people, they define this nascent identity as insurgent and also as explicitly Runa, the self-ascribed label by which Otavalans and other Andean and Amazonian autochthonous people self-identify. It literally means “fully human being” or, in Cachiguango and Pontón’s (2010) interpretation, people who are conscious of their Being in harmony with their surrounding macro and micro contexts. Los Nin, however, insist that their message is not just for indigenous people but also for whites, mestizos, *indígenas*, and Afro-descendants united. “The idea is for everyone to come together in local, national, global terms . . . ; for us to break with paradigms of ethnic identity in order to form a different type of identity where everyone is united” (interview with Los Nin June 21 2014). During our interviews, they described their vision for this new identity as a context where each person would be at liberty to appreciate and fulfill what he or she was, free from ethnic frameworks which they claim have divided people and obscured class inequalities.

Although their use of Quichua language, insertion of Quichua terms and concepts into their Spanish lyrics, allusions to Andean millenarian movements, and insistence on valuing traditions may at first glance seem to point to indigenous ethnic identity politics, once we listen past the term Runa as a gloss for “indigenous,” it becomes apparent that Los Nin use lyrical repetition to re-inscribe the term as a broadly-encompassing identity, an ethical conscience, a state of mind, a way of experiencing

the world. The inception and roots of this new identity, nonetheless, remain grounded in indigenous values and epistemologies, and more specifically in the temporal-spatial oscillation that allows a glimpse at the connections between the future, the past, and the present when “one comes toward oneself or falls back toward oneself, in order to be more authentically ‘there’” (Heidegger, 2008, pp. 376, 378). The fleeting outlook of this self-referential moment of realization or “moment of vision” is what generates a heightened existential awareness and provides the elements for autopoiesis or “self-making” (Handelman, 2004, pp. 11–12; Heidegger, 2008, pp. 1, 377, 389–390, 443). This threshold of awareness is precisely the condition Los Nin call for—a reflective context, unfettered by ethnic identity, where one can look deeply into the past in its full dimension and come to know and appreciate who one is.

VERBAL ART AND MUSICAL PERFORMANCE OF THE “MOMENT OF VISION” IN THE SONGS OF LOS NIN

The deeper philosophical and epistemological underpinnings of Los Nin—the concept of moving forward toward the past and the concerted effort to generate self-awareness at the center of this temporal-spatial encounter—is expressed performatively by this young hip hop group in their verbal art and musical composition. They do this, moreover, in a style consistent with traditional Andean Quichua/Quechua¹¹ poetic construction characterized by an aesthetic of symmetry around a central axis.

Quichua/Quechua poetic symmetry operates at the level of parallelism of contrastive pairs analogous to co-constitutive opposing categories (such as *right* and *left* or *east* and *west*) that Tomlinson (2014, p. 8, Tomlinson’s italics) describes as “*fractal recursivities*.” As these categories define each other, their contrastive relationship can be subdivided indefinitely, yielding a structure of “nested homologies.” (See also Gal, 2005, cited in Tomlinson, 2014, p. 8). The Andean concepts of *ñawpa*, which, as described earlier, connotes moving forward in space and backward in time, and *quipa*, which indicates moving backward in space and forward in time, function in this co-constitutive opposing way. They embody an inverted symmetry of “coming” and “going” whereby contrasting actions are not only mutually defined but implied in one another in such a way that mention of one immediately calls forth the other. Bruce Mannheim (1998, p. 243) points out that in Southern Peruvian Quechua poetry, beyond the literal interpretation of the words, semantic pairs capture abstract conceptual representations and “tap into the tacit knowledge that Quechua speakers have of word meanings.” This insight helps us appreciate the depth of Quichua/Quechua expression and informs a method of analysis for deciphering the verbal art in Los Nin’s rap music.

Attention to contrastive pairs, conceptually related words, ambiguous and/or salient concepts orients the analysis below. As we revisit the lines of “Mushuk Runa,” notice the highlighted words and the movement they trace as the first and last lines, marked by kinetic gestures of “coming” and “going,” seem to orbit around the stationary act of “being here,” reiterated in the two lines at the center:

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| A | <i>Mushuk kapak runa shamunchik</i> | New supreme/sovereign people let’s come together |
| B | <i>Kai mushuk runakunawan</i> | Here with the new people |

B *Takinapak kaypi kanchikmi*

A *Jatari jaku ñawpaman*

We are here to make music/dance

Rise up quickly and **go forward** (toward the past)

From this perspective, the emergent pattern can be diagrammed as ABBA, where the reiteration of BB emphatically asserts the “authentically there” of a positioned central presence or condition one comes toward or falls back toward. It bears pointing out, moreover, that although “coming” and “going” are inverted mirror images, due to the ambiguity of Andean time-space relations, these actions are ultimately complementary and, in fact, one in the same. For this reason too, they are both labeled A.

Mary Douglas writes that in the chiasitic (crosswise arrangement where concepts are repeated in reverse order) ABBA pattern, the second part can be said to have “turned around” or “crossed over” (Douglas, 2007, p. 33). She goes on to state that the “‘crossing over’ or the change of direction of the movement at the middle point” is what allows the end to connect back to the beginning, forming a ring composition (Douglas, 2007, p. 6). Douglas’s insistence on the importance of the center draws our attention back to the BB segment of Los Nin’s song. As Mannheim (1999, pp. 28–29) signals, in addition to considering what is expressed, given the evocative rather than merely descriptive nature of Quichua/Quechua language, it is essential that we also deliberate over what is not explicitly stated. Namely, the pivot point that remains tacit at the center of the ABBA pattern should be represented as an implied C or axis around which AB and its inversion, BA, revolve: AB (C) BA.

One clue regarding the tacit C in the pattern lies in festival dancing, which follows a similar configuration. Rotating circle formations are prevalent in the collective dancing of Andean communities. Dancers typically circle in one direction until someone yells, “¡vuelta, vuelta, vuelta!” in Spanish or “tikray” (half turn) in Quichua, prompting a change in the direction of the rotation. The *tikray* signals a moment of personal transformation. When one individual calls the *tikray* in the dance, the whole group acknowledges this reflective change of heart and follows (See Wibbelsman, 2009; Figure 8.1).

At the intersection of the BB segment, the orientation from A to B is “outward” to “inward,” toward the coming together of the new, sovereign Runa people. The second B initiates a movement that unfolds from “inward” to “outward,” upward and toward the past. The *tikray* or half turn marks the tacit C as the moment of the change in orientation. It is the threshold that defines a transformation. The *tikray* in the pattern of the lyrics is, moreover, a fractal projection of a larger cosmic reversal—the *pachakutik*, the cataclysmic overturning of Andean time-space discussed above. This pattern of half-turns marking points of reversal replicates in Andean music, dance, ritual, weaving, and a variety of other settings. In each case, the *tikray* is a manifestation of a scaled version of the *pachakutik*, the epitome of Andean cosmovision. As Cachiguango and Pontón (2010, p. 60) write, “everything has a Pachakutin, a change, a transformation, a renewal.” The moment of genesis of a new identity and new world order, the moment of understanding oneself and being “authentically ‘there,’” happens precisely at this cosmological turn, which is all the more formidable in its implied ubiquity. As we unpack the layers of significance it becomes clear that the eschatology of the *pachakutik* does not represent an end (*tukuna*), but rather a *tikray* (reversal) pivoting toward *jatari* (regeneration). Los Nin’s creativity around the ambiguity of the perplexing concept of “ñawpaman” sets in motion this chain of references and elicitations.



Figure 8.1 Small group of festival dancers revolving in one direction, then the other.
Cotacachi, Ecuador, 2014

Photo credit: M. Wibbelsman.

Los Nin, furthermore, replicate the aesthetic of symmetry around a center in their musical composition. The work of Barbara Bradby (1987) on the symmetry of the Andean pentatonic scale brings to light the parallels between Quichua/Quechua poetic patterns and musical structures. Bradby (1987, p. 211) notes that “the particular form taken by the pentatone in the Andes organizes the five notes into two pairs, each forming a minor third, arranged symmetrically above and below a central major third” that give the impression of “revolving around the tonic as a center-point” (Bradby, 1987, p. 208). Bradby acknowledges the use of different scales beyond the pentatonic scale in the Andes, but asserts that in all cases, “they are variations on the idea of the symmetry of above and below around a center” (1987, p. 214). In their musical arrangements, Los Nin remain loyal to the pentatonic scale, and more importantly to the dynamic symmetry of the notes.

On occasion, older members of the community are inclined to join in, dancing traditional dance steps to the rap rhythms of Los Nin. In fact, while an audience of their peers had initially given them a lukewarm reception, Los Nin mentioned that, curiously, it was older Otavalan folks who seemed to accept, like, and understand their music. (See McDowell, 2015, pp. 267, 269–270 for more on older and younger audience reception and viewer responses online). Use of pitched sounds that correspond to a pentatonic scale renders the music of Los Nin recognizable to older listeners. The ostinato pattern based on a minor triad in their song “Identidad,” for instance,

reproduces the familiar structure of a recurring musical motif that is common in the genre of indigenous *sanjuanitos*. Similarly, the downward cascade of tones that eventually outlines the members of the scale in triplets matches the cyclic melody of the highly ritualized *gaitas gemelas* (paired traverse flutes). These are some of the elements that help explain the appeal of the music of Los Nin to Otavalans of the older generations, suggesting surprising and unanticipated compatibilities between hip hop and traditional Andean music (Figure 8.2).

There is one other formulation at the intersection of rhythm and verse that stands out in the production of Los Nin as a meaningful bridge with longstanding Andean epistemologies: the use of ideophones, defined as words that evoke ideas in sound, and also what might be described as condensed utterances. Many of them appear in the CD recordings but not in the transcription of the lyrics or the liner notes. Examples of ideophones are expressions like “*Tas! Tas! Tas!*” often heard in festival dancing, where the words capture the sound produced by slapping or hitting.¹² Although ideophones are often dismissed as linguistic throwaways or clutter, these manifestations are far from meaningless. Rather than self-contained exclamations, they index a rich, encompassing context. Similarly, condensed utterances function in synecdochic fashion, calling up a broader whole by way of allusive reference to a part, in the same way that a sail stands for a ship or, in a more metaphorical interpretation, a head stands for a leader.



Figure 8.2 Graffiti art in the streets of Otavalo by hip hop artist Álvaro Córdova, better known as “Tenaz”, 2014

Photo credit: M. Wibbelsman.

In the Otavalo area, it is the *gaiteros* or *flauteros* (flute players) of Kotama who are considered to be both master musicians (*takik*) and *sumak-rimak* or *arawik*, poets or guardians of the art of the spoken word. Cachiguango and Pontón (2010, p. 95) write that the *arawik* are Runakuna who “control the art of the spoken word as a mechanism for the transmission of knowledge” (translation mine). They go on to explain that the art of the *sumac-rimak* or *arawik* consists of “transforming the feeling of the moment into comprehensible expressions that are transmitted to the community as the strength of the heart, accompanying, enlivening, encouraging.”¹³

Examples of these expressions include exclamations like “*churay, churay!*” (put it there); “*kashnamari-kashnamari!*” (this is how we are); “*kunan sí, kunan sí!*” (*ahora sí*, now); “*allikuna, allikuna!*” (good people); “*kari-kari!*” (men, men); “*tsilinkulun*” (captures the sound of lightning and thunder, conveying “we are lighting; we are thunder”); “*tikray-tikray!*” (*vuelta*, turn or half-turn); “*hutsiya-hutsiya!*” (return in the opposite direction); “*aripak churu-aripak churu!*” (spiral of good); “*ahahay-ahahay!*” (encouraging shouts). (See Cachiguango and Pontón, 2010, pp. 95–96).

In his “Prologue” to Cachiguango and Pontón’s book, Juan F. Ruales (Cachiguango and Pontón, 2010, p. 7) states that these masters are considered to be fragile encyclopedias, living archives of codes and ancestral signs tasked with re-inscribing this wisdom in the popular expressions of contemporary and future generations. Along with other guardians of wisdom and knowledge such as the *yachaks* (shamans, literally, ones who know), the *gaiteros* are the keepers of central symbolic patterns that appear in recurring fashion as structuring concepts in Otavalan society and that are, in fact, key mechanisms for the political and cultural self-determination of Andean communities.

Los Nin end their song “Identidad” with an extended, repeating section that simulates the call and response chanting that accompanies collective ritual dancing; each line is repeated as a response by the group:

<i>kaypimi kanchik</i>	(<i>Aquí estamos—Here we are!</i>)
<i>Tantanajushun</i>	(<i>Vamos a juntarnos—We’re coming together!</i>)
<i>jatary runa</i>	(<i>Levántate hombre andino—Rise up Andean people!</i>)
<i>maypitak kangui</i>	(<i>En dónde estás—Where are you?</i>)
<i>kaypimi kanchik</i>	(<i>Aquí estamos—Here we are!</i>)
<i>Punyaromanda</i>	(<i>De Punyaro—From Punyaro!</i>)
<i>kutin shamunchik . . .</i>	(<i>Otra vez hemos regresado—Coming back again!</i>)
<i>Tikrapashun</i>	(<i>Y volveremos allí—Returning!</i>)
<i>Ayay kunan si . . .</i>	(<i>Ahora sí—Now!</i>)
<i>Shinami kanchik ayay . . .</i>	(<i>Así somos—This is how we are!</i>)

The minimalist words of the chant stand out against the feverish pace and excess of the rap lyrics in the rest of the song. My previous work documenting the profound symbolic and semiotic content packed in Otavalan ritual patterns (Wibbelsman, 2009), along with the insights authors such as Mannheim (1998, 1999) and Douglas (2007) provide, and comments made by master *gaiteros* in Kotama led me to contemplate the likelihood that a tremendous amount of knowledge might, in fact, be encoded in between the lines of the chant. I eventually came to hear the rap in the first section not so much as a stylistic and lyrical contrast to the chant at the end, but rather as a reiteration and more explicit articulation of the same content.

The chant, moreover, performs the movement of coming together, rising up, and returning again to an emphatic position of being here, “*kaypimi kanchik*,” and authentically Being, “*shinami kanchik*” (where the agglutinative suffix *mi* adds stress to the root word *kaypi* [here] and *shina* [like]). Los Nin repeat this phrase in their concerts and throughout their recordings as a principle that anchors what it is to be a true Runa. It is, tellingly, the title of their first album, “*Shinallami-Kanchik*” (*Así no más somos*—This is how we are!).

As we zoom in on the structure of the chant, we notice a reiteration of this phrase in the first, fifth, and last of ten lines, highlighted above to call attention yet again to a pattern of symmetry of coming and going that falls back toward a center. As the end meets up with the beginning and the meaning is packed in the middle, we can observe an unmistakable perfect ring composition that performs what Cachiguango and Pontón (2010, p. 47) identify as the *kawsaykutin*, the law of the eternal return. Notably, the first and last lines of the song—“*Donde quiera que me pare digo lo que represento*” and “*Shinami kanchik*”—perform the same pattern, outlining a ring on a larger scale.

As we zoom out, we realize that the emphatically positioned, self-referential “*kaypimi kanchik*, *shinami kanchik*” that become one in the same when the beginning meets up with the end, is the axis of rotation not only of the chant section but, in its fractal reiterations, of the entire song and the album. As the pattern replicates on scales of all magnitudes, presumably when Los Nin declare “*shinallami-kanchik!*” in the pivotal moment of self-affirmation, transformation, and regeneration, the revolving circle of their peers and their community acknowledges the reflective turn and follows. Beyond that, the logic of a magnifying, recursive pattern suggests that when Los Nin call this *tikray*, their performative act has the potential to incite the cosmic spiral to respond with a half-turn or return in the opposite direction that prompts a reversal of Andean time-space.

CONCLUSION

Intense reiteration and redundant symbolic and semiotic layering defines Andean performance aesthetics. Symbolic patterns such as the circle, the spiral, the serpentine, and the double helix appear persistently and at different scales as forms of both representation and action (Wibbelsman, 2009). Without exception, these patterns all exhibit a degree of “torquing outward” and “curving in” upon themselves, to use Don Handelmann’s (2004, p. 13) terms, ultimately collapsing into a single iteration of “double movement” defined by an outward and inward oscillation that spirals around a center. The process of “letting go and holding in,” implied in this oscillation wherein “through ritual and mythic ‘play’ inner controls become stronger as outer forces are drawn upon,” is, according to Whitten and Whitten (2008, pp. 121, 144), the basis of indigenous power. Beyond this, as Norman Whitten writes elsewhere (2003, p. xi), these processes enact past and future “imaginaries” central to group memory and to the possibility of approaching objective conditions “with transformative hope.”

These revelations of Andean worldviews echo in the lyrics and music of Los Nin, not only revealing profound cosmological themes in their message, but Andean epistemological and aesthetic paradigms exemplified in their verbal art and embedded in their musical composition. I agree with Mannheim’s (1999, p. 40) insistence that we must move past marveling at the proliferation of syncretic and hybrid forms in the

Andes and instead engage sites of cultural production in order to explain *why* and *how* these new forms emerge, and whether they are so radically new after all. By way of this type of analysis we can begin to grasp what is at stake in the transforming musical landscape of the Andes. And as Don Handelman (2004, p. 219) asserts, what is at stake in the epistemologically and cosmologically grounded performance aesthetics of groups like Los Nin is nothing less than “possibilities for world-making.”

Coda: *Arawik*—Guardians of the Art of the Spoken Word

I found it curious that as I was speaking with *takik* maestro Taita José Mariano Quinchuquí Tabango (2014 interview), he dismissed a series of more traditional, folkloric groups as incompatible musical partners due to their inability to master the *gaitas*, but when he came to Los Nin, he said these *wambras* (kids) were not outside the realm of compatibility. This statement left me wondering if Los Nin, could not, in fact, be the new Andean *arawik*—guardians of the art of the spoken word, operating within a cultural framework of local understanding, transforming distant knowledge and imbuing it with indigenous values, and translating traditional wisdom for a new generation of Otavalan youths.

NOTES

- 1 Acknowledgments: Many thanks to Luis Morató, Rebeka Campos-Astorkiza, Alex Seifert, Charles Atkinson, Norman Whitten, Delia Quilumbaqui, Musicology and Ethnomusicology Lecture Series at The Ohio State University, OSU Faculty Writing Group, *Takik* Maestros at the Escuelita de Gaitas Jatun Kotama, and Los Nin.
- 2 Within the broader Andean Quechua supradialect, Quichua or Kichwa is the indigenous language spoken in Ecuador.
- 3 Author's transcription and translation with help from Delia Quilumbaqui and Rebeka Campos-Astorkiza. Edits and additional interpretation by songwriter Sumay Cachimuel on all songs.
- 4 www.youtube.com/watch?v=7yLXfruOQAs.
- 5 There is some ambiguity between *katary*, which in Aymara means “serpent” and refers more specifically to the mythic anaconda, and *jatari*, which in Quichua/Quechua means to “rise up.” The terms *katary* and *jatari*, nonetheless, carry similar associations in Andean conceptualization. The play on words and pronunciations brings out the underlying connection between the mythic anaconda and processes of upheaval and rebellion. The message to rise up, moreover, is inextricably tied to the name of the group, so much so that representations of Los Nin in several publications appear, variously, as “Los Nin Katary,” “Nin Katary,” and “los Nin Katary.”
- 6 This is Los Nin's Quichua and Spanish interpretation of Katari's infamous phrase at the end of their music video of “Mushuk Runa” www.youtube.com/watch?v=VKCJfAFpjIc. Katari's words are quoted by other authors, including Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (1987, p. 150), in the original Aymara as “*Nayawa jiwtxa nayjarusti waranga waranqanakawa kutanipxa*.”
- 7 www.youtube.com/watch?v=VKCJfAFpjIc.
- 8 While in Ecuadorian Quichua the term *takina* refers exclusively to making music (and *tushuna* refers to dancing), in Peruvian and Bolivian Quechua, making music and dancing translate as a single term, *takina*, which can be explained in English as embodied musicality or “musicking” that includes dancing, singing, playing instruments.
- 9 Spanish translation:

Jóvenes, levántense en el amanecer
¡Somos Runas!

¡Aquí estamos!

Estamos viniendo rápido hacia adelante (el pasado)

Sin avergonzarnos de las ideas, las memorias de la gente Runa

El modo de vivir de los Runa es bueno (hay que valorarlo)

- 10 For an alternative interpretation of this and other lines in “Identidad” see McDowell, 2015, pp. 267–268.
- 11 Although Quechua and Quichua are considered different languages within the Quechua supradialect family, they share linguistic and narrative constructions. Authors cited refer to Southern Peruvian Quechua. Their observations, however, also apply to Ecuadorian Quichua.
- 12 The onomatopoeic Quichua expression “*Tas-tas*” has been imported into Ecuadorian Spanish as children’s language for scolding in the form of a slap on the hand or buttocks.
- 13 “Es el runa que domina el arte de la palabra como mecanismo de transmisión de los saberes. Saber consistía en transformar el sentimiento del momento en expresiones altamente comprensibles, es decir, la palabra es transmitida a la comunidad como la fuerza del corazón, acompañando, alegrando, animando.” Translation mine.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE ANDEAN MATERIAL WORLD



Denise Y. Arnold

INTRODUCTION

Material studies in the Andes, as elsewhere, have tended to concentrate on specific classes of objects (natural features of the landscapes, textiles, knotting systems, basketry, ceramics, stonework), and to pre-assign these classes to natural or cultural domains, overlooking their possible relations, and indeed the technical basis in common between all man-made things (Harris, 2008). This is at odds with the regional theories of Aymara and Quechua speakers, who perceive these objects as part of a common world.

To understand these other ways of being in the world experienced by native speakers, recent material studies are now going beyond earlier epistemological approaches, comparing ways of knowledge, towards ontological ones, comparing ways of being in the world. Seeking more symmetrical relations between humans, other animals, plants, and things (Latour, 1991; González-Ruibal, 2007), and an ontology of relations closely allied to animism, these new approaches show that the interrelations between these entities are ontologically more fundamental than the entities themselves (Bird-Davis, 1999). The relational ontologies examined in the Andean case include those between humans and humans, humans and plants, humans and animals, and humans and material things (Cavalcanti, 2007; Sillar, 2009; Haber, 2011; Kohn, 2013; Lema, 2014; Pazzarelli, 2015; de Munter, 2016).

Another key influence, originating in lowland ethnographies, is the theory of perspectivism (Århem 1993; Conklin, 1995; Viveiros de Castro, 1998; Fausto, 2000; Vilaça, 2005) with its proposal that there are many natural worlds (multinaturalism) but only one culture. Here, changes in perspective (mainly between humans and felines) signal the constant threat of inter-species transformation, where bodies change whereas souls remain stable. Attention shifts from material stability to dynamic transformations, and the interrelations among the wider communities of living things making up Andean biocultural space (Haber, 2011; Lema, 2014).

In these relational ontologies, material things such as textiles, pots, or stones are not only part of these communities of living things, but living beings in themselves. Textiles are living beings (Cereceda, 1978; Desrosiers, 1982), the action of weaving converting material substance into a “person” (Arnold, 2000; Arnold, 2018). Pots too are living

things (Sillar, 1997, p. 527). And sacred stones (*wak'a*) among the members of the rural communities, called *ayllus*, around Cusco are “earth-beings,” *tirakuna*, coexisting with humans to form the wider *ayllu* community (De la Cadena, 2014). De la Cadena affirms that the *tirakuna* as “other-than-human” *beings* are not living entities in the biological sense, but their distinctive characteristics make them other “selves.” She reminds us of Viveiros’s remark that Amerindian words for self-designation usually translated as “human being” do not denote humanity as a natural species as opposed to other natural species, but refer to the social condition of personhood (Viveiros de Castro, 1998, p. 476, cited in De la Cadena, 2014, p. 257).

Living materials are already present in the ancient Moche tale of the “Rebellion of the objects” against humans (Quilter, 1990; Allen, 1998). Illustrations of this tale show many rebellious objects, including a weaving spindle, as humanized and animated in appearance. Sea animals transform from prey to predator, animals dress as humans, and humans dress in animal skins. This turn from solid object to fluid transformations reconfigures material culture studies, making it debatable whether to distinguish “material” from “immaterial” substance, or “organic” from “inorganic” matter (Preziosi, 2013).

FROM WORLDVIEW TO COSMOPRAXIS

Likewise, the recent ontological turn questions the former “worldview” (Sp. *cosmovisión*) approach to reality, molded through common representations of knowledge patterns, cognitive schemes, overriding structures and organizational frames, in favor of “cosmopraxis” as an action and learning-centered alternative, directed at co-participation in the world.

In the modern Aymara setting of El Alto, La Paz, De Munter (2016) describes how those with more experience call the attention of the young or other learners (in a ritual for example) to submit themselves to established ways of knowing about being alive, where concrete acts of commemoration through sharing food, drink, and actions have more weight than the cognitivist ones of categorizing, distinguishing, and controlling. The point is to grow in a constant flow between all vital beings, linking humans to materials no longer considered inert but vibrant (in Jane Bennett’s sense [2010]), from cosmic elements (the sun, moon, stars, lightning) to local ones (mountains, rivers, *wak'a*). Here, “practicing family” (*tumpaña*) and “following life’s path” (*thakhichaña*) contribute to this wider language of “growth.”

In attending to this flow of things, Amerindian cosmologies emphasize how creation is never from nothing, but transforms what is already there. Hence a vital part of regional learning processes concerns how to transform materials, from fiber to thread and from thread to woven fabric in weaving practice, or from clay to powder to paste and finally form in pottery making. Making things, whether textiles or pots, from regional materials demands intertwined creative and social (learning and dissemination) processes where introducing life and personhood into material form is an integral aspect to be learnt (Arnold, 2018).

In archaeology, the technical processes of weaving, metal working and pot making are often analyzed in terms of the operative chain, coined by Leroi-Gourhan (1964), inspired by earlier work on linked sequences and their associated techniques by Marcel

Mauss (1936). Mauss located technology within social contexts, and proposed that as people transform objects in the world, so they create and transform themselves.

These transformational dynamics inhere in Andean grammar. Rather than the industrially-defined “technical execution” of “raw materials” transformed into “by-products” and “end-products” of a productive chain, complex Aymara verbs denote the transformative “creation” of new material forms at distinct stages. The verbal root defines the emerging material form (whether thread, *ch’ankha*, or clothes, *isi*), the verbalizing suffix *-pta* defines the transformative process in the making, while the causative suffix *-ya* indicates that a process is enacted with “human” intervention. *Ch’ankhaptayaña* describes the human action of converting fleece into thread, *isiptayaña* that of converting fabric into clothes, and, importantly, *jaqiptayaña* that of converting a weaving into a person (*jaqi*). The same verb *jaqiptayaña* describes transforming an overgrown field into a cultivated one by attending to its borders and throwing out weeds (Arnold and Yapita, 2006, p. 112); fields too are made into persons.

Recent critiques of how the technical stages of the operative chain have become limited to a locus of symbolic discourse, expressed in metaphors about techno-productive processes and, say, farming, remind us of Mauss’s (1936) original conception. Alberti (2012, pp. 17–25), for example, prefers to view these distinct technical acts as “ontological equivalents” of similar processes, where the technical process defines ontological relations and not the other way around.

Like textiles, domestic crocks as living things are animated by the spirit called *animu* (Sillar, 1997, p. 527). Although men tend to mine clay and make the pots, women grind the dry clay and often finish pottery surfaces. Women are also in charge of household crockery, so cooking pots are most associated with women and frequently compared to wombs (Sillar, 1997, p. 520). A pregnant woman should not overheat a skillet as this might induce her placenta to stick to the walls of her womb, causing difficulties in childbirth (Sillar, 1997, p. 521). In Raqui near Cusco, the *chawina* instrument used to form the pot “makes it grow” like an organic being, and the enamel coating on the pot’s surface is its “breath” (*sami*). Like bodies, pots have lips, a mouth, a neck, ears, stomach and buttocks. When a pot is broken, it dies. Deliberately shattered in sacrificial acts, the shards of broken pots are often buried on mountain tops, suggesting a nexus between shards, the dead, and the ancestors (Sillar, 1997, p. 528). Shards are used as recipients for burnt offerings or to cut an umbilical cord, separating one generation from another (Arnold, 1988, p. 323).

Ontologically, the technical processes of pottery making are equivalent to those making foods, such as the freeze-dried potatoes called *chuño*. Similar instruments (grinding stones and mortars) mold both domains (Sillar, 1997, pp. 517–518), in comparable processes of extraction from the earth, selection of materials, drying out the raw material, grinding down the clay, and the final dampening to make the paste. In the cycle of pottery production, clay extraction, because of the precarious nature of the sites, can be a dangerous task compared to mining, and charged to men who make offerings to the *Tío* (the devilish mining deity) in August before mining the clay, as farmers do to the Virgin Earth before cultivating the soil. At the end of the productive cycle, highland men used to take the clay pots with “mummified” *chuño* to trade for valley products. The dry materials of pot making are ontologically equivalent to death; the dampening process to the revitalizing rains (Sillar, 1997, p. 518).

Introducing life into matter

In ontological contexts, linguistic expressions refer to introducing “life” into objects. An emergent Andean anthropology of life and life forms considers how indigenous notions of introducing “life” (*jakaña*, which also means “placenta”), making grow (*achuyaña*), mutually rearing (*uywaña*), rooting (*saphintaña*), and wrapping (*k’iruña*), focus attention on witnessing living processes and participating in their flow.

In the farming practices of Qaqachaka a community located in the Bolivian Andean highlands, fertilizing dung is called *jakaña*, “placenta,” as it wraps around growing potatoes to nurture them (Arnold, 1988, p. 498). The presence of dung as fuel in firing pottery helps oxidation processes as it insulates (wraps around) the pots being fired. The location for firing pots intercalates with farming tasks so that fields can be fertilized with left-over potassium and phosphorus in a longstanding practice evident already at Tiwanaku (Franke, 1992, cited in Sillar, 2000, p. 63).

Cultural patterns of learning how to grow and make things emphasize these relational ontologies. Young girls in Qaqachaka learn to weave in steps of increasing complexity, institutionalized in the three basic stages of regional ways of learning, called *thakhi*, where increasing complex looms, garments, and techniques must be mastered before passing to the following stage (Arnold and Espejo, 2015, pp. 64–69). Apprentices learn in parallel how to make textiles into living beings. They distinguish haptically and conceptually between the elastic and shiny living fiber sheared from a live animal, and the dull and brittle fiber cut from a pelt. They differentiate between spinning clockwise to generate “S” thread (*kupi*), associated with life-giving processes, from spinning anticlockwise to generate “Z” thread (*lluq’i*), associated with sorcery, death and interment (López Campeny, 2006–2007; 2014, p. 47).

Small girls first learn to make small garments on simple looms; similarly, children learn to make miniature pots and miniature bread babies (*t’ant’a wawas*) in household cookery, ready for the Feast of the Dead. The miniature pots are used in play, in learning patterns of exchange with the gods, or in everyday interchanges and in rituals. Miniature pots and looms are often buried with the placenta of a newborn who has died (Mishkin, 1946, p. 458; Tschopik, 1946, p. 549, cited in Sillar, 1997, pp. 523–525; Allen, 1988, p. 77). Pottery miniatures made from local materials are offered in sanctuaries as gifts for the place or as expressions of personal desire for something similar, but at a larger scale (herd animals, a house, a car) (Sillar, 1997, p. 524). Miniature cups as material intermediaries are used to serve alcohol in libation making, and in the past such cups were often interred with the dead. As in ancient coastal cultures, miniature food sacks filled with dry foods are still buried with the dead in Qaqachaka (Arnold and Espejo, 2013, p. 332).

Miniatures as kinds of *illa* (efficacious miniatures usually carved in stone, which embody fertility and productive potential), tend to be made around dates that open new periods of growth in the annual cycle (San Juan, San Bartolomé, Todos Santos, Navidad), whether at a communal or domestic level (Sillar, 1997, p. 525). Within relational ontologies, the use of miniatures in ritual, in child’s play, and in bringing larger scale desired objects into being, focuses energy and attention, synchronizes activities, and coordinates power between social actors. Andean *misas*, like the small alter layouts in Mesoamerican contexts, serve as artifices for “scaling up” activities (Pitrou, 2015, p. 8). As variants of *illas*, miniaturized layouts replicate larger patterns

of movement, actions, and things (Allen, 1997; Elizaga, 2010). These ordered schemes often echo life forms (especially camelids) or natural features in the landscape. The carved stone known as Saywite, near Abancay (Figure 9.1), or those throughout the Sondondo valley (Ayacucho), echo human interventions in terrace building and water flow to expand the areas under cultivation and the possible yields. Although these carved stones have been interpreted as “models,” they just as likely served as *illa*-like devices for scaling up and coordinating life-giving activities.

“Wrapping” (*k’iruña*) in clothing of people, ancestral mummy bundles, or sacred stones transforms them into common kin. In Qaqachaka, woven food sacks used to store grain in household deposits are “grain clothes” (*yaran isi*). Local women wrap newly born animals in song to transform them from the wild mountain haunts of their birthplace to a domestic setting (Arnold and Yapita, 2000, p. 243). The transformation of people clothed in camelid fiber garments into camelids is expressed in many ritual and political settings, when *ayllu* authorities become “herders” (*awatiri*) and *comunarios* their “flocks”, the women “female llamas” (*qhachu qarwa*) and the men “male ones” (*urqu qarwa*) (Abercrombie, 1998, pp. 342, 377; Arnold and Yapita, 2000, p. 352).



Figure 9.1 Carved stones in the Sondondo valley (Ayacucho, Peru)

Source: Proyecto de Investigación Paisajes Culturales del Valle de Sondondo.

Photo credit: Patricia Aparicio Martínez, Dirección de Gestión de la Investigación, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

In other ontological equivalents to farming processes, the organic growth of branching roots (*saphintaña*, with the *-nta* suffix aggregated to the verb root), reinforced through ritual, exemplifies rhizomatic thought (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988). The basic units of this pattern of thinking are a seed sprouting its filament (Arnold and Yapita, 2000, pp. 406–407). Analogically, in a herding context, a llama’s new coat is a vegetative covering of seminal elements and fibrous filaments, leading a Peruvian herder to declare: “The llama is my field” (Tomoeda, 1985). The Argentine philosopher Rodolfo Kusch calls such thought patterns “seminal” thinking (1970, pp. 288–310).

The cross-cutting animate agency implicated when humans raise animals, in the herding patterns of rearing in common, is expressed in the Aymara verb *uywaña* (Martínez, 1976; van Kessel, 1991; Lema, 2014; Haber, 2007; Arnold, 2016). Communal history and social memory, too, privilege the material elements (mountains, archaeological sites, waterways) that “reared” the communities under their charge; other material instances are soon forgotten (Lema and Pazzarelli, 2015).

Another regional way of tracing dynamic changes in material form is through directed flows of energy, called *ch’ama* in Aymara and *kallpa* in Quechua. Quechua-speakers in the valleys around Tarabuco (Chuquisaca, Bolivia) direct this energy towards interrelating the various elements of the universe (human, plant, and animal) as a vital part of the ontological relations between many natural worlds, rather than the singular nature we have separated from culture and ourselves (Cavalcanti, 2007). In Inka times, in the absence of tributary relations in produce, productivity was initiated through mutual exchange patterns such as these, giving access to, and rights over the energy of the rest, especially in manual labor, whether through kin relations, marriage patterns, or the sharing of food, drink, and coca leaves (Murra, 1987, p. 60).

In Aymara language, concentrated energy and power is often attributed to lightning (called in the past *illapa*) and the fulgurite stones forged by lightning. But concentrated material form is expressed through the nominal root *qu-*, in terms such as *quta*, a mass of water, *qullu*, a mass of earth, and *qutu*, a concentration of elements (people, animals, food products, stones, or boulders). For the Argentine painter César Paternosto (1996), Inka carved stones echoing landscape features are directed towards these tectonic energies.

ANIMATED SUBSTANCE

The return to animism among scholars of the Andes to rethink material culture challenges the old Cartesian dichotomy between spirit and matter. Animism is no longer viewed as an external ingredient added to a substance to make it animate, rather animate dynamics characterize material changes in themselves.

For Ingold (2006), the mistaken idea of adding “spirit” to matter to “animate” or add “agency” to it to explain how persons and objects act in the world under their own volition, is part of the former Cartesian binary logic. Instead, humans and objects exist and act in force fields (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988), participating in matrices of materials in transformation together with other animals (camelids in the case of textiles), insects (bees in the case of honey, cochineal beetles in the case of red dyestuff), and plants (in the case of cotton, jute, or silk). So, Ingold asks, if objects are appreciated as active materials instead of inert matter, why invoke the additional notions of “animism” or “agency”?

Corresponding Andean debates focus on the Quechua term *kamay* for “life spirit.” Lechtman’s exploration of “technological essence” (1984) notes how *kamay* describes the infusing of life spirit into inanimate objects, and how under the Inka, the god Viracocha was held to animate objects by breathing spirit into them. For Lechtman (1984, p. 33), “technological essence” is particularly concerned with revealing visually on an object’s surface its inner structure, this final surface brilliance denoting the presence of animating spirit. She examines this idea in Andean metal-work surface-depletion techniques in the treatment of alloys to produce shining silver or gold surfaces, and in weaving where textured and colored surface designs form an integral part of weaving structures and techniques. Technique and cultural concepts also overlap in pottery making, where burnishing techniques use quartz pebbles or glass so that the flattened mica grains shine on the surface as “gold-like particles” (Arnold, 1993, p. 208 cited in Sillar, 2000, p.62).

Lechtman’s general stance towards Andean technological preoccupations distinguishes between the “hardware” of object-centered material technologies of the West and “software”-oriented mutually-shared knowledge practices of the Andes, directed towards coordinating the productive efforts of widely distributed populations living at different altitudes (Lechtman, 1993). In this wider context, life force (*kamay*) is not an added ingredient, but one put into circulation through mutual effort.

In many colonial Quechua prayers accompanying ritual offerings in farming contexts, the verb *kamay* (or the agentive *kamaq* or participle *kamasqa*) denotes this animating and transmitting life force. But in this context of human ritual agency directed towards a specific end, *kamay* has the sense of making animate all things to realize their preordained potential, whether fields, mountains, stones, or humans (Godenzzi and Vengoa, 1998, p.75). The contemporary term *kallpa*, “force” or “energy,” verbalized as *kallpachay*, means “animate or fortify,” the earth for example, echoes this mutually-animating sense. Humans request life force from the gods for themselves and the world around them, since humans animate the earth by letting it rest between productive cycles through fallowing. In this economy of mutual animation, each element interacts with the other, releasing the flow of life force so that each and every element fulfills its potential (Godenzzi and Vengoa, 1998, p. 75).

FROM MATERIAL FORM TO THE TRANSFORMATIONAL DYNAMICS OF MAKING

To understand better these alternative ontologies, archaeologists now work backwards from material objects towards the transformational dynamics of their making. Taking up Ingold’s challenge to “follow the materials” (2011, Chapter 17), in order to better contextualize archaeological objects, Weismantel and Meskell (2014) analyze not only what an object *is* but what it *does*. Weismantel considers water-containers modeled as human effigies from the stratified society of formative Moche on the Peruvian coast. Through “tanglegrams” she traces back these human forms to the material culture, landscape, and political economy of which they were part. Her conclusion is that coastal Moche dwellers, living in a dry desert, perceived the sea and irrigation systems as life giving. But while Moche commoners modeled solid clay

figures in domestic contexts, Moche elites expressed their manpower over irrigations systems in hollow water containers, the stirrup-spouted pots or joke vases playing with the flows and sounds of water passing from one component to another.

Other recent studies of Andean ceramics debunk the modernist notions that materials form the “solid” substrate of the world, and that material objects “stand for” something else. Alberti (2012) challenges such positions with ideas from the lowland Warí of western Rondônia (Brazil) who, fearful of the constant dangers of perspectival transformations, worry about the transformability of their bodies and their ways of acting in the world, while trying to fix spirits in bodies to make them human (Vilaça, 2005). Alberti suggests that the first-millennium AD La Candelaria and San Francisco cultures of Northwest Argentina, living near the lowlands, managed similar ontologies in which the body was unstable and transformable, and that their material objects, such as the Santa María style urns, although solid in form, expressed this corporeal fluidity. He shows how their burials mix human remains, with evidence of corporeal modifications (cranial modeling, perforations), with plant, animal, mineral, and marine elements. Each funeral urn found in these burials, while unique, had these common hybrid human/animal characteristics, and were reused, broken intentionally and repaired through time as if in a controlled transformation of the dead. Drawing on the work of Gell (1998), Alberti proposes these urns were not “representations” but “enhancements” of particular persons.

In the intermediate yungas site of La Candelaria, where ceramic compositions express a lowland imagery of peccaries, frogs, and forest birds, this imagery is never complete but oriented towards transforming objects with no fixed meanings. To pass beyond static ceramic expressions towards the dynamic world of their makers, Alberti explores a world founded in practice rather than substance, where visual communication occurs while making an object. He challenges the idea that ceramics are first “made” and then “decorated” before firing with designs materializing the cultural ideologies in play, in the hylomorphic model of pre-established meaning imposed by human intervention upon material form (Ingold, 2010). His counterargument is that these ceramic objects were treated throughout their making according to norms in which both materials and bodies were unstable (Figure 9.2). Potters working on ceramic bodily forms sought stability, and designs were inherent rather than imposed.

For Viveiros, objects are merely cultural instruments, whereas for Alberti artifacts provide the material basis for creating the human through practice and performance. Imagery too is onto-generative, bringing reality into being. Bodies are created in La Candelaria by molding incisions, indentations, and bulges, and making liquids flow over them, and ceramics by molding clay as if it were a body, pinching out bulges and inscribing incisions. Technical actions are the ontological equivalents of these processes of creation and imagination, while the instruments and hands of ceramic artists are a part of image-making practice, and a component part of this imagery.

Similarly, recent studies of Andean textiles suggest that preoccupations in making material things are less concerned with an iconography of fixed meanings, and more with using techniques and imagery to bring life forms into being and then to document these processes of creation *post facto* (Arnold, 2012, Chapter 3). Andean weaving designs have long been shown to document regional resources: humans, animals, plants, work instruments (Silverman, 1988; Arnold, 2014.). But some kinds of designs (pathways, labyrinths, interlocked images) are directed towards changing our point of view, making our



Figure 9.2 Chronically unstable body pot. Source: Universidad Nacional de Córdoba.
Collected from the Río Vapos area, Tucumán Province

Photo credit: Alberti, 2012, p. 20, Fig. 4.

gaze oscillate between conventional and more shamanic ways of seeing, rather like the *kené* designs of some lowland groups (Arnold, 2015). The techniques applied to material form in this case are perspectival ones, directed at moving the spirit in sensorial ways.

Weismantel's study (2015) of monumental lithosculpture in the archaeological site of Chavín de Huantar (850–500 BC, but with origins in the Initial Period), reveal similar concerns on the part of its masons to mold material form to move the spirit of visiting pilgrims. For Weismantel, the transformations on Chavín monoliths of humans, animals, and things are evidence of a perspectivist ontology concerned with shamanism and hunting, where the iconography of birds, jaguars, serpents, and plants express the multiple bodies experienced in shamanic transformations rather than the modernist focus on single bodies. For Andean observers, these images expressed relations of respect between humans and animals. Playing on the reciprocal hunting relations of predator and prey, the animals in these images, especially the jaguar, would have looked back at human observers as possible prey in an oscillating interchange of perspectives (Figure 9.3). In their wrappings of distinct animals, the monoliths embodied the spirit of these animals, just as humans wearing skins or fleece embody animal spirits. The pilgrim sought to perceive these material forms



Figure 9.3 The *lanzon's* predatory gaze

Source: Museo Nacional Chavín de Huantar, Photo credit: Dtarazona CC BY-SA 3.0.

like a shaman, as part of an intense bodily and sensory experience oriented towards a predatory point of view, an idea possibly evoked by the visual emphasis on life (skin and feathers) and death (skeletons) together, as if to impel the observer to participate in these processes of killing and devouring.

THE ONTOLOGICAL EQUIVALENTS OF DESTRUCTIVE AND CREATIVE CYCLES OF MAKING

The recurring ideas that textiles, like pots and stones, are living beings; that things are never created from nothing; and the corresponding lack of concern in Andean cosmologies for an eschatological focus on termination, are illustrated in the ontology of weaving practice.

For Qaqachaka weavers, this living nature of weavings is a part of a wider complex concerning gendered complementarity in weaving and warfare. In the past, youthful male energies directed at the destructive cycles of warfare and head-taking sought to appropriate enemy agency, in particular the powerful forces thought to reside in the brain matter of an enemy head (Arnold and Hastorf, 2008, Chapter 1). The head taker then surrendered the head to the care of his female partner, who nurtured it, made libations to it, and generally tamed the power residing there (Arnold, 2000).

A part of this domesticating process was the ontological transformation of the enemy head into a woven being through the female activity of weaving, when the enemy spirit was converted into the more benign spirit of a “baby” (a generic *wawa*) and hence a “person” of the new kin group (Arnold, 2000, pp. 11–12; Arnold and Yapita, 2006, pp. 104–105). So weavers first nurtured a parent–child relationship with the products of their thoughts and actions, then they shed off their objects as beings with their own lives in the world; like Gell’s art objects they become *exuviae* (1998).

The moment of introducing life into a weaving occurs when the weaver pushes her loom stakes into the earth, binds together the loom elements with rope, and loops the warp bouts upon it to form the weaving structure. The loom stakes were traditionally made from dark *chonta* palmwood, used as materials in the staffs of office (*wara*) of the *ayllu* authorities (Arnold and Hastorf, 2008, pp. 121–124), and in other regions in war lances, once paraded outside households with a trophy head staked thereon (Caillavet, 1996, p. 89). In local parlance, the stage of warping up is comparable to extending the hair of a trophy head to form the warp threads, imprisoned on their loom frame (Arnold, 2000, pp. 17–18; Arnold and Yapita, 2006, p. 108).

These technical processes marking the social beginnings of an emerging textile’s being (Dobres, 2000, p. 169) draw on the preexisting vital processes residing in the captured enemy head. This metamorphosis from enemy soul to textile kin is not unlike the animating processes of incorporation through the ensoulment of object-making described by Santos-Granero (2009, 2012) among the Yanesha of lowland Peru. In Qaqachaka too, the powers of the trophy head become absorbed into the emerging woven being, in a similar logic to that which Santos-Granero (2009, p. 6) calls the “artifactual organization of species.” Qaqachaka theories about this transformation directed by weaving techniques towards the emergence of a woven life concern specific interrelations between soul substance, artifacts, and weavers and their partners (as well as their enemies) as social actors (or agents).

This gendered complex of reworking trophy heads to transform textiles into persons alternates a destructive phase in the hands of male warriors, followed by a creative phase in the hands of female weavers. Their ontological equivalents are found in the deliberate destruction of archaeological sites such as Chiribaya and Moquegua before their re-use in renewed ritual and social cycles.

Platt proposed that in fact any foreign substance (stones, land to cultivate, dented metalwork, animals) had to be ground down like enemies before being incorporated into the victor’s social world (Platt, 1987, pp. 89–93). Pottery-making is no exception. The entry in Bertonio’s seventeenth century Aymara vocabulary (1612, II, p. 379) compares the half-moon shaped grinding stone, called *urcoña*, to a brave army captain. Grinding potting clay as fine as flour is equally comparable to grinding down an enemy with blows until they are like mill flour (Sillar, 2000, p. 57). But again, this prior destruction cedes to creation: after grinding down, both flour and defeated peoples become productive resources.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this sense, the weaving space defined by the loom frame, or the space where pots are made, are not only ontological zones of transformative material generation by

animating matter but also epistemological zones of concentrated knowledge (*yachay*, *yatiña*) and the rendering of destructive forces into creative ones.

The way these energizing processes of transforming matter alternate between destructive and creative phases, means that the ever-present potential for chaos is constantly subsumed within the restoration of creative order, in an ongoing gendered *pachakuti*. Perhaps this explains the lack of attention in Andean cosmologies towards eschatological concerns in a macro sense, but their vital importance in a scaled down one.

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PART IV

CONQUEST, INVASION, AND
RESISTANCE





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CHAPTER TEN

THE CONQUEST OF THE ANDES FROM ANDEAN PERSPECTIVES



Claudia Brosseder

REWRITING THE HISTORY OF CONQUEST

For the sixteenth-century Spanish-born Peruvian Mercedarian Friar Martín de Murúa, writing about “the” conquest of the Inka Empire and its Andean people turned into a life-long project. For many years he collected data on the Inka empire and for more than 25 years he reworked his vision of “the” Spanish conquest, usually said to have begun in 1532 when 168 *conquistadors* entered Cajamarca in the high Andes under the lead of Francisco Pizarro and usually said to have ended with the killing of Inka Tupac Amaru in 1572 in Cuzco. In 1532, the Sapa Inka Atahualpa held court in Cajamarca in his battles over the royal insignia against his brother Huascar when news about the arrival of foreign people reached him. Three hundred and sixty four days after Atahualpa’s first encounter with Spaniards, on November 15, 1533, he was killed on command of Francisco Pizarro. Atahualpa is now considered the last *pre-Hispanic* Inka. Yet Inkas continued to rule in hiding in the Vilcabamba mountain range near Cusco until 1572 (Bauer, Santa Cruz, and Aráoz Silva, 2015). Two interludes of active military resistance in Cuzco and Lima challenged Spanish dominance. After 1572, Inka descendants were left to claim privileges under the colonial regime, which they pursued determinedly. Since Pizarro’s first personal secretaries had sent back news to Europe about the gold-people (Salas, Moure, and Guérin, 1987; Pease, 1992 and 1995), the history of conquest has never ceased to stir minds, emotions, and debates among readers. Hardly any other event in Andean history has accumulated as many layers of contesting interpretations. Hardly any other event in Andean history is as clouded by myths that contest the historical evidence. One such myth holds that the history of conquest needs to be written from a Spanish perspective (Harris, 1995).

What had once been a mere seven-page history of “the” conquest in Murúa’s initial 1590 *Historia y genealogía* (Murúa, 2004, pp. 44v–51v; Adorno and Boserup, 2008) amounted to a more than 128 folio-page-long account in his *Historia general del Piru* (Murúa, 2008, pp. 124v–203r). The considerable amplification brought about a decisive shift in interpretation. In 1590, Murúa considered Atahualpa the legitimate ruler of the Andes who self-confidently opposed Pizarro.

The history details the splendor, great authority, and almost superhuman aura of Inka Atahualpa, who refused to pay tribute to Spaniards. The accompanying image, from the hands of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, places Atahualpa visually above Pizarro (Cummins, 2008, 2014). Atahualpa sits on an *ushnu* (Inka sacred throne). Pizarro is shown to his lower right-hand side. The image claims the supremacy of Andean cosmology over Christian religion—symbolized in Atahualpa’s two-finger versus Pizarro’s three-finger gesture (Figure 10.1). These gestures accord with Murúa’s text, that makes Atahualpa claim the superiority of a never dying sun and moon over a Christ that ultimately died. In this 1590 version, Atahualpa’s death is only mentioned in passing and Pizarro is almost entirely omitted from the scene. Twenty-five years later, however, Murúa shifts focus and places Pizarro and the murder of Atahualpa at the center of a long discourse about the illegitimacy of the decapitation of the ruling Inka elite. He holds Pizarro’s own violent death in 1541 and his “smoldering in hell” to be justified (Murúa, 2008, pp. 134v–137r). This condemnation of Pizarro from a theological perspective did not convince his external Spanish proof-readers to accept his vision of the conquest (Adorno, 2008). Murúa’s history was denied the privilege of print. It became a victim of the ascending transatlantic competition about who possesses the legitimate historical “truth”: Latin Americans or Europeans?



Figure 10.1 Guaman Poma de Ayala’s vision of the first encounter between Inka Atahualpa and Francisco Pizarro as drawn for Martín de Murúa’s *Historia y genealogía* (1590)

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To disagree with Atahualpa's execution in 1533 and Viceroy Toledo's decapitation of Tupac Amaru in 1572 from a moral point of view was nothing unusual in the latter half of the sixteenth century. What is unusual is that Murúa's shift in focus and the transformation of the encounter between Atahualpa and Pizarro into the linchpin of Spanish colonialism in Peru goes along with a remarkable elimination of native authorship. For, around 1590, Murúa took pride in having consulted colonial Inka lords that served him as historians (Cummins, 2014; *Códice Murúa*, 2004). He explicitly named his native informants on the original title page. At some point in time, this early pride was literally pasted over. Only a fragment of it survived in form of a 1596 native letter of approval and of recommendation attached to the 1615 version.

Murúa's arduous re-writing of the history of "the" conquest can be rightly considered typical of ongoing contemporary contestations over the nature and meaning of "the" Spanish conquest. It gives us a hitherto unnoticed chance to write the history of conquest from colonial Inka and Andean perspectives. It allows us to reconstruct Andean epistemological agency in historical accounts of "the" conquest, which remains one of the least explored fields in the context of the Spanish conquest. Native agency is usually framed through the lens of the Spanish conquistadors' allies, especially the famous three: the Cañari, the Wanka, and the Chachapoya (Espinoza Soriano, 1971; Varón Gabai, 1997; Guillén Guillén, 2005; Schjellerup, 2005; Scott, 2009). With the names of their (in-)famous leaders in mind historians can weigh the quantities of food and wood that fueled Spanish fires, bodies, and perceptions. This knowledge adds to our intimate insights into the life of the first conquistadors (Lockhart, 1972; Earle, 2012; Mikecz, 2017). Thick descriptions on the side of Spaniards (Estete, 1534; Xerez, 1985; Sancho, 2013; Mena, 2014) complement our insights into Inka statecraft, Andean cosmology, and Inka–Andean relationships. A rather fatalistic and teleological view of history holds the Inka empire in 1532 to be "at its limit" (Kolata, 2013, p. 257). The urge to take Andean people out of the conceptual drawer of "pure victims" by emphasizing their active role as agents in the specific history of "the" conquest—and in Spanish colonialism at large—does not minimize the acknowledgment of the brutality and inhumane violence against Andean people that shaped the Spanish conquests (Sempat Assadourian, 1994; Schwartz, 2002). Yet the question remains unresolved: can we navigate beyond the powerful first narratives of the Spanish conquest and the paradigm of Atahualpa and Pizarro's first meeting that historiography has turned into "the" emblematic shortcut for "the" conquest of the Andes (MacCormack, 1988; Lamana, 2008; Herring, 2015)?

According to the Inka-descendant colonial native lords, Don Luis Chalco Yupanqui, Don Juan Quispe Cussi Ynga Cussi, Don Mango Topa, Don Martin Quispete, and Don Pedro Purqui from Cuzco, who informed Murúa's 1590 history, Atahualpa's killing was only worth an astonishing single line (Murúa, 2004, 45r; also 20r, 46r). As the text clearly shows, Murúa somewhat hastily scribbled underneath the Atahualpa chapter that this chapter also treated the history of the arrival of Spaniards. More important from the native lords' perspective was concern about the original legitimacy to the Inka throne and the last stage of the fratricidal war between Atahualpa and Huascar (Murúa, 21r, 46r). Despite having gathered more warriors on his side, Huascar was duped by Quisquis, one of Atahualpa's famously victorious captains, who had once fought for Huayna Capac. Quisquis blinded Huascar with a golden disk that reflected the sunlight. With this reference to a reflecting disk, Murúa and/or

his native informants indirectly hinted at the legacy of their greatest Inka ruler Pachacuti (Murúa, 46r). As the narrative goes, once both Atahualpa and Huascar were dead (here in an unusual sequence), the rule seamlessly transitioned to Manco Capac in the Vilcabamba (Murúa, 47r). It was he who decided to carry the Inka royal insignia to Lima and hand them over to the first Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela (1544–46). The marginality of Spanish intervention and the conquistadors' apparent powerlessness speak volumes to an Andean vision of the history of conquest. The words describing Toledo's execution of Tupac Amaru could also hardly be more succinct in this Cuzco-centered perspective of native lords:

with great participation of indigenous people and with unbelievable sorrow and sentiments they cut off the head on behalf of Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo. And so ended the empire of the Inka kings and rulers of this kingdom of Peru.

(Murúa, 2004, p. 51r)

According to some modern-day historians only three factors withstand historical criticism and can help explain “the” conquest of the Andes by Spaniards: Andean technological “inferiority” in weaponry and especially the lack of the sword, indigenous disunity, and the killing through epidemic diseases (Restall, 2003). From the perspective of outstanding colonial Andean men and—very likely—women who guarded the memories of their communities, none of these three factors taken alone or in conjunction was used to frame the conquest for their Andean peers. How does the abovementioned 1590 Inka vision of the history of conquest compare to other fragments of native historical visions of “the” conquest? How does it relate to the perceived impact of diseases on Andean people? When speaking of colonial Andean people and the men and women that dictated their historical narratives to Andeans and/or to chroniclers, variability among Andeans is as much a requisite paradigm as it is for the reconstruction of any other historical agent. For some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century native and mestizo historians the Spanish conquest accorded with the famous Inka concept of *pachacuti*, which in Quechua meant “turning about of the times.” It viewed “the” conquest as a cataclysm of the current state of affairs (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615; Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, 1879; MacCormack, 1991; Burga, 2005). This concept of *pachacuti*, however, was not necessarily the norm among Andean people of how to frame “the” conquest. Murúa's Inka and other Andean authors seem to have held another key to frame the history of conquest. I call it the “*wak'a*-history-idiom” in modified analogy to Frank Salomon's interpretation of the Huarochirí manuscript (Salomon, 1991).

NATIVE VERSIONS OF THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SPIRITUAL CONQUESTS

A widespread Andean way of rendering local history and that of “the” conquest and epidemics was grounded on *wak'a*-agency. In the colonial Andean world, local Andean people held *wak'a* to be powerful sacred entities that were endowed with superhuman powers. In their view, *wak'a* interacted with human beings and steered human history in a more or less direct manner. Whenever a *wak'a* saw fit, it intervened in

human affairs, and did so in positive directions, bringing about power, fertility, lack of disease, and prosperity, if humans properly recognized and venerated this wak'a. Telling history in this mode, late sixteenth and early seventeenth century accounts usually detailed how one powerful wak'a defeated another less powerful wak'a. Our academic language refers to Andean people who competed with others for resources. Such wak'a-history idioms informed the narratives in the Huarochirí Manuscript, in Pachacuti Yamqui, in Guaman Poma de Ayala, and in legal documents from the colonial period. It can be found hidden in subtexts in chroniclers such as Palentino (Fernández, 1963; Brosseder, 2017 and forthcoming). Current academic discourse still needs to debate whether concepts of wak'a have always been a cultural feature of the Andes or whether they emerged only in colonial times as response to Christianity (Salomon, 1991; Bray, 2015). This debate should be linked to the controversy about Inka historical memory (Julien, 2000; Yaya, 2012; Kosiba, 2015).

Murúa's 1590 native lords with their Inka-centered narrative also followed the inherent logic of this widespread Andean wak'a-history idiom, translating it into the Spanish language without translating it (or being translated) into a sixteenth century Spanish historical idiom. Why? The image by Guaman Poma and the text in the 1590 version both portray Atahualpa as a wak'a. Pizarro is shown in a recognized kneeling position as if he venerated a wak'a. The text details Atahualpa's fine cloth cushions, precious stones, silver and golden royal insignia, and weapons that adorn and surround him. These references hint at Atahualpa's superhuman status despite serving a typical sixteenth-century conquistador's set of expectations of riches in numerical value as well (e.g. Murúa, 2004, p. 451). The identity of Inka Atahualpa as wak'a explains why the Inka, who was warring with his brother, deserved colorful feathered garments. Feathered objects in Inka (and Chimú area) symbolic language were closely tied to wak'a and figured particularly in political conquest situations. The text mentions Atahualpa's resistance to submit to Spanish demands for tribute. This statement is placed in a meaningful context: in Atahualpa's brief discourse about the immortality of the sun and moon and in the astonishingly brief mention of Atahualpa's own death. Significantly, Atahualpa's death is mentioned in the same breath as his baptism. From the perspective of Andean wak'a idiom, these contexts were carefully chosen. Atahualpa died as a Christian and because of being a Christian. Had the Inka wak'a not been bereft of its wak'a status through baptism Atahualpa would not have died. Wak'a Atahualpa would have been immortal in analogy to the mentioned immortality of the sun and the moon. This carefully chosen context of the textual image of Atahualpa as wak'a accords with the painted image of him. In one respect the painted image even exceeds the statement of the text. Through the finger gestures, the image seems to suggest the superiority of an Andean trinity (of wak'a Atahualpa, the sun, and the moon) over a Christian one.

When Murúa's native authors attributed such a marginal role to Pizarro they presented the conquest as an occurrence that was decided by powerful wak'a, not by him. The text, however, voices discord about which Andean wak'a was the true agent of "the" conquest.

In the first part, very likely written by partisans of Huascar, it is said that Huascar had been the legitimate heir to the throne of Huayna Capac. He possessed a golden chain wak'a and was supported by Cuzco's 450 wak'a. Two prophetic lagoons (Guaypon wak'a and the Urcos wak'a) foresaw that Huascar's succession to the

throne would be interrupted. Huascar's displacement also happened because his rival Atahualpa had an "idol" on his side that had the shape of a cross ("which was like a prophecy"). Even though this cross was not a wak'a and did not have prophetic capacities of the same quality as the lagoon wak'a it helped Atahualpa usurp the throne and become a Spanish ally (Murúa, 2004, 211). In the second part, very likely written by partisans of Atahualpa, as we have already seen above, the authors refer to Atahualpa as a wak'a. As a wak'a he was considered superior to the power of Christianity. When Atahualpa died a non-Inkan wak'a death (i.e., without his dead body being properly mummified), general Quisquis inherited the superior powers of the sun with which he made the sun defeat Huascar. But Quisquis only had the sun on his side through a "trick," the reflecting golden disk.

Even though Murúa's wak'a history seems to have been authored by different parties, the entire history of the Spanish conquest is framed within different versions of a wak'a history-structure. One or several powerful wak'a competed for power and eventually defeated other powerful wak'a. It was this wak'a history idiom that Murúa's native proof-readers approved in 1596. It accorded with an Andean way of telling history and especially the history of "the" conquest in a relatively undistorted fashion. The partly formalistic and yet cryptic nature of the native letter lauds, on the one hand, the "ingeniousness and curiosity" of Murúa. On the other hand, it states that the history of the "old ancients of this kingdom and of us" is "very true which suits the subject and the persons it deals with" (Murúa, 2008, 307v). With these words the Cuzco "principals, curacas and indios" recommended Murúa's first version to the Spanish king. When this letter of approval and recommendation, however, was detached from the 1590 version and glued into Murúa's 1615 history of "the" conquest, it acquired a new meaning. Historians cannot assume that the native authors would also have approved of Murúa's 1615 version of history, one that followed a critical but conventional Spanish take on "the" conquest.

With the copy-and-paste technique of his Andean approval letter, Murúa followed an up-to-date historiographic convention born in the Americas and particularly popular among authors who were non-natives or non-mestizos and who were also not married to Inka noble women. They courted native proof-readers. Striving for native approval reflects a very particular aspect of the Andean wak'a memory tradition that was born in the context of telling, knotting, and writing about "the" conquest. I suggest that Spanish authors adopted it.

When some colonial non-Inkan Andeans came to talk about conquests in general and "the" conquest in particular, they not only made sense of these occurrences by employing a general wak'a history idiom but one that particularly built on a wak'a prophecy and an act of divination through a local priest. This prophecy was then subsequently confirmed through history and an Andean priest. Accounts from the central Andean town of Huamachuco offer a well-known example. Here, local people revered wak'a Catequil, which was famous for providing fertility in much of the northern Andes (Topic, 2002). As the Augustinian 1560 report goes, prior to being conquered, Atahualpa consulted Catequil in his conflict with his brother Huascar. In his prophecy Catequil favored Huascar over Atahualpa. Being angered, Atahualpa destroyed the wak'a. The priests that told this prophecy to the Augustinians saw the insights of their wak'a Catequil confirmed through the historical fact of Atahualpa's death. In the same vein, the Huarochirí myths, Guaman Poma de Ayala, Cieza de

León, and local priests of the Charcas region used wak'a prophecies as modes of historical narrative to explain their local communities' interactions with the Inkas and their conquests (Platt, Bouysse-Cassagne, and Harris, 2006). In many colonial Andean communities, Andean priests apparently administered both wak'a-utterances ("prophecies") and the community's historical memories (Brosseder, forthcoming). The much debated "authenticity" of Andean identifications of Spaniards with Viracocha, a notion that spread through the Andes since Cieza de León's first publication in the 1550s, needs to be examined in light of these wak'a prophecies (Mróz, 1991; Cieza de León, 2000; Gose, 2008).

To see how this wak'a-prophecy-history narrative structure was of utmost importance for Andean renderings of conquests in general and of "the" conquest in particular helps us understand why Martín de Murúa's native proof-readers approved of the 1590 history. They presented "the" Spanish conquest as nothing unusual because it had already been foreseen by certain wak'a. History proved them to be correct. For example, in the account of Atahualpa's and Huascar's father, Huayna Capac, the text mentions two prophecies. Different priests seem to have authored them. According to some, news about the Spanish "was received in a big lagoon en Guaypon." According to others, news "was received in a lagoon that lies along the *camino real* to Potosí . . . above the village and tambo of Urcos" (Murúa, 2004, p. 20r). Lagoons were famous wak'a in Inkan and Andean worlds. Another reference to an alleged prophecy of the Spaniards is mentioned in the chapter on Huascar. Here the authors state that Huascar was the one who had the many wak'a of Cusco on his side. But since Huascar had been absent from the deathbed of his father, Huayna Capac gave royal investiture to Atahualpa. The text also mentions a cross that was Atahualpa's powerful "idol." It served to "defend themselves against night ghosts" and "while children are born." This particular cross, however, "was taken *as a kind of prophecy* about the coming of the Christians" (Murúa, 2004, p. 21r; my emphasis). Significantly, the cross is here not credited with full prophetic powers. Murúa's authors thus clearly follow a narrative structure that is shaped by wak'a prophecies along with a subsequent verification through the authors who interpret the historical facts accordingly. In the colonial era, the retrospective act of verification was transformed into a native letter of approval embedded in Spanish formulas.

For example, the chronicler Sarmiento de Gamboa featured a native letter of approval that resulted from an Andean narrative structure of a prophecy plus post-fact verification in histories of conquest. Sarmiento's version, though, is much more diluted than what is found in Murúa's account because of his interventions. But here, as well, a wak'a failure to foresee Huaya Capac's heir to the throne is presented as foreshadowing of the Spanish arrival (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 2007, Chapter 62 and pp. 207–212). Sarmiento's procedure for native proof-reading is said to have taken place in a hasty three-day intensive "workshop." The 42 native *quipukamayos* (kipu-readers and knotters) who served as proof-readers—more precisely, proof-listeners—had to swear a Christian oath. In the end, they suggested marginal corrections with respect to names, places, and "other slight things" (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 2007, p. 211). Otherwise, Cuzco's cord-keepers verified Sarmiento's Toledo-centric vision of an Inka tyrannical past and the blessings of the Spanish conquest. Given their own privileges in colonial society, their approval might have been born out of their personal interests.

While Spanish motives for including Andean verifications varied, so did Andean motives for post-fact approval of wak'a prophecies. What historians can learn from other colonial sources, to safeguard the wak'a knowledge, was at least one of the motives. It became of even greater importance for Andean authors once both epidemic disease and missionaries spread through the Andes.

Before we show how Andean wak'a notions helped Andeans to understand and cope with disease and evangelization, it should be emphasized that this colonial Andean narrative of "the" conquest stands in sharp contrast to most Spanish sixteenth-century renderings of the conquest and Andeans notions of "pachacuti." Some colonial Andean communities perceived and/or presented to Andean peers and Spaniards "the" political and subsequent economic conquests as something almost normal to their communities, something they had experienced before in Inka times. It was and could be explained in terms of wak'a prophecies that conquest histories rendered correctly. This intellectual "naturalization" accords with impressions from the so-called *visitas* that Spaniards designed to claim and re-adjust Spanish tributes (Cook, 1982; Mills, 2007). In those records, Andean native lords often also detail with nonchalance how tribute under Spanish rule had not or had changed from their tribute payments to the Inkas (e.g., Diez de San Miguel, 1964). Both the apparent unbelievable interruptions in Inka succession and the new Spanish political and economic regime were thus presented as continuities. More challenging to colonial Andean and Inka views was wak'a Christianity and what Western historians term epidemic disease.

THE IMPACT OF DISEASE FROM ANDEAN PERSPECTIVES

There has never been more reliable evidence about the decreasing numbers of native inhabitants in the Andes in the wake of the Spanish conquest than today and yet the figures continue to be debated. The population is said to have declined between a low of 25 percent to a high of 90 percent from the estimated original 9 million native inhabitants in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This great range is due to differential impact on native populations of disease and migration (Cook, 1981, 1982, 1998). We know better than before which epidemic struck when and which people. And we have been informed, since Karen Vieira Powers' study, that the general history of population decrease was neither universal, nor homogenous, nor followed a straight downward progression (1995). Other historians confirm that for other areas there were short periods of population recovery that even promised population growth in the latter half of the sixteenth century, only to be pushed into negative directions by new waves of epidemics (Covey, Childs, and Kippen, 2011). The greatest population decline can be found along the coast of the viceroyalty of Peru. Here, very early on in the colonial period, large-scale migrations replaced previous societies (Cook, 1981, 1982; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, 1992). In fact, massive colonial migrations were a result of both population decimation and the evolving colonial Spanish economic regime (Sánchez-Albornoz, 1978; Stern, 1993). Despite having established a relatively reliable—though still spotty—scheme of population fluctuations in the Andes, and despite the fact that we know now that Andean communities kept track of decreasing colonial tributaries through their *khipus* (Urton, 2017a and 2017b), three aspects still await the historian's analysis.

First, how did Andeans feel about the immediate threat of smallpox and similar diseases? Second, what is the impact of disease on Andean culture? Third, how did migrations as a result of disease challenge local Andean cultures? So far, historians prefer to remain vague when it comes to answering these questions. I can only hint here at the directions of answers to be given to the first two questions.

Certainly, from a Spanish perspective, epidemic diseases turned out to be an ally of conquest (cynical as it may seem, diseases cut down on the numbers of enemies for Spaniards). In the later sixteenth century epidemic disease had a particularly strong impact on the native population along the coast, and therefore forced Spaniards and their *curacas* to readjust tribute requirements. Where local politics did not implement readjustments, the remaining population suffered more and more from old tribute requirements (Ortiz de Zúñiga, 1967). Usually, however, and this is not to downplay individual suffering, Spanish legal procedures helped both Spaniards and the indigenous population deal with these issues.

From a colonial Andean perspective, however, epidemic disease challenged Andean perceptions of the power of Andean wak'a—more so than the political and economic conquests. With respect to two historical moments—the famous history of Huayna Capac and the equally famous Taki Onkoy—non-Inkan Andeans and Inka explained epidemic disease in terms of their wak'a idiom. As is well known, before Spaniards even set foot on the shores of the Pacific coast, the Spanish conquest by means of epidemics had already begun. Between 1524 and 1528, while Spaniards were still sailing back and forth from Panama to what is today Ecuador, Inka Huayna Capac and his nominated heir to the Inka throne, Ninancuyuchi, both died of either smallpox or *bartonellosis* (Cook, 1998; Kiracofe and Marr, 2008). Both these deaths preceded the fratricidal war between Huascar and Atahualpa that later inspired local allies to join sides with the Spaniards and continued to terrify Huascar's immediate descendants (Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, 1999). For Guaman Poma, following the above mentioned wak'a history-prophecy idiom, Huayna Capac's death was pre-figured in failed prophecies. Huayna Capac's death occurred because of not having wak'a on his side (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615, [113]).

When we look into the Huarochirí manuscript and other documents that allow us to learn about early colonial Andean priests' past actions, instances of epidemic outbreaks placed stress on local Andean communities in such a manner that the local priests called for greater human attention to their local wak'a. Some Andean priests understood Christianity and the resulting negligence of local wak'a as part of the waves of epidemic diseases. What in Spanish terms were two distinct entities, Christianization and epidemic diseases, were perceived as one in Andean terms—at least in the later sixteenth century. In the famous Andean "Taki Onkoy" (the Quechua name itself already referred to sickness) that started in the south central Andes around 1564, Andean priests of several Andean communities suffered from the demands of their wak'a to stop Christianization and thus disease (Gose, 2008). Despite being heavily clouded by old and modern myths, through the renderings of Cristóbal de Molina it is known how priests feared local angry wak'a that started to take possession of Andean people. Epidemic diseases caused by germs were thus interpreted through the lens of Andean concepts of sickness that could only be remedied through heightened recognition of Andean wak'a. This is a different story than naked numbers can tell about the death toll of Andeans.

While waves of epidemic disease continued to have an impact on the evolution of colonial Andean societies at large—far beyond its direct impact on “the” conquest and on Andean perceptions and in many more respects than I can account for here—at some point in time, however, Andeans no longer perceived epidemic diseases as challenges of their wak’a but as reinforcements of their beliefs in them. In the central Andes during the seventeenth century some Andean priests started to disconnect (epidemic) disease from Christianization. As the impressive records of seventeenth century highland religious specialists testify, the joint failure of Spanish-trained medical doctors and Spanish missionaries to deal with cases of epidemic and non-epidemic disease, in fact, led many Andeans to continue to consult wak’a powers and reinforced their beliefs in wak’a. Mestizos, Spaniards, Afro-Peruvians, and *casta* people, as well, began to count themselves among a wak’a’s new clients (Broseder, 2014).

Perceived wak’a agency and worship thus never died even though wak’a perceptions and wak’a worship changed their nature during the colonial period. In many regions, and especially in the high Andes, where, usually, greater numbers of indigenous people survived, wak’a remained important for individuals who tried to heal sickness. Wak’a continued to console communities and individuals in any kind of perceived hardship. For some, wak’a set the parameters of how to adapt to Christianity, for others, how to resist. Far into the late seventeenth century, Andeans continued to perceive Christianity as a powerful wak’a (Broseder, 2017).

Similar to the paradigmatic force of the wak’a concept—with its all-encompassing nature, and to a certain degree, flexibility—at the very beginning of Spanish colonialism, both Christian perceptions of Andean sacred entities and their approaches to “rescue lost souls” proved similarly flexible. Despite the official Spanish conquest ideology, which figured most prominently in the text and act of the *requerimiento*, the oldest Spanish account of the conquistadors, the *Relación Sámano*, speaks a language of familiarity rather than strangeness. When Sámano wrote about the Island of Santa Clara, to the author’s astonishment the island’s inhabitants sacrificed to a “women with a child in her arms” (“Relación Sámano,” 1525/1526). The author wonders about the implicit analogy to the Virgin Mary but leaves it uncommented upon. He even ignores the sacrifices. Such Spanish nonchalance in the face of Andean veneration continued to exist among some Spanish-Peruvian Christians, but was soon pushed to the margins of the more powerful Spanish discourse about Andean wak’a worship as “idolatries.” Miguel de Estete is one of the earlier examples of this type of discourse. He wrote about the conquistadors’ ransom in Pachacamac. Despite a keen eye for Andean details, he tells how he and his fellow conquistadors in their very first encounter with the priests of Pachacamac gave them a quick sermon on the vainness of their “idolatry” in its most sacred precinct (Estete, 1534, p. 137). Until that day, these priests had been busy tending to the “oracle” and knotting new khipus to keep track of the ins and outs of sacred offerings. In these first encounters between Spanish Christians and Andean people, missionaries from different orders consulted, consoled, appeased, and/or inspired conquistadors and early settlers. They directly shaped the emerging colonial discourse about native idolatries on the ground. Official statements were issued by the first bishop of Lima, Jerónimo de Loayza in his *Instrucción* of 1545, followed by decrees of the first and later councils, especially the Third Lima Council in the 1580s. The latter got the printing presses in Lima successfully going to mandate an even more uniform attitude towards Andean wak’a

worship and accompanying Andean rituals. Without doubt, and most prominently in the Central Andes, the Spanish discourse about idolatry turned into a discourse of idolatry-persecution. It had repercussions in other areas of the Andes, as well, until the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Many Andean priests in the Central Andes and elsewhere came to suffer from it.

Even under growing external and internal pressures, Andean trust in wak'a power and the emotional and intellectual reassurance it provided them for guidance and advice in life continued to shape many, but never all, Andean people. What Andean priests and intellectuals within Inkan circles and non-Inkan Andean communities had thus used to explain "the" Spanish conquest—in the same vein as previous conquests—remained a powerful paradigm to explain and cope with the many facets of the Spanish conquest—from its political dimensions, to disease, and Christianization. It ultimately helped and served Andeans to accept "the" conquest and make it their own.

The fact that millions of people died, suffered, and/or prospered because distinct cultural systems came into contact will always compel historians to explore how people tried to make sense of it. New advances in deciphering Andean khipus will greatly complement the visions of chroniclers but they do not need to be considered as welcome replacements. With every new find in the archive and with every new unearthing of historical evidence through interdisciplinary methodologies and technologies, chroniclers will continue to change their faces and reveal their riches. New intellectual histories are needed to pursue Andean and Spanish-Andean joint epistemological agencies. There is still much room to explore where and how chroniclers pieced together their narratives, who informed them, and how they were part of Spanish-Andean, inner-Peruvian, inter-American, and transatlantic discourses. It has still not been sufficiently shown, for example, how, when, why, and through whom knowledge from the history of Mexican conquests traveled to Peru. Further research needs to clarify how Andean communities, other than "the famous three," coped with the conquest, the population decline, and colonial discourses. New interdisciplinary methods and a growing historical archaeology promise exciting new finds for the many sixteenth-century negotiations (e.g., Smith, 2011 on Magdalena de Cao). Within these unlimited endeavors historians still need to constantly reinvent their academic language and narratives to fully do justice to Andean and Spanish perspectives on equal terms. By its very nature, "the" conquest will always remain an object for contestation. For some, indeed, writing about "the" conquest will eventually turn into a life-long project.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

VIOLENCE, RESISTANCE, AND INTERCULTURAL ADAPTATIONS



Sergio Serulnikov

THE WATERSHED

No event shook the foundations of the colonial order in Spanish America more profoundly than the massive uprising of the Andean peoples in the early 1780s. Over the course of more than two years, whole insurgent armies were organized, from Cusco in southern Peru all the way south to territories that now belong to Chile and Argentina. Some of the oldest and most populous cities in this region—Cusco, Arequipa, and Puno in southern Peru; La Paz, Oruro, and Chuquisaca (today Sucre) in Upper Peru (modern Bolivia)—were besieged, assaulted, or occupied. Huge swaths of countryside in the jurisdiction of Charcas, in the highlands surrounding La Paz, and in southern Peru fell under the full control of the rebel forces. At times those forces attracted explicit support, or tacit sympathy, from large numbers of mestizos and creoles living in rural towns and urban centers.

The conflagration took place in the very heart of the Spanish empire in South America: an extensive economic zone that stretched along the route linking Lima to Buenos Aires. At its hub was Potosí, one of the world's greatest sources of silver, the main export commodity of the Americas and the engine of regional development. The insurgency also encompassed other mining towns, such as Puno and Oruro; fertile agricultural lands, including Cochabamba, Arequipa, Ollantaytambo, the Yungas, and Abancay, that supplied the Andean cities with grains, sugar, coca leaves, wine, and brandy; rich cattle-raising areas like the Azángaro province; and textile mill zones, such as the provinces of Quispicanchis and Canas y Canchis near Cusco. These large territories were mainly inhabited by Aymara- and Quechua-speaking peoples, the descendants of the great pre-Columbian polities: the Charka-Karakara confederations in the southern Andes; the Aymara kingdoms of the Collao, the region around Lake Titicaca; and, of course, the mighty Inca empire, which by the time of the European invasion had expanded from its core in Cusco to dominate the entire Andean region. Although many of the Indians who joined the uprising worked permanently in the mines, cities, and Spanish haciendas, the vast majority belonged to native communities that owned the land collectively and whose governing structures included the

caciques (indigenous ruling elites) and other lesser ethnic authorities. From these rural groups the Spanish treasury drew its most dependable source of fiscal revenues, the Indian tribute, and the mining industry its most dependable source of labor, the *mita*—a colonial institution that forced each Andean community in the area to send one-seventh of their population each year to Potosí and other mining towns. Members of the indigenous communities were the heart and soul of the insurrection.

Like any major revolutionary movement, this uprising occasioned the rise of charismatic figures whose names reverberated across the continent, and even beyond. They left behind powerful myths that pervaded—and still do pervade, with unfaltering intensity—the historical consciousness and political imaginaries of the Andean peoples: José Gabriel Condorcanqui, a cacique from Canas y Canchis province in southern Peru, who took the name Tupac Amaru II to signal his kinship with Tupac Amaru I, the last Inca emperor executed in 1572 in Cusco by orders of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo; Tomás Katari, an Indian peasant from northern Potosí who became the symbol of resistance to colonial rulers in the Charcas region; and Julián Apaza, a petty merchant from an indigenous village in Sicasica province who led the siege of the city of La Paz and called himself Tupac Katari to symbolize the intimate linkages between the events taking place to the south and north of the La Paz region. Behind these men and these events one can discern the outlines of an idea—an idea diffuse and malleable enough to harbor disparate and at times contradictory expectations, but one whose essential message nobody should have missed: a demand that the government of the Andes be restored to the land's ancient owners.¹ Although a unique moment in the history of the Andes and colonial Spanish America at large, the 1780–1782 insurrection was far from an isolated phenomenon. It was rather the outcome of long-term mechanisms of adaptation and resistance to the colonial world. At a more general level, it represented a response to social tensions that had been brewing for decades. Some of them were related to crown policies and others to structural economic trends. In addition, indigenous dissension was not channeled through the kind of localized, short-lived, spontaneous eruptions of collective violence often ascribed to the rural revolts that mushroomed in Mexico during this period, but rather was conducted through prolonged and contentious processes in the course of which fresh notions of political legitimacy were forged. The echoes of these entrenched patterns of political contention and language of rights would be heard with distinct clarity during the pan-Andean upheaval.

REPERTOIRES OF POLITICAL CONTENTION

The last century of colonial rule saw the steady erosion of the living standards of large segments of the Andean population. Since the 1750s, the ministers of King Charles III had carried out a program of reforms, with the goal of converting their overseas kingdoms into full colonial possessions. A series of measures were put in place that resulted in the growing discontent of different social groups. These measures comprised increased Indian tribute quotas and *alcabalas* (sales taxes), a tax on liquor, the establishment of a monopoly on the retail sale of tobacco, and other exactions that affected indigenous communities as well as craftsmen, merchants, small landowners, and mestizo and creole tenants. Similarly, the *repartimiento forzoso de mercancías*, or forced distribution of goods, experienced a sustained expansion after its legalization

in 1756. This was a commercial monopoly that forced the indigenous peoples to buy goods (mules, iron, rope, coca, and other items) from the chief Spanish provincial magistrates (*corregidores*) at higher-than-market-value prices. Although its rationale was to promote the commodification of the peasant economy, the indigenous communities were already intensively involved in the Andean marketplaces. The quandary for them was not monetary vs natural economy but monopoly vs free market. Demands for the abolition of this system grew increasingly loud, eventually resulting in the great pan-Andean rebellion. The caciques, who acted as intermediaries in the distribution and collection of goods, were subject to immense pressures from both sides of the system, the provincial Spanish governors and the indigenous communities. The legitimacy of many native chiefs, both those designated directly by the *corregidores* and those who had hereditary rights, was harshly questioned by the members of their communities (Golte, 1980; O'Phelan Godoy, 1985; Fisher, Kuethe, and McFarlane, 1990).

Apart from the impact of the Bourbon reforms, other economic phenomena would help corrode the livelihood of the local populace. During the eighteenth century, there was a marked decline in the prices of the agricultural products that the indigenous sold in the cities so they could pay tributes, *repartimientos* (forced distribution of goods by the *corregidores* [or provincial governors]), and church fees. The piece of the harvests they were able to save to feed themselves grew smaller every year. The slow but sustained demographic growth made the community lands seem more and more insufficient with each new season, and the land disputes with landowners, noble Andean families, and bordering communities began to mount.

The center of the rebellion was also the core area of the *mita potosina*. By the time that Tupac Amaru had proclaimed himself the new Inca king, the great mining center of Potosí was embarking on a new cycle of growth. Yet its driving force was not the introduction of technological innovations or improvements in the provision of mercury and other supplies, as was occurring with the Mexican mining industry at the same time, but rather more brutal and sophisticated forms of forced labor. In the Cusco area, the transfer of Upper Peru to the jurisdiction of newly created Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata in 1776 and the subsequent linkage between the silver mines and the Atlantic Ocean disrupted traditional trade routes that had connected Lima to the sierras of southern Peru and Potosí for centuries. Channeling the import and export trades through the port of Buenos Aires meant that the goods produced in Cusco (sugar, coca, textiles) did increasingly worse in the Andean markets. The growing antagonism between *chorrillos* (small-scale textile mills attached to community lands controlled by the Indians themselves) and *obrajes* (textile mills usually attached to Spanish haciendas that employed mostly semi-slave labor) was one of the results. It is not surprising that some of Tupac Amaru's first measures were to abolish the forced distribution of goods and the *mita*, as well as to "destroy the *obrajes*" (quoted in Lewin, 1957, p. 453).²

To make matters worse, class struggles were compounded by intense confrontations for the appropriation of peasant resources among colonial elites. The Crown, in its zeal to boost revenues from its overseas possessions, endeavored to curb both the accustomed embezzlement of tribute money by *corregidores* and native chiefs and the traditional church's economic exactions on the Andean peasantry. This policy created a profound rift in the rural structures of government. Andean peasants

knew very well how to take advantage of this conflict of interests in order to fight back against the abuses of power of their Spanish and ethnic authorities as well as the extravagant cost of the sacraments, the celebrations of patron saints, and the parish offerings (called “ricuchicus” (Q)). Facing mounting pressures from above, the corregidores, the rural clergy, treasury officials, and high colonial magistrates did not hesitate to fan any indigenous complaints—against the forced sale of goods, ecclesiastical fees, tribute collection, the mining mita—that might restrict their adversaries’ access to peasant surpluses. The combination of inter- and intraclass battles for Indian labor and agrarian production led to a wave of social unrest that grew larger as the years of the pan-Andean rebellion approached. It is estimated that between the 1750s and the late 1770s, there were around a hundred local revolts across Peru (O’Phelan Godoy, 1985).

Yet it is the nature of these conflicts, not their number, that tells us the most about the political culture of the colonial Andes. Popular uprisings were far from being extemporaneous outbursts of violence; they were part and parcel of large patterns of political action. First, native communities conceived their demands in terms of general rights, since their grievances usually stemmed not from particularly abusive individuals, but from state policies and broad socioeconomic trends. They were inclined to think that their causes of distress were shared by everyone of their same social condition—and more often than not, they were right. Second, even the most confined protest could ignite a process of politicization because virtually every social conflict in the eighteenth-century Andes pushed the Indians to deal with various government agencies (corregidores, audiencias—high courts—treasury officials, the Church, the viceroys), to experience the gap between norms and power, and to test the balance of forces between them and their local rulers.

If legal battles usually revolved around large matters of political and economic rights, the process of law enforcement was much less about state coercion than about local balances of forces. In the Spanish colonial rural world, the intervention of the courts did not entail the renunciation of the use of force. On the one hand, all involved parties perceived the Indian appeals to regional courts as a forthright act of defiance to the power of rural authorities, that is, as an unmistakable sign of insubordination. As judicial procedures, on the other hand, did not contemplate the deployment of any independent law enforcement officers (the very Indian claimants had to hand court orders to commissioned judges who usually were residents of the province), court battles to obtain legal redress of grievances were often followed by battles in the Andean villages to achieve their enforcement.³ Appealing to the Spanish justice, in short, was neither motivated by, nor resulted in, peaceful settlements of social conflicts. In many ways, it amounted to a public declaration of war, the setting in motion of an overt process of confrontation, or at least its continuation through other means.

Finally, migratory movements between valleys and highlands, co-residence in Potosí while serving mita turns, community gatherings in rural villages to celebrate Catholic feasts, participation in urban markets and regional trade routes, and collective journeys to the cities to pursue lawsuits against local power groups all nurtured lively channels of shared communication among native peoples. Social interaction helped spread information, complaints, and ultimately political unrest from one place to another. Hence the Andean colonial system itself prevented the creation of

a localocentric worldview among the Indians that has been defined for the peasantry in general as the “parish pump,” or, in reference to colonial Mexico, as *campanilismo*: “the tendency of villagers to see the social and political horizon as extending metaphorically only as far as the view from their church bell tower” (Van Young, 2001, p. 483; Hobsbawm, 1973, p. 8). To change their small world, Andean peoples needed to engage the world at large. What happened in 1780 is that they thought it was the world at large that needed to be changed.

If the 1780 movement recognizes some common roots, political unrest took on very different forms in each of the four main centers of rebel activity: Cusco, Chayanta, La Paz, and Oruro. Modern historiography has rejected early interpretations based on a Cusco-centric account of this event. Although Tupac Amaru did become the rebellion’s most recognizable symbol, it was not a homogenous movement, but rather a concurrence of several uprisings, each with its own history and characteristics. The Aymara communities of the La Paz highlands, the inhabitants of Cusco and the Collao, the indigenous who inhabited the valleys and punas of the region of Charcas and Potosí, and the residents of the village of Oruro all took very different paths to get to 1780. And the 1780 rebellion represented different things for each of them. Let’s then turn now to the particular dynamics of these regional uprisings and the distinctive historical paths leading to them.

THE TUPAC AMARU AND THE KATARISTA REBELLIONS

In southern Peru, during the eighteenth century, the relationship between indigenous and Cusco society had two distinctive features. The first was the growing visibility of Inca images and Andean cultural motifs, in both popular and elite artistic expressions, including paintings and murals, textile designs, clothing, and *qeros* (Andean drinking vessels). It was also seen in the wide circulation of books such as *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, a work published in 1617 that exalted the Inca civilization, written by Garcilaso de la Vega, the son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca noblewoman, a niece of the emperor Huayna Capac. Tupac Amaru, like many other Cusco nobles of the era, had read it. Just as importantly, the Andean imperial tradition was evoked in public ceremonies (dances, drama performances, religious celebrations) in which most social groups in Cusco (Indians, mestizos, creoles, Spaniards) were involved as direct participants or audience members. This process of Inca cultural renaissance, as it is often defined, made it fashionable for Andean lords to have themselves portrayed in Inca garb and insignia of power. The colonial state worked also to keep the memories of the precolonial past alive, conceding great pre-eminence to the Inca aristocracy and allowing “Inca tradition” to be taught in the schools for caciques—such as the one where Tupac Amaru himself studied, San Francisco de Borja, in Cusco, where the walls were covered with Inca images (Rowe, 1954; Flores Galindo, 1987; O’Phelan Godoy, 1995; Garrett, 2005).

Secondly, the indigenous aristocracy enjoyed an elevated social status among both the Cusco white population and the rural communities. Their joint celebration of pre-Columbian legacies formed part of a wider pattern of cultural and economic interaction. Most Andean lords were bilingual, literate mestizos who over the centuries had built well-established social and kinship networks with the creole elites. Some caciques owned haciendas and mines and participated as partners, rather than as

subordinate agents, in commercial enterprises alongside Spanish officials and businessmen. Members of several prestigious indigenous noble families even became priests, one of the most prominent symbols of assimilation and economic success (O'Phelan Godoy, 1995, pp. 47–68; Estenssoro Fuchs, 2003). It is no wonder that the historian Alberto Flores Galindo (1987, p.136) argued that in the eighteenth century “a Cuzco noble was considered to be as important as a Hispanic noble.” A study of marriage practices among the native elite of Cusco has concluded that “the legal barrier that separated [the indigenous nobility] from creole Peru was actually more porous at the personal and familial levels than the social borders that the nobility erected between themselves and commoner Indians” (Garrett, 2003, p. 26). At the same time, in sharp contrast to other regions, Indians of noble birth remained in control of most native chieftainships. These hereditary ethnic lords exerted a relatively undisputed authority within their rural towns, judging at least by the low levels of overt indigenous dissension (Stavig, 1999, pp. 229–233). In fact, this ascendancy survived the collapse of the local governmental institutions: in contrast to other centers of rebel activity, the indigenous peoples of the Cusco area tended to abide by their caciques' decision either to support or to oppose the insurrection. As a whole, the indigenous aristocracy enjoyed a social prestige unmatched anywhere else in the Andes.

These sociocultural processes went hand in hand with growing political unrest. Thus, in 1777, the indigenous communities in Urubamba province, north of Cusco, rebelled against the forced distribution of goods carried out by their corregidor. Several mestizos and creoles were also implicated in the protest. In January 1780, after a customs house was erected at the entrance of the southern Peruvian city of Arequipa, the plebeian and patrician sectors alike rose up in a violent revolt that became known as “la rebelión de los pasquines”, named for the anonymous libels which appeared around the city before the revolt. The rebels held control of the city for several days. A number of pasquinades also appeared in Cusco around the same time, and for the same reasons; the city was awash in rumors that there would be riots. Two months later, the Cusco authorities discovered the so-called “conspiracy of the silversmiths.” Appealing to the widely held resentment against the customs house, Lima authorities, and colonial rule in general, a group of creole and mestizo artisans, shopkeepers, and hacienda owners, as well as Indians from the region, began to plot a popular uprising. The threat was serious enough that, after it was discovered, the main leaders of the conspiracy were hanged in the city of Cusco (O'Phelan Godoy, 1985; Cahill, 1990; Walker, 2014).

Therefore, in early November 1780, when Tupac Amaru called for an insurrection against the colonial administration evoking Inca political symbols, the people of Cusco—Indians, mestizos, creoles—had both old and new, cultural and socioeconomic, reasons to listen. This may account for the astonishing alacrity, considering all that was at stake, with which tens of thousands of people responded to his call. But this does not mean that all those who became involved in the rebellion had the same reasons to join it and the same political expectations. In fact, the ambiguities embedded in the public recognition of Inca historical legacies and the full integration of the indigenous nobility into the Cusco colonial society was manifested in the several layers of tension shaping insurgent practices and discourses. On one hand, Tupac Amaru saw himself, and was seen by his followers, as the new Inca king. This conception of Inca restoration may have been imbued

with millennial and messianic beliefs, including cyclical perspectives on history, prophecies of imminent cosmological and social cataclysms, and myths concerning the resurrection of the last Inca (Hidalgo Lehuéde, 1983; Szeminski, 1984; Campbell, 1987; Flores Galindo, 1987, pp. 127–157). Yet Tupac Amaru could also translate his political aspiration into the language of the ancient Spanish *pactismo*, i.e., the reconstitution of the balanced relation between the king and the political communities or kingdoms that comprised the monarchy. It is open to debate whether this traditional claim was ultimately meant to redefine the terms of the colonial pact or to terminate it altogether. In either case, Tupac Amaru did not define this Andean political community as merely indigenous but as composed of diverse American social groups. The spontaneous, albeit short-lived, support of some creole and mestizo groups for an insurrection of such magnitude suggests that the invocation of the Inca legacy, or the symbolism that the image of Tupac Amaru projected, constituted a language that they could understand and to some extent even share. To be sure, Andean leaders and creoles held divergent understandings of the aims of the movement: the former might have expected non-indigenous peoples to recognize the new balance of power emerging in the wake of Inca political revival, and the latter might have hoped to manipulate Indian unrest to halt the ongoing program of reforms. It did not take the creoles long to recognize the futility of the enterprise. On the other hand, the numerous indigenous communities that supported the uprising understood their endeavor in an entirely different light than the native aristocracy. Rank-and-file rebels saw the uprising as an opportunity to redress longstanding economic grievances against colonial officials, haciendas, textile mills, and white overlords in general. Collective mobilization was structured along traditional community lines, but from the peasants' standpoint, the distinction traced by the Indian leaders between Europeans and creoles appeared by and large meaningless.⁴

In the province of Chayanta, northern Potosí, as in La Paz and a large part of Alto Perú, the role of the Andean lords, the implications of state policies, the process of political radicalization, and the meaning of neo-Inca expectations created a distinctive dynamic. Unlike in Cusco, control over the native chiefdoms was the main point of contention during the long process that led up to the outbreak of mass violence. It must be recalled that in the Andean communities, the powers and sphere of influence of the caciques extended beyond the political and symbolic realms; the welfare—even the survival—of the community depended to a great extent on them. It was the caciques who determined who would work to satisfy the mita and who would sponsor the religious celebrations; they assigned the lands to family units (and the size and characteristics of the plots often determined the tribute quota that they would have to pay); they managed the grain mills, collectively farmed parcels and other communal economic resources; they arbitrated internal land conflicts between families and *ayllus* (a group of people linked by overlapping ties of kinship, territory, religious practice, language use, and occupation); and they represented their communities in front of magistrates and priests and during border disputes that frequently arose between haciendas and nearby indigenous landholdings. As previously stated, they also worked as agents of the repartimiento de mercancías. Thus, it was not a matter of simply exchanging one cacique for another; a whole world of grievances was at stake. The protest grew out of intense battles over whether illegitimate ethnic

chiefs, regardless of whether they belonged to noble lineages, were mestizo, or both. Protests also focused on the Spanish provincial functionaries backing such dubious lords, and the threats to community economic and political values abusive authorities represented. The movement was therefore much less hierarchical and more egalitarian and organized-from-below than in Cusco.⁵

Thus, the rebellion in northern Potosí was a gradual process of mass mobilization. As social conflicts revolved around customary modes of exploitation by civil, ethnic, and ecclesiastical authorities, Bourbon absolutism appeared to Indian communities less as a central motive of discontent than as a political resource to be manipulated for their own ends. The language of contention evolved from the enforcement of specific corporate privileges and the fair administration of justice in the rural villages to a redefinition of the power relations between the King, local colonial rulers, and the Andean communities, in accordance with a political idea that Tristan Platt (1982) defined as *pacto de reciprocidad* (reciprocity pact): in exchange for complying with their obligations to the crown (tributes and the mita), the indigenous communities demanded a guarantee of their economic prerogatives and their right to self-governance. It was Northern Potosí's version of the Andean utopia. Entailing the reorganization of engrained systems of colonial and ethnic power, it proved to be as radical as any other utopia. In addition, the northern Potosí community's attachment to Tupac Amaru had little to do with any desire to restructure the relationship between the Spanish monarchy and the kingdom of Peru as a whole (Indians, mestizos, and creoles). The conflicts expressed a fundamental antagonism between the Andean ayllus and rural power groups rather than between local interests and imperial policies, as was the case in Cusco. Tupac Amaru occupied the power vacuum left by the crisis of legitimacy of the Spanish government and the complete disintegration of the established social order.

The case of La Paz presented various contrasts with its counterparts in Chayanta and Cusco.⁶ In the first place, the rebellion led by Tupac Katari was not the result of an autonomous process of collective mobilization, whether a conspiracy turned mass uprising (Cusco) or a gradual process of radicalization (Chayanta). It was born out of a full-scale revolutionary situation both south and north of Lake Titicaca. Insurgent activities began in late February 1781, when mass mobilization was well under way in Cusco, Charcas, and Oruro. This does not mean that the region of La Paz had been unaffected by the wave of indigenous protests and riots prior to 1780. On the contrary, the highland communities of La Paz showed an unmatched record of collective mobilization in the whole Andean region, especially against provincial magistrates, illegitimate caciques, and the forced distribution of goods. In his studies on the social conflicts in the provinces of Sicasica, Pacajes, Omasuyos, Larecaja, and Chucuito from the 1740s, historian Sinclair Thomson (2002, p. 162) calls attention to a series of extremely radical ideological motifs, manifestations of an "anti-colonial consciousness," in communal protests at the local level. The author defines these "anti-colonial political options," which do not appear to be associated with any notion of an Inca restoration, as the "radical elimination of the colonial enemy; regional indigenous autonomy that did not necessarily question the legitimacy of the Spanish Crown; and ethnic integration under Indigenous hegemony."

These longstanding experiences of confrontation and the egalitarian ideas that informed them explain to a large extent the distinctive meaning that the pan-Andean

uprisings held for the Indians of the La Paz highlands. From its beginning, the movement took on unequivocal racial and class undertones. The enemy was referred to with the Aymara word “q’ara,” the term for anyone who was not of indigenous descent. In practice it was not a strictly racial category, as it could indicate mestizos or white people, as well as those who did not dress like indigenous peoples, or simply the enemies of the rebellion, no matter their ethnic origins; it did have very distinct socioeconomic resonances, however. There was no possibility of an alliance with creoles or other social groups to oppose the imperial policies, as was the case in Cusco, or of re-establishing an ideal reciprocity pact between the ayllus and the state to end the abuses of the local elites, as was the case in Chayanta.

Therefore, even though the revolution arrived in La Paz later than in other parts of the Andes, when it did arrive it hit in full fury. By February of 1781, numerous indigenous groups of Sicasica, Yungas, and Pacajes began to rise up in the name of Tupac Amaru against landowners, merchants, state officials, and rural neighbors. The Hispanic groups were forced to abandon the rural areas and move together to various towns with their goods and livestock. Rebel actions in La Paz were inspired by openly nativist ideas. The siege of La Paz, the most emblematic event in the history of indigenous-nonindigenous relations in what is currently Bolivia, was a clear reflection of the deep radicalization of the Andean insurgency. Between March and October of 1781, with the brief interruption of the arrival of a column of the Spanish army, the Aymara communities led by Tupac Katari blocked off communication with the outside world. The rebels managed to prevent all food and supplies from entering the city for 109 consecutive days. Although all the attempts to take the city by force eventually failed, the siege brought great suffering to the urban population. Thousands of inhabitants died of starvation and disease. There was not a larger or a more deadly attack on the Hispanic population of Alto Peru, or any other region of the Andes. Unlike the uprising in Cusco, the La Paz movement left little space for creole elites’ future historical constructions of it as a protonationalist movement.

THE TUPAMARISTA CREOLES OF ORURO

While the regional characteristics varied, it can be argued that what ended up giving the Andean rebellion its distinctively subversive character was the erosion of the notions of ethnocultural superiority, and thus the underlying justification for European domination. The initial socioeconomic and political rebel programs were peripheral—although historically significant in many other senses—to the radical and seditious content of the collective actions. It is not only that the ideas and the violence became more uncompromising and drastic as the rebellion grew; the crucial point is that the indigenous communities subverted the established order no matter their specific motivations or the even the degree of violence they employed. The case of Oruro is particularly instructive in this regard.

Oruro was the only territory under the control of rebel forces in which the creole groups had firm control of the insurgency and where the indigenous communities explicitly supported a coalition with white elites.⁷ Led by the Rodríguez brothers, wealthy miners and local landowners, the residents of the city (both patricians and plebeians) joined the indigenous communities to rise up in the name of Tupac Amaru against the royal authorities and Spaniards in general. Unlike in other places, the

Indians made a concerted effort to distinguish creoles from Europeans, while the elite of Oruro treated the indigenous communities as formal allies. Despite these auspicious circumstances, these interracial alliances did not last more than a few days.

During the second week in February, a crowd of Andean peasants, twice as large as the permanent population of Oruro, entered the mining town peacefully to support what the miners were doing there. Before too long they began to demand the return of the hacienda lands, to force the Hispanic residents to dress as Indians, to ask for the distribution of money deposited in the royal coffers (which mostly came from Indian tribute), and to demand the execution of all Europeans. In response, the creoles demanded their immediate evacuation of the city. They tried to enforce this first by negotiation and when that failed, by force. After that, the rebellion in this region resembled the rebellion in the rest of the southern Andes. The communities began to assault haciendas and mines and to attack the Hispanic population. The caciques and Indians who collaborated with the creoles were branded as traitors and executed. These assaults extended to all of the towns throughout the region. At the beginning of March there were even two failed attempts to surround and occupy the village of Oruro. One of the indigenous leaders, Santos Mamani from the town of Challapata in the province of Paria, summarized the ideological orientation that the uprising assumed thus:

The time had come for the relief of Indians and the annihilation of Spaniards and creoles whom they called “q’aras,” which in their language means “naked,” because without paying taxes or laboring they were the owners of what they [the Indians] worked on, under the yoke and burdened with many obligations. They obtained the benefits, while the Indians spent their lives oppressed, knocked about, and in utter misfortune.

(quoted in Thomson, 2002, p. 216)

The creoles of Oruro, for their part, after this brief and torturous experience of alliance with the indigenous communities, joined forces once again with the Europeans and abandoned all support for Tupac Amaru. Thus, the patrician elite discovered that once the established forms of social distinction and deference—which in a colonial society could only be founded in a racial hierarchy—vanished, no interracial cooperation was possible.

To sum up, the rebels throughout the Andes legitimized their collective protests by proclaiming loyalty to the crown, expressing the desire that their corporate rights be recognized, and seeking to build alliances with the creole elite. By de facto defying their subordinated place in the natural order of things, the Indian mobilization eliminated all common ground between colonizers and colonized.

NOTES

- 1 Overviews of the movement in Lewin (1957); Fisher (1966); O’Phelan Godoy (1985); Serulnikov (2013); Walker (2014). See also Stern (1987); Glave (1999); Stavig and Schmidt (2008).
- 2 For studies on eighteenth-century socioeconomic history, see Glave and Remy (1983); Larson (1988); Tandeter (1993, 1995); Klein (1993); Barragán and Thomson (1993); Larson and Harris with Tandeter (1995); Escandell-Tur (1997); Serulnikov (2008).

- 3 On the concrete workings of the colonial justice system in Mexico and Peru, see Stern (1982, Chapter 5); Borah (1983); Walker (1999, pp. 69–83); Serulnikov (2003); Owensby (2008).
- 4 The most thorough and up-to-date historical reconstruction of the Tupac Amaru movement in Cuzco and the Collao is Walker (2014). See also Flores Galindo (1976); O'Phelan Godoy (1985); Stavig (1999); Garrett (2005); Cahill (2003, 2008).
- 5 Studies on the Chayanta rebellion and protest movements in neighboring provinces include Serulnikov (2003); Arze (1991); Andrade Padilla (1994); Penry (1996); Abercrombie (1998); Robins (2002).
- 6 On the rebellion in La Paz, see Thomson (2002) and Valle de Siles (1990).
- 7 On the rebellion in Oruro, see Cajías de la Vega (2004). See also Cornblit (1995).

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CHAPTER TWELVE

VIRACocha VS. GOD

Andean thought and cultural change in colonial Bolivia¹



Alcira Dueñas

In the process of conquering and colonizing the souls of Andean America, Spain deployed an army of missionaries and ecclesiastic bureaucrats who brought with them a major religious weapon of cultural and social dominance. Through a combination of forceful as well as gentle indoctrination, Christianity came to permeate many aspects of Andean life in rural and urban settings alike, as the newly imposed colonial relationships began to consolidate in the post conquest period. Since the 1970s, the historiography on colonial indigenous religious change has challenged hitherto prevalent notions of either full conversion to or full rejection of Christianity by Amerindians.

The more common patterns of intertwining influences between Christianity and indigenous religiosity have attracted scholarly interest, in particular the roles of native peoples in shaping the form and content of colonial Christianity. Subjecting ecclesiastical sources to a meticulous scrutiny and contextualization, scholars have reconstructed the dynamics of the extirpation of idolatry campaigns—that is, the efforts of the Catholic Church to eradicate native beliefs and rituals. They have also discussed native religious change in Peru and Mexico, more generally.² Overall, scholars of native Andean religion have examined the ways Andean religious practices and Christianity related to and impacted each other in the colonial context.³ Some scholars viewed religious change as syncretism or the fusion of the two religious traditions, and argued that a “crystallization” or stable integration of Christianity and Andean religions had been established by mid to late seventeenth century.⁴ Others have highlighted Andeans’ more conscious choices for such a religious synthesis. Mills, (1997), Griffiths (1996), and Griffiths and Cervantes (1997), on their part, have stressed the continuously changing adoption and recasting of Christianity by Andeans across colonial time and space. Studies on the idolatry extirpation campaigns examined the content of Andean religion that emerged from the trials, while some others emphasized the intra- and interethnic tensions underlying the repression of Andean religious culture.⁵ Estenssoro Fuchs (2003) endeavored to discern the evangelization model the Church sought to establish with these campaigns. Literary scholars (Adorno, 1986; Durston, 2007; Charles, 2010) have crafted innovative historical narratives viewing

Andeans as active authors and litigants and showing how Spanish religious and legal culture permeated the writings of lower-church Andeans who, in turn, shaped colonial culture as well.⁶

The written responses to colonial religion by Andeans themselves are central to understandings of religious change, including how Christianity changed in the Andes after the conquest. Perhaps the paucity of available sources to date might explain why, in spite of the crucial intervention of *curas doctrineros*, or parish priests in religious conversion, very little has been studied about textual responses by Andeans acting as parish priests and their theological reformulation of the Catholic canon. They not only reacted to the localized and periodical extirpation of idolatries campaigns, but, more generally, to the more pervasive social and political conflict that the presence of ecclesiastical inspectors generated during their pastoral visits or *visitas*, as Christianity was being introduced and periodically enforced before, during, and after the idolatry inspections and trials. This chapter looks at the writings of the Andean mestizo Juan de Cuevas Herrera, a parish priest from Charcas and mission assistant in Lima in 1620. Juan de Cuevas Herrera's texts give voice to these tensions and expressed the Andean thought that emerged from the cultural confrontation between Europe and the Andes during the spiritual conquest undertaken by the Catholic church. These texts not only articulate Andean responses to the oppression of the church bureaucrats visiting Indian towns, but also offer a privileged window onto the intellectual reframing of Christian theology in Andean terms. They illuminate religious change in the Andes in the seventeenth century. Cuevas Herrera's perspective permits us to grasp the voices and concerns of Andeans within the ecclesiastical institution's lowest echelons as well as their intervention in the colonial religious discourse. The colonial missionary enterprise could not have possibly functioned fully without the labor of Andean assistants, the native community resources commanded by the *kurakas* (caciques or native political authorities) and the work of local parish priests, in order to reach out to the larger constituencies of the multiethnic faithful.⁷ This was particularly relevant for the episcopal inspections carried out in the Archdiocese of Lima in the seventeenth century.

An Andean mestizo who worked temporarily with the Jesuits as an assistant of campaigns against idolatries in Lima in 1620, Cuevas Herrera also served for most of his life as parish priest in the Charcas province. He wrote about his own experience, commenting on the irregularities of the extirpation campaigns and the harm Andeans suffered from the prelates that served as inspectors of idolatry. Cuevas Herrera's own writings force one to recast the commonly accepted binary opposition between *cura* (priest) and native parishioner and to discern their relationship as intertwined in complex and dynamic ways. They challenge the assumption that mestizos avoided public recognition of their Amerindian background. As an Andean religious man from the province of the Carangas (colonial Bolivia), Cuevas Herrera's writings reveal his criticism of secular ecclesiastical authorities and his own theological elaboration of Christianity through his interpretation of Inca myths. As one of many Andean participants in the evangelization campaigns and the consolidation of Christianity in the Andes more generally, Cuevas attempted to redefine the terms of the ecclesiastic discourse and policies in the midst of the extirpating assault of the Catholic Church on the Andean communities.

The historical conditions of Cuevas Herrera's textual production, including the doctrinal environment of the time, and the collision between the Andean and European religious worlds in the post-conquest period, contextualize the discussion in the texts. I argue that the extirpation efforts of the Lima Archbishopric to eradicate the knowledge and the ceremonial culture of shamans, kurakas and Indian ritual specialists triggered a unique Andean intellectual response: a systematic questioning of the ecclesiastical bureaucrats' moral virtue and methods combined with a reformulation of the historical narrative of the conquest, which created a power interplay between the Catholic God and the Inca mythical hero Viracocha. In rewriting this foundational chapter of colonial history in America, Juan de Cuevas Herrera struggled to reposition Viracocha, the Inca creator god, as the true god, perhaps in an effort to depict Christian Andeans as *cristianos viejos* or old true Christians, and, therefore, position himself as one of them to become eligible to priesthoods and prelatures.

THE EVANGELIZING ENVIRONMENT AND THE EXTIRPATION EFFORT

A few decades after the evangelization efforts had begun, it became abundantly clear to the Peruvian Church that the results were less than ideal. For the most part, Andeans remained loyal to their *huacas* (divine entities) practicing ancestral reciprocity and healing ceremonies. The crisis was first recognized by ecclesiastical leaders themselves. In 1608, Francisco de Avila, a parish priest in San Damián (Huarochirí), complained that Indian parishioners kept their "idols" as though they were not instructed at all in the Catholic faith (Acosta 1979; Garais, 1989, p. 232).⁸ The Jesuit Pablo José de Arriaga, in 1621, (1999, pp. 13, 54) declared that idolatries proliferated in Peru even a century after the evangelization activity had begun in the Archbishopric of Lima.

Such assessments also reveal the failure of three major attempts by the Lima Church councils of the sixteenth century (1551–1552; 1567–1568, and in 1582–1583) to bring Andeans under religious control. These councils had variously advocated the suppression of Andean religious teachers and the uprooting of indigenous deities, ceremonies, and beliefs, ultimately failing to support a gentle conversion to Christianity. Early efforts to establish the inquisition for Indians by Dominican Fray Juan de la Cruz in 1566 and by Viceroy Toledo in the 1570s had basically failed (Garais, 1989, p. 231). The seventeenth-century Peruvian Church thus came to believe that a systematic uprooting of Andean religious beliefs and practices was necessary to effectively Christianize indigenous Andeans. A process known as the extirpation of idolatries thus began in the Lima Archdioceses, which ebbed and flowed from roughly 1609 through 1750.⁹

To understand the broader implications of such a process, it is important to remember that since 1530, the presence of Europeans carrying lethal diseases had devastated the population of indigenous peoples by about 60 percent. Additionally, the imposition of compulsory work in the mines (*mitas*) deepened the material and moral obliteration of Andean peoples. One of the earliest anomalies that upset ecclesiastical authorities was discovered in Parinacochas (Huamanga), in 1564, where a millenarian movement known as *Taki Onqoy* (dancing sickness) made apparent the first open resistance to Spanish and Catholic rule (Millones and Castro-Klarén, 1990; MacCormack, 1991; Stern, 1993, Chapter 3).¹⁰ In order to win their hearts

and minds, the early missionaries had chosen to ignore the fact that Andeans had continued their ancestral relationship with their huacas, their sacred geography, and the permanent search for a social and cosmic balance through reciprocity. The *Taki Onqoy*, however, could hardly be ignored. It was a powerful call to Andeans to give up Christian practices and identities, and to subvert Spanish authority. In 1570, the Church thus ordered the first *visitas de idolatrías* (idolatry inspections) in Huamanga Province under the inquisitive zeal of the Jesuit Cristobal de Albornoz, but the extirpation campaigns were formally established later in 1609 for the Archdioceses of Lima. Their impact and word of the harassment they unleashed reached some of the neighboring provinces, such as Charcas, where Cuevas worked as a doctrinero.

The pastoral environment at the time revealed Andeans standing on opposite sides of the religious conflict. As ritual specialists, teachers, practitioners, and in some cases, as indigenous authorities, Andeans became the target of the extirpators. At the same time, extirpators and pastoral visitors used Andeans as assistants and demanded valuable labor and resources from communities which, however reluctantly, had to support the ecclesiastic bureaucrats during their long sojourns in order to preempt the repressive consequences. In his “Cinco memoriales,” Cuevas Herrera also wrote an exposé of such anomalies, including corruption of various sorts and the mistreatment of the parish priests themselves by church inspectors and prelates. The manuscript betrayed a textual familiarity with the now famous work of Guaman Poma de Ayala (1615), making the two texts and authors contemporary critics of the colonial establishment.

An indigenous Andean, Felipe Guaman Poma openly despised mestizos, while Cuevas Herrera, a mestizo himself, had reclaimed his Inca identity. However, there are some similarities in their backgrounds and respective texts worth noting.¹¹ Like Guaman Poma, Cuevas Herrera served as an intermediary (assistant and interpreter) between the episcopal authorities and Indians in the idolatry inspections and traveled extensively throughout the Andes and to Lima at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Like Guaman Poma, Juan de Cuevas devoted a whole section of his work to questioning the behavior of most parish priests, using a rhetorical strategy similar to that of Guaman Poma. They both combined the pastoral sermon style with accusations against clerics akin to the *causas de capítulos*, legally sanctioned by the Toledan *Ordenanzas* (Decrees) to keep doctrineros in check, as they were targeted for the failure of evangelization.¹²

The *Nueva Coronica* also addressed the underlying social and political underpinnings of the inspection tours in Huamanga carried out during the visita general of Cristóbal de Albornoz in 1570 and 1609. Interestingly, while Guaman Poma first portrayed the extirpator as an honest person, “a saintly man fearful of God,” he also denounced undue appointments of individuals in *cacicazgos* (Andean chieftainships) as a retribution for destroying idols. He offered the example of Juan Cocha Quispe, identified as a fiscal and “lowly Quechua Indian,” who, following Albornoz’s orders, apparently destroyed many idols while hiding his own, and was put in the cacicazgo where he became rich on account of many “*cohechos*” or criminal activities (Guaman Poma de Ayala, [ca. 1615], p. 676[690], p.638). Guaman Poma adamantly criticized the misbehavior of pastoral authorities and demanded that they not remain in the *pueblos* (Andean settlements) more than one day. He reported that their frequent and extended presence in Indian towns placed undue burdens upon the communities. The *visitadores* (inspectors) and their officials demanded “*mitas y camaricos*,” or personal services and offerings, in addition to mistreating and robbing the Indians.

Guaman Poma also revealed that Alborno severely punished the “padres” (priests) and that these visits were occasions for extracting excessive fees and penalty charges not only from the Indians but also from the parish priests. At times he thinks of both priests and Indians as equally suffering from the pastoral visits: “the said fathers [doctrineros] and the said Indian poor endure hardships in this realm . . . and there is no remedy neither justice for the poor of this realm” (Guaman Poma de Ayala, [ca. 1615], p. 640).

Juan de Cuevas himself regarded the job of parish priests as debasing: “these curas spend the entire year working as though they were exiled in the *pueblos de indios*, [Indian towns], so isolated, that simply living there is itself a veritable punishment” (Cuevas Herrera [ca. 1650], f.233). Nevertheless, both Guaman Poma and Cuevas Herrera harshly denounced the low moral stature and decadence of Spanish parish priests who exploited and abused native women and men and connived with *corregidores* (magistrates) to secure their more worldly common interests. Both authors emphasized the contrast between the ideal image of Christian behavior that the Church preached and the reality of most prelates’ loose morals (Guaman Poma de Ayala, [ca. 1615] 565[579], p.534; Cuevas Herrera [ca. 1650] ff.220v–238).

They questioned the same behavior on the part of the inspectors of idolatry, criticizing these pastoral officials’ already questionable reputation. They seemed to be well aware that the Church considered the high moral standards of the Spanish clergy as the key to overcoming the hurdles of evangelization in the Andes. In discussing ecclesiastical officials’ misbehavior, historian Kenneth Mills (1996, pp. 185–190) points out that the moral orientations of the Council of Trent found expression in the process of the extirpation of idolatries in the Lima Archdiocese. Cuevas’s arguments and examples criticizing these officials’ relaxed comportment reflect Mills’s idea that their questionable morality debilitated the structure of a purification program whose success ultimately depended on the moral superiority of the church ideology and ministers (Mills, 1996, p. 183).

Being a parish priest himself, Cuevas did not ultimately place the responsibility for the evangelization failure on Andeans’ “errors,” however. The actual “bad Christians” were definitely the Spanish priests and officials, and the hurdles to evangelization lay in the ways of the church itself. Cuevas’s writing ultimately expresses the effort of Andeans from the lower echelons of the church hierarchy to fight back against the Lima church’s moralizing campaign by “redeploying” Christian morality. Paraphrasing Mills’ thesis, the Andean priest essentially reversed the “mirrors” of morality, which, following the Council of Trent mandates, the church had first deployed upon priests and the faithful, to reflect back the wrongdoings of the magistrates of the sacred (Mills, 1996, p. 186). Cuevas recast Spanish parish priests and inspectors of idolatry as “sinners” in need of reformation, and, as opposed to the corrupt church officials, he presented himself as the true model of virtue and restraint and upheld Andeans as morally superior to Spanish clerics and colonial officials.

A MID-COLONIAL ANDEAN CRITIQUE OF COLONIAL CHRISTIANITY

The “Cinco memoriales” presents the reader with a veritable litany of accusations against the prelates who conducted the ecclesiastical visits, extorting “*cuartas*” and “*visitas*”¹³ from parish priests and demanding food and personal services from

the communities. Likewise, the author substantiated the common practice among some curas and fiscales (church assistants)—“the rhetorical, if not violent, fiscales”—of forcing Indians to order and pay in advance for masses for their deceased relatives. Cuevas Herrera provided examples of these instances and hinted that those who dared complain to the prelates were tortured and secluded in improvised prisons (Cuevas Herrera, ca 1620, ff.233–238).¹⁴ A detailed narrative specified the cost of the episcopal *visitas* (visits) for the communities listing labor, transportation resources, food, wood, and services demanded by the inspectors and the many “servants and friends of the episcopal houses, judges, and other powerful people,” who normally joined the ecclesiastical visits and deliberately prolonged their stays beyond necessary. In Cuevas’s view, “these men’s only god is material interest, which makes them err in supporting the dishonest rich while affronting and destroying the virtuous for being poor” (Cuevas Herrera, ca 1620, ff.234v–235).

Drawing mostly from his years as assistant of idolatry in the Lima Province in the 1620s, Cuevas focuses on the idolatry campaigns, not so much from the perspective of Andean religion or practitioners, but from that of a parish priest who also had much to lose from the actions of the inspectors of idolatry, and the stratagems they used to alter social order by pitting priests and caciques against each other. Consider the case of the elderly priest Laragato whom Cuevas met in Lima. Laragato’s parish was subject to an ecclesiastical visita and therefore to the obligations mentioned above, to which he complied, including the expected special camaricos and dinner “invitations” and the payments of ecclesiastical dues. Before leaving town, the visitador attempted to exact an additional “gift” from Laragato. According to Cuevas, the inspector expressed that he “was broke and it would help if he [Laragato] spared three or four hundred pesos, since [the inspector] trusted Laragato as a man of generous heart” (Cuevas Herrera, ca 1620, f. 236). Because Laragato could not afford such demands, the visitador forged a letter which he then showed to the cacique of the town. In it, Laragato accused the cacique of sorcery, idolatry, and illicit cohabitation. In response, the cacique and the visitador joined together to raise sixty “capítulos” or accusations against Laragato, who underwent a drawn-out investigation and prosecution by the bishop. Eventually, Cuevas protested, “he died a poor person in Lima as usually happens to those who defend the robes” (Cuevas Herrera, ca 1620, f.236).

The procedural irregularities of some visitas de idolatría were also subject to criticism. Cuevas claimed to have witnessed visitas practiced not by members of the clergy but rather by secular and lay persons, alleging that they were chosen as inspectors by their close relatives, the *oidores* or Audiencia judges, and by the bishops’ “*criados*” or unconditional allies (Cuevas Herrera, ca 1620, f.236v). More pointedly, the Andean priest’s work discusses the crisis of evangelization, which he referred to as the “mortal accidents of this kingdom” or the “impediments for the full conversion of Indians” in the subtitle of his “Cinco memoriales” (Cuevas Herrera, ca 1620, ff.218, 220v). Broadly speaking, the priest argued that the conversion program was doomed by its own structural weaknesses and those of the colonial system more generally: the negligence and inefficiency of the high prelates in charge of overseeing conversion coupled with the ineptitude of most parish priests; the excesses of magistrates, and the overexploitation of Indian labor draftees yielded a thin “harvest” of true Christian souls among Andeans.

Wrapping up his criticism to the episcopal leadership, the Andean priest proposed remedies for the state of disarray of the evangelization program in the Andes. First, he suggested that only parish priests of proven moral virtue be assigned to the parishes as opposed to those whose only motivation was business opportunity and enrichment. He felt strongly that priests who were not proficient in Indian languages should not be considered for the job and that those appointed without knowing the native languages should not receive their *sinodos*, or salaries. Most importantly, inspectors should be rigorously screened before their appointment. “They must not be the relatives of prelates, neither young boys or pages, or even less, the protégées of oidores [judges] but virtuous men, elderly, zealous, and prudent” (Cuevas Herrera, ca 1620, ff.237v–238). Overall, the Andean parish priest called for a figurative purification campaign against the church prelates to regenerate the kingdom: “[Ultimately], this body [kingdom] is so sick that it is imperative to sever and cut its individual pieces to cure it, reform it, and heal it (Cuevas Herrera, ca 1620, ff.267, 269).¹⁵

As an itinerant parish priest in the Charcas Province for several decades in the seventeenth century, and as an assistant in the extirpation of idolatries campaign in Lima and Huarochirí, Cuevas Herrera moved back and forth between the European and Andean worlds, between Christianity and the Andean spiritual worlds. The author was, or claimed to be, a witness to the criticized irregularities of the Church bureaucracy and the harm they did to the triumph of Christianity in the Andes; he thus empowered his narrative and his position as a privileged witness. In spite of his role as a parish priest, or perhaps because of it, and his self-proclaimed identity as a mestizo descendant of the Inca, Cuevas Herrera sought to bridge the two conflicting worlds by rewriting the history of conquest, recasting the narratives of Spanish chronicles and the legal discourse of the crown and the church, much in the fashion of Guaman Poma de Ayala and Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. At a more complex level, however, Cuevas’s criticism of colonial Christianity turns into a more elaborate theological intervention as he altered the legitimacy of the Spanish conquest by reformulating the myth of Viracocha.¹⁶

THE EARTHLY POWER OF THE “DIVINE WILL”

The early debates about Spain’s rights of dominion in America and the justice of the Spanish conquest served as the backdrop for Juan de Cuevas Herrera’s theological and political elaboration. The bulls by Pope Alexander VI (May 3 and 4, 1493) — later known as “just titles”—gave the Spanish crown sovereignty, jurisdiction, and the responsibility to secure the expansion of Christianity into the New World. These canonical laws came to legitimize Spain’s rights of conquest, a crucial stage of the empire building process, by making the Spanish king, Ferdinand II, responsible for evangelization in the American territories recently incorporated into the Spanish empire. Concerned with the potential threat that the unrestrained personal ambition of *encomenderos* (holders of Indian labor grants) and the ecclesiastic bureaucrats posed to the evangelization project, prominent Spanish missionaries and theologians such as Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Francisco de Vitoria, and Francisco Suárez disputed the legitimacy of the Spanish invasion, the empire’s rights to dominion, and the ensuing practice of Indian slavery. While confronting vehement advocates of conquest, such as Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in Spain, they instead fully supported persuasive conversion of Amerindians and opposed forceful indoctrination efforts.

The debate lost its vigor after Fray Bartolomé de las Casas's death in 1566.¹⁷ In the early seventeenth century, however, Andean writers like Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and Juan de Cuevas Herrera revived the discussion disputing the rights of Spanish colonizers to grab Indian lands and create self-serving legal expedients, as the colonial society gradually consolidated. Both writers highlighted the growing exploitation of indigenous labor and the dislocation of the reciprocity order, a foundational block of Andean pre-colonial societies.

Juan de Cuevas Herrera utilized and reformulated the medieval theological notion of the "divine will" as the foundation of law to problematize the validity of the "just titles" of Spain in America. Simultaneously, he erected Inca stories of origin as the supreme religious symbol, disputing the legitimizing power of Christian theology. In analyzing religious change in America with the advent of European Christianity, contemporary scholars agree that the Andean cosmological universe permeated and defined the terms and the interpretations of the emerging Catholicism, expressing the prevalence of ancestral and local memory (Mills, 2000). Likewise, the Andean author refashioned the myth of Viracocha to explain the defeat of the last Inca in Vilcabamba at the hands of the royal militia. He redesigned the notion of the "divine will" by creating a prophecy allegedly told by Viracocha to the Inca people:

Viracocha, . . . banished by his [f]ather Yavarvacac Inca to the place named Chita, near Cuzco, saw a thing, not a human vision or corporeal representation, but the figure of a white and blond man with a beard similar to ours: This figure spoke clearly to him saying that in forthcoming times, some people like him would come bringing the true religion, one better than the one they then professed, and that it was the will of Pachacamac, the world maker, that Indians become their subjects, receive it [the new religion] and pay allegiance to the newcomers. This prophecy was repeated from generation to generation and Guayna Capac, the oldest of the Incas, repeated it again, warning that the moment was arriving in which the men foreseen by Viracocha would come, and that, then, they [Andeans] should receive them, obey them, and pay service to them, just as Viracocha had commanded and he [Guayna Capac] was commanding again. . . . Thus, Atahualpa Inca, the son of Guayna Capac himself, received our fellows [the Spaniards] with the customary love and friendliness. . . . Finally, Fuanso [i.e., Manco] Inca, Guayna Capac's legitimate heir, coming out from the Vilcabamba mountains with more than 200 D [thousand] warriors, seized the city of Cuzco, where only 150 Spaniards had been left. By an evident miracle, God Our Lord saved them from such a multitude, like the gospel's seed. They [the Inca] then believed the truthfulness of his ancestors' predictions. Addressing his people, he said that undoubtedly it was Pachacamac's will that these kingdoms must become the Spaniards'. He tenderly asked his people to obey heaven's design and turned back to his refuge, where the ingratitude and unkindness of a Spaniard, whose life he had graciously and kindly spared, paid him back with death. . . . Therefore, my conclusion is, my Lord and [C]atholic King, that God, the [s]overeign King, gave these kingdoms of Peru to the House of Castile.

(Cuevas Herrera, [ca. 1650], ff.219–219v)

Earlier, during the conquest of Mexico, information about the Quetzalcoatl myth that had circulated in Mesoamerica for centuries reached Spanish conquerors and chroniclers. Intriguingly, when the Spaniards arrived in Peru in 1530, similar versions of the Viracocha myth circulated along with the legend of the miraculous victory of 150 Spaniards surrounded by Inca warriors in Cajamarca in 1530, a providential help of apostle Santiago “signaling” the righteousness of the Spanish conquest.

More than its historical accuracy or its take on the conquest, Juan de Cuevas’s reformulation of the “divine will” is significant. Aspects of oral culture emerged in Cuevas’s reconstruction of the myth, as this was conveyed directly through the “mouth of God” directly to Viracocha. In searching for a strong legitimizing argument for the Spanish presence in the Andes, Cuevas displaced the spiritual power of the “divine will” towards the mythical heroes of the Andes, Viracocha and Pachacamac. Cuevas’s argumentative creativity disavows the chronological borders of Western history. He could move the “divine will”—a Christian and medieval theological category—to times prior to Christianity in the Andes. This rhetorical creation reminds one how, for Andeans, Catholicism and other religious traditions of the land were not mutually exclusive but complementary and that they changed over time and space according to the different interpretations of such traditions (Mills, 1994, 1997). The spiritual and political power that Cuevas attributed to Viracocha rests on his validation of Viracocha as God’s direct interlocutor.

Such a theological reconceptualization by a member of the lower church is significant, given the stringent religious climate at the time of the “Cinco memoriales.” Presenting Viracocha as the recipient of God’s revelations (“through the mouth of God”) amounted to underrating the 1493 papal bulls as the legitimizing tool of the conquest. Validating Spanish rule through a prophesy annunciated by Viracocha, however, was equivalent to giving precedence to Inca history, myth, and religion over the so called “just titles” of the Spanish empire. Such elaboration seems to position Inca history as a precursor of European history in the Andes and part and parcel of the history of the world, in a similar fashion to what Guaman Poma de Ayala did a few decades earlier in his *Nueva coronica y buen gobierno*. The textual acknowledgment of Spanish rule by an Andean-mestizo parish priest, on the other hand, may not be surprising, given the Andean tradition of “*mañay*.” Such a tradition refers to a political negotiation of religion and new duties to conquerors that followed every new conquest in the Andes before the Spanish conquest. The author tried to come to terms with both cultural and religious systems in a way that made sense for himself as an Andean and a member of the lower colonial church.

Along similar lines, and as he further elaborated on Andean religion, Cuevas also appropriated the rhetorical legacy of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, a mestizo intellectual and member of the Inca nobility from Cuzco and author of the *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (1617). Cuevas authorized his own discourse drawing from Garcilaso de la Vega’s work and also felt empowered by being of similar background and status to Garcilaso. For his treatise of Inca history, Garcilaso aimed to correct the cultural misunderstanding and historical errors of the Spanish chroniclers of the Indies, and tried to reconcile Spanish and Inca histories and religions, in a manner never accomplished before.¹⁸ In the introduction to his texts, Juan de Cuevas regarded Garcilaso as,

[A]n author free from any suspicion, Garcilaso de la Vega, an excellent elder of the pure royal blood from the Inca kings. And, if you don't believe him, come here, communicate, and ask the few remaining branches [heirs] of the royal trunk. . . . since I am the fourth grandson of Don Christobal Paullú, son of the Great Guayna Capac, third brother of the two Incas, Huascar and Manco. I have researched very well that these, my ancestors' kingdoms . . . have come to be very justly Y.M.'s, may God keep them prosperous as I wish.

(Cuevas Herrera, [ca. 1650], f.220)

As an author and self-professed mestizo descendant of the Inca elite, and as the parish priest in rural Charcas that he was, Cuevas inhabited and moved in a liminal space, back and forth between the European and Andean worlds. From there, he created a written record to make sense of the changing Andeans' worlds after the commotion that the conquest and the colonial upheaval brought to their lives. To address the obstacles for the success of evangelization, a major purpose in writing his "Cinco memoriales" to the king, Juan de Cuevas Herrera suggested a full reversal of the extirpation of idolatries campaigns.

CONCLUSION

Amerindians responded in various ways to the challenges posed by the church's overall efforts to fully convert them to Catholicism, including the eradication of native shamanism, beliefs, and rituals. Defying the cultural and religious hegemony of Spanish colonialism, the writing effort and the intellectual ability of the lettered Andeans Juan de Cuevas Herrera, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, and Garcilaso de la Vega expressed an intention to appropriate rhetorically powerful spaces for Andeans that were neglected in the dominant ecclesiastical discourse.¹⁹ Intellectual responses from below to the violence of Christianity and its magistrates in Andean rural villages are rarely heard from in the history of the colonial religious formation. And yet in the writings of members of the lower church and their local histories lies a fruitful source to enrich the central discussion of the Andean reception of Christianity. Because of their everyday proximity to the worlds of the Spanish church and the Indians, most of the Andean church assistants and parish priests had the ability to read and write in Spanish, and many of them became proficient in at least Quechua and Spanish.

As more writings of this nature are yet to be excavated, focusing on Andeans' experiences and their views of the church, as well as on works of Andean artistic production in rural parishes promise to be rewarding research areas to discern the generative power of cross-cultural religious interaction, and also offer new insights on religious change (Cohen, 2015; Stanfield-Mazzi, 2015). In the Andes, Cuevas and Guaman Poma attempted to reach the king by producing a critique of the colonial church. Simultaneously, in Mexico a rich production and interpretation of ritual and devotional texts in Zapotec and Nahuatl by native Maya and Aztec intellectuals emerged from the mid-sixteenth through the late eighteenth century. They also questioned evangelization and attempted an autochthonous religious response to it. Such an elaboration implied a pre-existing conglomerate of avid readers who deepened their devotional experience and who took on a more profound individual reflection of the Nahuatl devotional texts (Tavárez, 1999; 2002a, p. 78).

While fulfilling their new religious duties, Andean doctrineros moved with relative fluidity between the worlds of native parishioners and those of clerics and Spanish authorities, becoming de facto consumers of pastoral literature, homilies, and liturgy, which in turn cross-fertilized their own observations on the workings of evangelization and its purveyors' worldly behavior. Curas doctrineros also understood the political and cultural effect of ecclesiastical discourses and created their unique rhetorical intervention to reinterpret Canon Law through Andean idioms and thereby situate themselves culturally in the more complicated realm of colonial religion.

As Mills (2000, p. 147) recognized, the Andean landscape and its *huacas* had sacred meaning and even the Indian Christianity that ensued over time in the Andes had a particularly native inflection. Validating Spain's right to dominion in the Andes by giving theological and legal canonical agency to Viracocha, the Inca creator god, ultimately, amounted to positioning Inca mythical narratives inside the Christian canon and to claiming a place for the Inca in the history of empire. Finally, in envisioning the need for an alternative purification campaign, a healing of the kingdom to eradicate corrupt ecclesiastic functionaries in order to regenerate the realm, Cuevas saw no hope for Christianity in the Andes. Ultimately, he argued for the moral superiority of Andeans in the church, like himself, as the only way to save Christianity from Spanish Christians in the Andes.

NOTES

- 1 A preliminary form of this essay's second section appeared originally in Dueñas (2010).
- 2 Examining the complex nature of this cultural change goes beyond the scope and purpose of this chapter. A few works central to that discussion are Marzal (1983); MacCormack (1991); Griffiths (1996); Mills (1997); Taylor (1998); Griffiths and Cervantes (1999).
- 3 Duviols (1977, 1986; Duviols, Gutiérrez Arbulú, Andrade Ciudad, and Itier 2003); Acosta (1979); Garais (1989); Griffiths (1996); Mills (1997). For colonial Mesoamerica see, among others, Schroeder and Poole (2007); Tavárez (1999; 2002a; 2002b); Chuchiak IV (2002).
- 4 Marzal (1983). See a full discussion of these arguments in Griffiths (1996) and Griffiths and Cervantes (1999).
- 5 Griffiths and Cervantes (1999); Duviols (1977, 1986) Garais, 1989; Puente Luna (2007).
- 6 Based on legal ecclesiastical records, Charles (2010) focuses on the views of a variety of native church assistants acting as litigants mostly against curas doctrineros.
- 7 Charles (2010, p. 133) states that such an enterprise "owed as much to the indigenous forces within native parishes as to the European forces without."
- 8 Avila's "complaints" were part of an anti-idolatry campaign to pre-empt a series of *causas de capítulos* (denunciations and petitions against ecclesiastics) for abuses he committed against the Indians of San Damián.
- 9 This periodization includes the cycles accepted by Duviols (1977) and Mills (1997).
- 10 The Taki Onqoy was the first native defiance of Christianity in the Andes. Devastated by the epidemics, dancers would bring their mummies and huacas to the streets frantically dancing, and inciting other Andeans to reject Christianity, tribute payments, and obedience to Spanish authorities.
- 11 It goes without saying that there is no basis to compare the length and complexity of Guaman Poma's opus with the much smaller textual production by Cuevas Herrera.
- 12 Charles (2010, pp. 168–171; 2011, pp. 211–214) established that the *Nueva Coronica* was rooted in Canon Law and the Toledan *Ordenanzas*, and explained how Guaman Poma used these juridical sources to criticize parish priests. For a complete textual analysis of Cuevas's critique of parish priests, see Dueñas (2010, Chapters 4–6).

- 13 *Cuartas* were ecclesiastical fees or perquisites doctrineros owed annually to the church and which were ultimately paid by parishioners. When the parish had been abandoned for some years, the subsequent doctrinero was forced to pay the overdue fees. The author describes cases where, in just one visit, a doctrinero would have to pay “700 pesos for cuarta, two hundred [pesos] for visita, and two hundred more for the food for the corregidor. They were forced to give up their lambs, money or whatever.” Thus, “they [visitadores] secured that the skin yields the belts.” (Cuevas Herrera [ca. 1650], f. 232v). The “visitas” were fees the parish had to pay to the corresponding visitador, apparently for his work as such. Cuevas argued that charging visitas along with demanding room and board was abusive since the latter expenses were already included in the fee for the visitas (Ibid., f. 233v).
- 14 The author contrasted the number and rates of the ecclesiastical obligations placed on the Archbishopric of Charcas’s doctrineros with the state of abandonment and pauperization of the pueblos de indios whose parishioners would eventually have to fund such obligations: “the pueblos are in ruins and their walls fallen” (Ibid., f. 233v).
- 15 Cuevas cited the irregularities he witnessed and others of which he was aware from well-known filed causas de capítulos like those analyzed in Charles (2010).
- 16 For more analytical detail on Juan de Cuevas Herrera’s personal background, a textual analysis of his “Cinco memoriales,” and the intricate contextual background of his times, see Dueñas (2010, Chapters 2, 5, 6).
- 17 The contours of the debate between Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in Spain, and the ideas of the Jesuits Francisco de Vittoria and Francisco Suárez are widely known and are beyond the scope of this essay. See a full rendition of them in Pagden (1982).
- 18 Garcilaso purported to straighten out Spanish historians’ common mistakes about the Inca by supplementing cultural information missing in the Spanish accounts. In order to validate Inca history, he argued for similarities between Inca religion and Christianity: monotheism, the soul’s immortality, the cross, and the final judgment (De la Vega ([1609] 1991, 6, 46).
- 19 Ecclesiastical violence elicited likewise responses. In colonial Mexico, for example, the Cajonos rebellion (1700) attempted the defense of an ethnic autonomous space for ritual and communal celebration (Yannakakis, 2008, pp. 1–4; 65–95; 210–211; 223, 226; Tavárez, 2007, pp. 46–62).

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PART V

SUSTENANCE





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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

MAKING AND UNMAKING THE ANDEAN FOOD PYRAMID

Agronomy, animal science, and ideology



Lisa Markowitz

INTRODUCTION

In her survey of Peruvian cuisines, cookbook author Sara Beatriz Guardia (2007, pp. 230–231) lists the country's native food items, noting these as products of the country's diverse and distinct environments. More a celebration than recitation, her cornucopia overflows with potatoes, corn, quinoa, yucca, sweet potatoes, ají, frijol, pallar, tomatoes, squash, habas, olluco, oca, mashua, arrachacha, saúco cherimoya, tuna, tumbo, yacon, and guayaba. These foods, long-cultivated if not domesticated in the multiple climatic zones of western South America, have had varying trajectories over time—some constituting core elements of highland diets, others traveling to become global staples, still others emerging recently to be heralded as solutions to hunger and ill-health. In agricultural and culinary cross-currents, since the earliest years of the Spanish invasion, exogenous foods and foodways have entered the region via colonialization, migration, trade, and aid. The foods produced, harvested, processed, stored, transported, shared, sanctified, gifted, bartered, sold, purchased, packaged, advertised, cooked, served, rejected, avoided, and consumed in the Andean region, like foods everywhere, carry stories about and for their human progenitors. They reflect and reify notions of personhood and nation, modernity and tradition, health and disease, and bounty and penury, meanings enacted and manifest at scales and in settings large and small. An examination of Andean foods ineluctably reveals much about Andean history and society.

The content and contours of the Andean cornucopia defy easy portrayal. Recent interest stimulated by Peru's gastronomic boom, the explosion of food studies in popular and academic circles, and the long-time archaeological concern with food procurement and production make for a bountiful literature. The emphasis here is on the entanglement of food and ideas about food with broader spheres of power and influence. By moving between the general and the specific, this chapter explores food as substance and symbol while highlighting the economic and social processes in which it is imbricated.

The chapter opens with an overview of the trends that have contributed to the disparagement, neglect, and partial abandonment Andean foods. The stories of two

of these foods—alpaca meat, newly accepted in (some) urban kitchens, and quinoa, recently embraced on the global foodscape—reveal the course of these patterns within the interplay of ideology, animal science, and agronomy. In the concluding section, I sketch the current cosmopolitan fascination with Andean foods and its uncertain implications for Andean highland producers and processors.

ANDEAN FOODS: COLONIAL AND NEO-COLONIAL CASTOFFS?

Elite disparagement of Andean foods has a long pedigree. The introduction of old-world plants and animals and their propagation by the Spanish colonial apparatus reconfigured crop and livestock production in the new world (Crosby, 2003). The transplanting of Iberian agriculture and foodways underlaid the very survival and early commercial success of the colonies, permitting both their rapid expansion and the export of surpluses back to Spain (Super, 1988). For the colonists themselves, having familiar foods was essential to bodily and spiritual well-being (Earle, 2012). While the Spaniards grew to appreciate and enjoy certain New World foods, such as chocolate, pineapples, chillies, and sweet potatoes, it was their own staples—wheat bread, beef, pork, and wine—that were considered the mainstays of a diet appropriate for a European (Earle, 2012). The colonists had conflicted attitudes when it came to the diets of their Andean subjects. On one hand, they viewed encouragement of the consumption of European foods as part of their evangelizing and civilizing mission; on the other hand, they believed that maintaining cultural distinctions, and indeed cultural separation, was part of upholding the hierarchical social order (Earle, 2012). Just as speaking Spanish or wearing European garments could make Indians more like their masters, eating Spanish foods might also threaten social hierarchies. Nonetheless, in the early colonial period, regulations on food consumption were few. This changed as food supplies and economies shifted. As John Super (1988, pp. 83–84) notes, “The economic reality of colonization gradually restricted Indians to the less appealing cuts of meat and coarser breads. This process was beginning at the end of the sixteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century, a well-developed hierarchy existed.” It was within this context of colonial domination that indigenous food items were stigmatized as “Indian,” a “practice of denigration” still common place in the contemporary Andes (Weismantel, 1988, p. 9).

The persistence of this food hierarchy is intertwined with the development of the “modern” agrarian economy. Nineteenth-century Peruvian planters embraced export cropping with little regard for domestic consumption needs. The reallocation of lands from food to cotton restructured markets, leading to rising food prices and scarcities of vegetables and grains in urban areas (Peluso, 1985), while imported delicacies made their way into provincial towns (Bauer, 2001). Peluso argues that the elite perceptions of racial others—Indians, Chinese, Blacks—as having subhuman nutritional needs permitted them to excuse the consequences of diminished food accessibility (Peluso, pp. 56–57).

Reinforcement of food hierarchies occurred through the mid-twentieth-century programs of agricultural development. In many of these, modernization was thought to rest on the successful local adoption of technologies: that is, cultigens, livestock,

and inputs developed in the industrialized North. In this paradigm, native Andean crops and animals rarely merited investigation or technical and policy support, thus buttressing their lowly denotation as Indian foods. This emphasis is apparent in Bolivia, which in the 1950s and 1960s was one of largest recipients of U.S. aid in the hemisphere and where considerable emphasis was placed on expanding wheat cultivation. On the *altiplano* (high plateau), technology transfer took ovine form when members of the Utah State University/USAID (United States Agency for International Development) Sheep Production and Marketing Program (1965–75), concerned with improving breeding and wool marketing, arranged the import of some two thousand purebred sheep from the Southern Cone countries and the United States and distributed rams among local communities (Wennergren, 1974). In another *altiplano* instance, the promotion of commercial dairying reflects the importing of dietary ideologies (Wiley, 2011) along with Brown Swiss and Holstein cattle genetics. In the mid-1950s, UNICEF had identified increasing milk production as a goal for Bolivian economic and agricultural development. Subsequently, the FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations) worked with the Bolivian government to design a framework for increasing national dairy production and consumption, including on-farm milk production and encouraging milk consumption to counter malnutrition.

By the early 1990s, dozens of central *altiplano* communities sold milk destined for a La Paz processing plant, with mixed results with respect to livelihoods and environmental sustainability (Markowitz and Valdivia, 2001). Kevin Healy (1996, p.14) observes that in parallel episodes of agricultural development “the Bolivian extension agent was the key actor and peasant farmers remained backward and passive.” Disdain for the expertise of Andean farmers is also evident in an important exception to this pattern of privileging imported species. Chris Shepherd (2005) recounts the challenges for emissaries of the Rockefeller Foundation in the 1950s to establish modern potato science for the world. The Foundation, building upon its initial work in Mexico, arrived in Peru with the aim of extending U.S. agricultural science and the cultural attributes embodied therein to the south. Sharing the view of the coastal elite that the problems of Peruvian agriculture stemmed from the “low cultural level of Indians” (p. 122), they endeavored to extract the tuber from its highland provenance to the (relative) safety of controlled laboratory science among the trustworthy coastal creoles. The Rockefeller scientists wished to take advantage of the taxonomic biodiversity developed by generations of highland farmers while eschewing their active knowledge and practices. In this enactment of the food hierarchy, the high value placed on the emblematic Andean domesticate did not extend to Andean producers nor to their production systems.

The proliferation of rural development programs is one dimension of a series of inter-related social and political transformations of Andean agrarian economies over the past fifty years; another is a change in dietary patterns, notably a shift from reliance on locally produced grains and tubers to imported and less nutritious carbohydrates (Orlove, 1987; Smith, 1999; Krögel, 2011), with consequences for health and nutrition that have varied within and between highland communities (Leatherman, 1994). For example, on the island of Amantani in Lake Titicaca, purchased rice, noodles (*fideos*), and bread have displaced the use of locally grown

barley, wheat, and quinoa (Gascón, 1998). In highland Ecuador, cooks in the Parish of Zumbagua regularly buy oatmeal, noodles, and wheat flour, incorporating these into indigenous cuisine (Weismantel, 1988). Several factors stand out in explaining this region-wide trend. In Peru, these include policy decisions to provide cheap food for urban sectors through production and import subsidies on imported or non-traditional items, the greater role of multinational corporations in domestic food production and distribution (Painter, 1983), and the increasing monetization of exchange in rural areas. Migration from rural to urban areas also impels new habits: native items cost more than the subsidized bread and noodles; home-town favorites like *oca* (a tuber) or *tarwi* (a legume) may be unavailable or transport-worn; and, in cities, highland foods became associated with poverty and ideas about Andean backwardness, underscoring their low prestige, while in contrast, store-bought “city foods” carry higher status (Smith 1999, pp. 28–29). The need for cash prompting migration increases the workload of family members left behind, who may then lack time for the lengthy processing of such foods as quinoa and *cañihua* (Smith, 1999; Krögel, 2011).

In Bolivia, international food aid in particular has been instrumental in altering national consumption patterns. Food donations began in 1955 with US PL-48, and ten years later the World Food Program initiated smaller levels of assistance. Contributions increased in the late 1970s, and the severe drought of the early 1980s precipitated much wider international support (Prudencio, 1993). Through the decade, annual food donations climbed from 8.8 to 12.4 metric tons (Prudencio, 1993, p. 40) and, by 1990, were equivalent to nearly a third of domestic agricultural production (El Día, cited in Rance, 1991). Wheat donations in particular led to a sharp rise in the cereal’s importance in Bolivian diets: in 1970, annual per capita consumption was 0.46 kilograms and by 1988 had reached 38.2 kilos (Prudencio, 1993). In 2001, after conducting twenty-four hour dietary recalls in the city of El Alto, John Brett (2010, p. 11) found that at least half of the calories consumed by participants came from wheat bread (notably the crusty rolls known as *marraquetas*) and noodles. At the time of the study, white flour, the largest single contributor to daily caloric intake, was mostly imported (75 percent) either as direct donation or heavily subsidized through the Food Program or PL-480 (Brett, 2010, p. 12). Access to donated food, channeled to rural areas through a network of voluntary agencies, along with state promotion of rice and sugar, also contributed to the popularity of industrialized carbohydrates in altiplano communities. (Healy 2001; Coppock and Valdivia, 2001).

These patterns of dietary delocalization manifest variously with respect to proximate cause and culinary outcome. In such processes, food hierarchies are subject to reshuffling as low cost competes with nutrition (e.g., Brett, 2010) and flavor competes with time (e.g., Krögel, 2011). Reshuffling occurs as well when certain foods slough off unsavory associations to acquire new, more appealing images.

THE STORY OF ALPACA MEAT

In Peru, alpacas are largely raised by small-holding ranchers in Puno, Arequipa, Cusco, and other southern Departments. Alpacas, mostly known today for their fine fiber, were, along with llamas, an important source of meat for pre-invasion

Andean societies. The Spanish initially found the “Indian Sheep” tasty and healthful (Bonavia, 2008, p. 411) but over the centuries alpaca meat has suffered from a reputation as a dirty, hazardous Indian food among Peru’s urban population.¹ Why?

The specific reasons for alpaca’s fall from gustatory grace are unclear but fears of contamination seem to have played a role in its marginalization. Disease legends surround camelids. Worry among Peruvians that eating alpaca meat may cause syphilis or leprosy rephrases the story that syphilis originated with llamas in the New World. Stories circulated in the nineteenth-century textile trade, perhaps from rival mohair dealers or perhaps from accounts of anthrax deaths in English textile mills (Fee and Brown, 2002). Camelid meat is also thought to be infected with trichinosis, usually linked to pigs, a notion stemming from the presence of a parasitic infection called sarcocystosis, known colloquially as *triquina*, common among poorly managed or older animals.

Such anxieties are likely entangled with the more generalized disdain for camelid meat that arises from its native affiliations. Images of beribboned camelids padding along mountain trails, after all, are emblematic of the indigenous Andean world. Alpacas graze at high altitudes, on the *puna* (treeless plateau), which in contrast to the settled social agricultural valleys is a wild, transient, and foreign place (Ossio, 1988). An angry exchange in a Cusco market, recorded by Linda Seligmann (2004, pp. 133–134) illustrates this association: as bickering over price becomes heated, the market vendor calls her *campesina* (peasant) customer “smelly llama woman,” a reference to her “bestial, rural roots as an Indian.” Ben Orlove (1998) has suggested that Indian proximity to the earth is read as backwardness, with potential for contamination. Not only might the animals carry contagion, but the very bodies of their human caretakers are also suspect.

Efforts to overcome and reverse this reputation of alpaca have been in place for over two decades and have shifted in orientation and tactics. Development agency and NGO reports from the mid-1980s emphasize alpaca meat commercialization as a complement to fiber production. Livestock extension agents saw over-stocking as a threat to high-elevation pastures, and urged producers to emphasize quality over quantity in their management strategies by culling herds. However, low prices for alpaca meat provided no incentive for *alpaqueros* (herders) to eliminate inferior animals. Their math was sound. Given the metrics of fiber and meat production at the time, it made no sense to slaughter poorer quality alpacas. Higher prices for alpaca meat could alter the commercialization calculation and thus management practices, lessening stress on range resources, but this required the creation of a formal alpaca meat market, which required in turn that the meat’s virtues be made known and urban prejudices overcome. In the ensuing promotional campaigns spearheaded by the NGO supporters of alpaquero regional organizations, science was deployed to untether alpaca from its indigenous earthy roots. Alpaca’s nutritional qualities—high protein, low fat—formed a core of the advertising mantra. In the mid-1990s, a large Peruvian NGO helped set up a butcher shop featuring fresh and processed alpaca meat in an upscale Arequipa neighborhood. The promotional brochures, which show pictures of decidedly non-indigenous Peruvians enjoying meals in charming settings, were, like the store’s name, “Casa de Pierre,” conceived to alleviate middle-class anxieties. The brochure verbiage does the same:

Among city dwellers exist myths, invented by the Spanish to denigrate alpaca and to introduce their own products to the New World. Research shows that ideas such as that alpaca carries disease or that it smells bad are false. These beliefs have persisted for a long time. That is why alpaca meat was never given the same treatment as other meats; the animals were not slaughtered in official facilities, with appropriate sanitary standards; it was sold in market stands, not thought worthy to share space with other meats in a *decente* butcher shop.

(translation mine)

The word *decente* is bolded in the original Spanish text, an allusion to decency, to appropriate social hygiene. Here, then, is a plea to consumers to disregard their prejudices, and to purchase this healthy food in an establishment appropriate for people of means and discernment.

Later efforts in the 1990s to promote alpaca built on that decade's pervasive neoliberal ideologies to recast alpaqueros as rural entrepreneurs who could avail themselves of market demand with the use of modern technologies. The same NGO established a state-of-the-art meat-processing facility in a highland provincial capital. The plant, created to operate as a sanitary slaughterhouse where meat could be inspected and certified, suffered from insufficient demand. Nonetheless, the quest for buyers opened new, if modest markets in hospitals, chain supermarkets, and the tourist industry. More recently, alpaqueros and processors have endeavored to process and sell alpaca products that appeal to urban shoppers. Surveys (Cáceres Cabana, 1998; Fairfield, 2006) suggest that the greatest potential for sales exists among upper income consumers interested in healthy eating, a group distant enough from the provenance of alpaca to enjoy it, even as members of the middle class retain suspicions of those origins. However, before value can be added to foods, food products themselves must be valued by the wider Peruvian society. Notions of cleanliness, interwoven with those of class and ethnicity, pose tenacious cultural limits to the circulation of alpaca meat—and, in turn, the flow of income to some of the country's poorest producers.

The Peruvian camelid veterinary-technocracy has argued that improving alpaquero livelihoods ultimately rests upon enhancing the quality of camelid fiber, and extension programs, largely funded by international donors, have sporadically carried out animal breeding and management initiatives. Given the state's neglect of alpaca production, improving the national herd is a distant goal. In the nearer term, however, the Andean food boom and concomitant expansion of highland meat markets may benefit alpaqueros. Culinary tourism creates demand but, perhaps more importantly, its consumption by tourists lends the meat an elite stamp of approval. Greater consumer acceptance of alpaca meat is likely to advance with the short and long range improvement of alpaquero livelihoods and quality of their animals. Alpaca's rise in the Peruvian food pyramid is replete with irony in that the current repackaging of the meat both counters and celebrates its prior vilification. Its legacy as a source of disease and contamination has been replaced with its status as a healthy alternative to fatty red meats. Its identification with "backward Indians" now renders it an object of gastronomic desire, as an authentic food of the Incas.

THE STORY OF QUINOA (*CHENOPodium QUINOA*)

The aforementioned displacement of quinoa by other foods played a role in its declining production through the second half of the twentieth century; Hellin and Higman assert that, by the early 1980s, it was “in danger of disappearing” (2005, p. 167). Since that time, production and popularity of the tasty, high-protein chenopod has surged, marked by the United Nation’s declaration of 2013 as the International Year of Quinoa. Quinoa’s entry into North American and European kitchens has been accompanied by assessments of its agronomic and nutritional properties and potential (e.g., Jacobsen et al., 2003; Ruiz et al., 2014; Bazile, Bertero, and Nieto, 2015). Domesticated in the south central Andes about five thousand years ago (Pearsall 2008; Bazile, Bertero and Nieto, 2015), the pseudograin spread south and north, diversifying into five major ecotypes, and today evinces a high degree of biodiversity in the form of multiple varieties grown up and down the Andean range (Skarbø, 2015). The plant’s adaptability and associated resistance to such abiotic stressors as drought, frost, and salinity have attracted interest in exploring its suitability for cultivation in dryland regions across the world (Ruiz et al. 2014; Bazile, Bertero and Nieto, 2015). There is no less attention on the consumption side; its complement of amino acids, array of micro-nutrients, high fiber content, and absence of gluten have led to its being denoted as a “super-food” (Dobkin, 2008). Despite shifts in dietary preferences, Andean eaters had not ceased to appreciate quinoa’s culinary and nutritional qualities (e.g., Brett, 2010; Sammells, 2014; Skarbø, 2015) and, in the mid-1990s, the Peruvian government turned from reliance on imported foods to incorporating quinoa and other native crops into its national food assistance program, PRONAA (Heller and Higman, 2005).

Although South American researchers have been pointing out the nutritional values of quinoa since at least the 1960s (Andrews, 2017), the global celebration seems to have commenced only after the grain acquired a North American consumer following. In the mid-1980s, a Colorado-based company began to import Bolivian quinoa, promoting it as the “lost grain of the Incas” for the burgeoning natural foods market (Berson, 2014, p. 126). By 1997, growing European and North American demand had made quinoa “the most expensive grain per pound on the world market” (Healy, 2001, p. 185), even before prices and exports took off around 2002 (Bazile, Bertero, and Nieto, 2015, pp. 317–318). Together, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador in 1992 exported 600 tons of quinoa worth \$700 thousand and, in 2012, 37 thousand tons valued at \$111 million (Bazile, Bertero, and Nieto, 2015, pp. 317–318). The area under cultivation has expanded apace—in Bolivia more than doubling between 2007 and 2013 and, in Peru, increasing by 5.8 percent each year between 2005 and 2012 (Bazile, Bertero, and Nieto, 2015, pp. 350; 382). Bolivia was by far the dominant exporter in the 1990s but this share fell to under half after drought devastated its crop in 2015 (Bolivia Rural, 2016) and production on the Peruvian coast skyrocketed (Ortiz, 2015).

Sparkling and sustaining this international demand for quinoa are health concerns and culinary desires of North American and European shoppers. The versatile, gluten-free, and flavorful grain has made its way into protein bars, smoothies, meat substitutes, pet foods, and, posted by an appalled Facebook friend the morning I composed this sentence, the Ritter Dark Chocolate Almond Quinoa Sport Bar.

As quinoa's popularity and prices soared in the late 2000s, fans of the superfood became alarmed to hear that, with so much of it destined for export, Peruvian and Bolivians were also paying more for their native grain. Newspaper articles cautioned Northern foodies that their demand for quinoa pilaf could be depriving the Andean poor of their own staple crop. While domestic quinoa prices did rise through 2013, subsequent analyses indicated that, in Peru, the already marginal consumption by non-farming families decreased slightly (Stevens, 2017), while in Bolivia, nation-wide consumption actually saw a modest rise (Bazile, Bertero, and Nieto, 2015, p. 333). Meanwhile, Peruvian producer households saw their welfare improve (Bellemare, Fajardo Gonzalez, and Gitter, 2016), as farmgate prices tripled between 2007 and 2011 (Bazile, Bertero, and Nieto, 2015, p.333), and Bolivian farmers enjoyed similar increases in revenue (Kerssen 2015). It is worth pausing to consider what messages the "quinoa quandary" might carry about Andean life on global foodscapes. Clare A. Sammells (2014, p.7) observes

the media alarm about quinoa consumption . . . redirect[s] the North Atlantic gaze away from quinoa as health food craze, and towards indigenous Bolivians who are producing it . . . But there is an ironic twist to North Atlantic concerns for Bolivian quinoa growers. The media presents quinoa as a "lost crop" grown by "traditional" indigenous peoples; quinoa offers ancient nutritional value, untainted by the corrupting influence of modern capitalism. . . . If quinoa cannot be commercialized without starving the very people who grow it, then quinoa must be the truly authentic, local food we seek. Fears that quinoa cannot survive North Atlantic interest, ironically, seem to promote it.

The media depiction of Andean food and production systems feeds on extant notions of tradition-bound farmers, eliding the varied social-ecological dimensions of the boom. A study from northern Ecuador (Skarbø, 2015) highlights the creativity of various participants in the boom as well as agronomic pitfalls they encounter. Although Ecuadorian quinoa represents a small share of the global market, research and production initiatives abound (Bazile, Bertero, and Nieto, 2015), including the breeding and dissemination of one variety, *Tunkahuan*, whose seeds are nearly free of the protective bitter coating, which is time-consuming to remove. Local farmers have taken up the variety, attracted by its good market price and culinary advantages. Concurrently, they have reduced their cultivation of local landraces. While small producers seem to be benefitting, this displacement carries uncertain and potentially adverse implications for the genetic diversity and future adaptability of the plant. On the southern Bolivian altiplano, one of the most important production regions, farmer organizations have played key roles in encouraging market and environmental sustainability by enabling members to retain an unusually high share of their surplus within global value chains and by promoting ecologically beneficial practices (Bazile, Bertero, and Nieto, 2015, pp. 368–376; Hart et al., 2016). Producer organizations and their allies will continue to play crucial roles in upholding claims of heritage, autonomy, and distributional justice as Andean foods garner new recognition and approbation in broader social spheres.

THE PERUVIAN GASTRONOMIC BOOM

Early this century, Lima, dubbed the “Next Great Food City” by *Bon Appétit* (Duane, 2008) had become, according to the *Washington Post*, a new “destination for foodies” (Khalip, 2007). Municipal authorities, concurring, have made plans to convert Lima into the Gastronomic Capital of America by 2021 (Contreras, 2011). The city’s chic restaurants have drawn acclaim and customers for elegant reworkings of classic dishes and for introducing and integrating ingredients and preparation styles from the country’s multiple agro-ecological zones, immigrant populations, and regional foodways (Álvarez, 2007). National food professionals, for their part, foresaw that Peruvian restaurants and dishes could figure prominently on the global smorgasbord, and explicitly positioned Peruvian food as the “next Thai” (Avolio et al., 2008). Within Peru, the promotion of gastronomy is a widespread endeavor shared by government agencies, celebrity chefs, food writers, NGOs, and commercial associations. While the celebration of food is clearly linked to expanding tourism and exports, the work of engendering greater appreciation of the country’s variegated cuisines and foods has assumed a political cast, both as a means to nourish national identity and to stimulate economic prosperity (Figure 13.1). Food, in short, has become a very big deal in Peru.

Several interacting trends have precipitated, and in turn contributed to, the recognition of Peruvian culinary traditions. Perhaps most notably, the celebration of its food occurs in the context of unprecedented economic growth. Over the past fifteen years, rising exports, especially of minerals, have made the Peruvian economy one of the fastest growing in Latin America, bringing much higher discretionary incomes for *some* Peruvians (Nava, 2015) and helping to propel the rapidly expanding restaurant scene. Additionally, the expansion of food exports, including value-added items, the growth of Peruvian restaurants abroad, and rising internal and international tourism (the latter increased fourfold from 2002 to 2015) together anchor and vitalize the boom (Avolio et al., 2008, pp. 58–67).

Andean foods, the “Lost Crops of the Incas” (NRC 1989), are highlighted in the trend of gastronomic reappraisal and reprisal, known as *Novoandina*, which involves the use of Andean ingredients and preparation techniques in combination with cooking styles and foods from other regions (Avolio et al., 2008). *Novoandina* cuisine appears in the Andean Highlands as well, where, often touted as traditional and ecological fare, it is found in restaurants in the country’s southern tourist belt. The new-found popularity of highland items—quinoa, native potatoes and tubers, maize, alpaca meat, and guinea pig, to name a few—among affluent diners and visitors would appear to counter historical elite neglect or rejection. However, something akin to the extraction of potato knowledge that Chris Shepherd (2005) has described may also be taking place. María Elena García (2013) and Raul Matta (2016) caution that, in the nationalist project of creating a Peruvian cuisine, with its embedded commercial and developmentalist agendas, it is worth asking who and what is getting left out: García suggests that rock-star chef Gaston Acurio’s “beautiful fusi(ng)” (p. 511) of culinary styles polishes and sanitizes traditional fare, reprising the historic pattern of *criollo* (costal elite) control and repackaging; Matta notes the erasure of indigenous knowledge in formal claims of national food heritage. The sidelining of peasant producers is more than discursive. *El Comercio* food writer Marianella Ortiz (2010) observed that chefs and farmers have had little connection with one another,



Figure 13.1 Peruvian food boom on display in Lima airport

Photo credit: Lisa Markowitz.

and consequently, to date, it is food intermediaries who have primarily benefitted from the new demand.

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to think that the gastronomic project is confined to Lima. In 2010 when I found myself judging the *Concurso Gastronómico del Puno*, I met student chefs proud to display quinoa-based pastries and reworking of lakeside classics, such as “*t’impo de carachi desconstruida en gelatina de rocoto*” (Deconstructed native fish chowder in pepper aspic). At regional provincial and municipal levels, governments, commercial groups, and NGOs promote gastronomy via regional and city food festivals, and Peruvian food professionals are developing “food routes” that publicize local specialties, celebrations, and street foods. A cross-regional assessment (Reinoso, 2012) found that while such endeavors along with the growth of tourism and the heightened interest in matters culinary have led to growing demands for products and services, the establishment of sturdy supply chains beneficial to small producers remains largely aspirational. A successful counter-example, the Papa Andina project, sponsored by the International Potato Center and numerous

institutional partners, sought to preserve potato biodiversity, collaborating with small farmers to find new markets and better prices. Developing products geared for upscale consumers, the project created demand for and recognition of neglected potato varieties, while generating additional income for Highland producers (Devaux et al., 2010).

In the Province of Caylloma, I encountered perhaps more typical and certainly less well-funded instances of farmers and food processors eager to participate in wider formal markets but facing multiple barriers (Markowitz, 2011). For example, a group of women who wished to sell their maize-based cakes and cookies in Arequipa shops were daunted by the paperwork necessary to obtain the legal business status required for commercial transactions. At higher elevations, a quinoa producer group had been approached by an export consolidator but, with constraints of land and labor, could not supply the minimum volume requested. An additional barrier, troubling in light of Andean history, is raised by notions of hygiene. A young entrepreneur, living near the Colca Canyon tourism redoubt of Chivay, tended her small dairy herd to process *queso rústico* (fresh cheese) and yogurt. Although her products sold well in local shops, the Chivay restaurants wouldn't buy her yogurt, she explained, because they distrusted its cleanliness and because they claimed tourists want an industrial product. (I was struck by her remark since the morning of our interview I'd asked for plain yogurt in one of Chivay's nicer restaurants but was told they stocked only brand-name packaged, flavored yogurt.). It was also in Caylloma where I met the alpaca meat purveyors who, in the absence of established markets had to rely on personal connections to find buyers.

While these experiences may find future rectification through social mobilization or institutional support, they do raise an ironic point about the nature of the gastronomic boom and the neoliberal context in which it is transpiring. Markets are not necessarily open; endowments of residence (rural vs. urban), knowledge, class status, and ethnicity structure access in mundane (e.g., paperwork requirements and hygienic standards) but ultimately powerful ways. Within the boom, for all its celebratory discourse, culinary delights, and redemptive possibilities, can be heard echoes of centuries of exclusion and dismissal. Whether the skills, knowledge, and perseverance of small producers and processors will find commercial reward and social recognition remains uncertain. More broadly, does the current reordering of the food pyramid reflect or further an upheaval of social and political hierarchies? For Andean farmers, Novoandina reprises old but persistent and formidable concerns.

NOTE

- 1 Here I draw from a longer treatment (Markowitz, 2012). On the parallel situation regarding llama meat in Bolivia, see Bolton 2010 and Sammells 1998.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

DRINKING TOGETHER

Continuity and change in the Andean world



Justin Jennings

In 2000, Catherine Allen attended a house-raising party in Sonqo, a village high in the Andes that she had visited repeatedly since 1975. Although alcohol had flowed freely at these events during past visits, the people attending this particular party were members of a Pentecostal sect that forbids the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Yet their faith did not stop them from drinking. After joining together in prayer, the party downed cup after cup of Coca Cola, Fanta, and Sprite deep into the night. Their heads spun and stomachs churned, but no one left until the last bottle was empty. It was in Allen's words "an ordeal" (2002, p. 229)—a severe trial that brought the participants together through their shared suffering.

Almost half of Sonqo's inhabitants are now Pentecostal, a shift that only began in 1994 (Allen, 2009, p. 43). Just like many other places in the Andes (Weismantel, 1991; Lund Skar, 1994; Paerregaard, 1997; Magny, 2009) the last three decades have also seen a rising preoccupation with money, the increasing ubiquity of televisions and cell phones, and soaring migration to Andean cities and abroad (Allen, 2002). Throughout this turbulent era of culture change, one constant is that the people in Sonqo have come together to drink, be it maize beer (~3 percent alcohol by volume), cane alcohol (~50 percent alcohol by volume), rectified spirits (~85 percent alcohol by volume) or carbonated beverages (Allen, 2009, p. 40).

Young and old lament the passing of traditional ways in Sonqo, suggesting that it was the act of ingesting maize beer—and chewing coca leaves—that made them into *runakuna*, or "real people" (Allen, 2002, pp. 7, 205). Yet, people have made fermented beverages from a wide variety of fruits, seeds, and tubers in the Andes for at least three thousand years (Goldstein, Coleman, and Williams, 2009, p. 138). It is therefore perhaps the way that people have drunk rather than the type of drink that might be better conceived as creating the *runakuna* of the Andes.

Andean people drink together. On occasion they do so to excess, determined to last, as one informant from another village noted, "until the final consequences" (Magny, 2009, p. 2, my translation). Drunkenness has deep roots in the region—the seventeenth century priest Bernabé Cobo lamented that "the principal activity [in Inca feasts] is to drink until they cannot stand up" ([1653] 1971, p. 28)—but the behavior is deemed appropriate in only certain limited contexts (Harvey, 1993,

pp. 119–124; Randall, 1993, p. 92). When done right, drinking is seen as a fundamental responsibility in a world where people, ancestors, gods, animals, and objects are bound together through the circulation of sacred energy (Allen, 2002, p. 36; Van Vleet, 2008, p. 144).

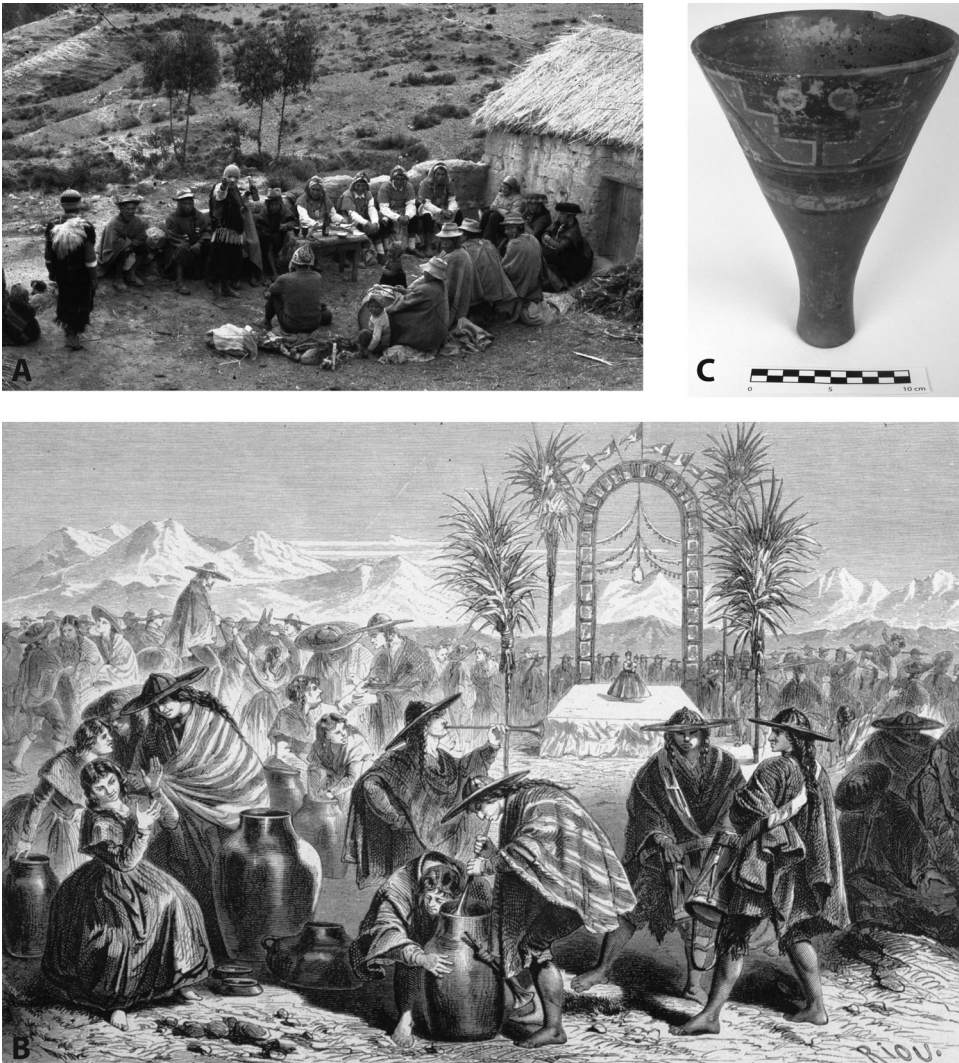


Figure 14.1 The important role of drinking in Andean society over time is reflected in these images depicted A) the drinking of beer and cane alcohol in the village of Sonqo as a group prepares to depart for the Qoyllu Rit'i festival in the 1970s; B) the town of Santa Rosa in the Lake Titicaca Basin celebrates with maize beer during the Festival of the Blood of Jesus Christ in the 1860s; and C) a narrow-stemmed Tiwanaku-style drinking cup from the late first millennium AD that would have been used to serve maize beer

Photo credits: (A) Catherine Allen; (B) lithograph 19 by Édouard Riou in Marcoy, 1869; (C) Justin Jennings, ROM 929.72.2.

This chapter begins by briefly describing this worldview, and suggests that the basic cosmological understandings that underpin Andean drinking patterns have endured across millennia. Andean society has nonetheless changed radically over time and how alcohol has been produced and consumed has changed with it (Figure 14.1). A visit to four disparate settings—the sunken courts of the Lake Titicaca Basin during the first millennium BC, Huari patio-groups circa 800 AD, Inca Houses of the Chosen Women on the eve of the Spanish Conquest, and seventeenth century taverns in the Viceroyalty of Peru—underlines how distinct economic, political, and social structures emerged from long-standing conceptions of alcohol's role in sustaining the cosmos. I close the chapter, however, by suggesting that Andean patterns of drinking in places like Sonqo may not long endure in a world driven by global capitalism.

DRINKING IN A COSMOLOGICAL PLUMBING SYSTEM

In the indigenous belief system of the contemporary Andes, the cosmos is divided into the sky, earth, and underworld (Ossio, 2002, p. 203). Through these worlds courses the essence of life (Gose, 1994; Allen, 2002). This life essence, called *sami* or *enqa* in some regions (Bolin, 1998, p. 232; Allen, 2002, p. 36), moves through a wide range of productive cycles. One of these cycles is seasonal, the turn from the rainy to dry season and back again. There is also the cycle of life as people, animals, and even objects are born, grow old, and die. These cycles are embodied in the ingestion and expulsion of food and drink. Sami moves through all of these inter-related cycles, and is fueled through reciprocal feeding relationships that link all things together in the cosmos (Bolin, 1998, p. 232; Allen 2002, p. 36; Butler, 2006, pp. 85–86).

Sami flows through the cosmos via a “cosmological plumbing system” that infuses certain things with greater amounts of life energy than others (Gose, 2006, p. 35). Snowcapped peaks, for example, are seen today as holding immense amounts of sami through their capacity to control the weather, and can withhold this sami if the proper reciprocal relationships are not maintained (Bastien, 1978, p. xix). Yet mountains, like everything in the Andean cosmos, have feeding needs that can only be addressed by humans. Sami-filled blood, beer, and fat are offered up to the mountains in order to help ensure that the mountain will provide for those who make the offerings (Bastien, 1978; de la Cadena, 2015). Ancestors also need to be fed (Bolin, 1998, p. 23), as do other things like springs, stones, animals, stoves, and fellow humans so that life continues.

Fermented beverages are one of the most common offerings as the “whole world is thirsty for sami's flow” (Allen, 2002, p. 125). One therefore shares alcohol widely with other things, ensuring that the drink's vitality spreads through the cosmos. Libations are often sprinkled on the ground, sacred places are evoked by name, and then people drink to honor those places, their ancestors, animals, and each other (Bolin, 2006, p. 118).

Those drinking together are supposed to sing, dance, weep, and, on occasion, even fight in a cathartic release that ultimately strengthens social bonds (Carter 1977, p. 103; Bunker, 1987, p. 337; Allen, 2002, p. 124). The euphoria of drunkenness, and its associated urination and vomiting, embody and enable the circulation of sami through the cosmos (Randall, 1993, p. 81). Excessive alcohol consumption takes a

heavy toll on the body—at all-night festivals in Bolivia, it is not uncommon for individuals to consume one hundred shots of cane alcohol (Carter, 1977, p. 103)—and many people find ways to evade at least some of the drinks pressed into their hands at these events (Bunker 1987, pp. 340–341). Yet people recognize the need to drink in order keep their world working the way that it should (Saignes, 1993, p. 69; Butler, 2006, p. 11).

The “cosmological plumbing system” of the Inca Empire was in many ways radically different than the ones envisioned by groups today (Gose, 2006, p. 35). The deities have changed, as have the types of offerings and where they are best offered (Gose, 2008). We therefore need to be careful in assuming, rather than demonstrating, the long-term stability or continuity of ideas about alcohol over time (Butler, 2006; Hayashida, 2009). Yet in the case studies that follow, I will argue that both the basic idea of a world linked through the circulation of a life essence has endured, as has the idea that this circulation is in part enabled through communal drinking (also see Weismantel, 2009). How people produced and consumed the beverages needed to sustain life has nonetheless shifted significantly as society has changed over time.

LAKE TITICACA’S SUNKEN COURTS

As in other regions of the world (Braidwood et al., 1953; Hornsey, 2003; Hayden, Canuel, and Shanse, 2013), the origins of fermented beverages in the Andes are difficult to disentangle from the origins of plant domestication since a desire to make beer may have spurred efforts to grow quinoa, manioc, peanuts, and other plants. We know the most about maize, a plant that developed from wild teosinte in the southern Mexican highlands around 6000 BC (van Heerwaarden et al., 2011). Maize arrived in the Andes some two thousand years later (Athens et al., 2016), although the crop’s adoption and intensity of use varied markedly.

Maize arrived particularly late to the altiplano, the high plain around Lake Titicaca with an average altitude of 3,750 meters above sea level. Maize grows poorly at this elevation (Kolata, 1993, p. 45), and first appears during the Middle Formative Period from 800–250 BC (Logan, Hastorf, and Pearsall, 2012, p. 236). During this time, the region around Lake Titicaca was home to a series of competing ritual centers that contained stone monoliths, sunken enclosures, and raised platforms (Hastorf, 2008). Agricultural and pastoral groups came to these sites to worship their gods and ancestors at feasts (Stanish, 2003; Hastorf, 2005; Roddick and Janusek, 2018). Although each center was different, all shared a broad suite of cosmological ideas that are part of what has been called the Yaya-Mama tradition (Chávez and Mohr, 1975).

Our understanding of this shared cosmology is based on the iconography found on ceramics and stonework. The art often features symmetrical animals, such as two-headed serpents, alongside male/female pairs in scenes that “viewed society, nature, and their constituent elements as interpenetrating and in reciprocal relation with each other” (Janusek, 2008, p. 84). Yaya-Mama motifs seem to emphasize wetness and fecundity (Kolata, 1993, p. 81), with the rites held in and around the sunken courts likely tied to feeding those forces that controlled the rains and springs that sustained agricultural and pastoral lands in the Lake Titicaca region. Maize beer appears to be one of the important offerings produced for these events.

Amanda Logan and her colleagues have identified maize phytoliths and starch grains from the ceremonial sites of Chiripa, Kala Uyuni, and Kumi Kipa (Logan, Hastorff, and Pearsall, 2012, p. 253). Maize use was confined almost exclusively to sunken courts and associated preparation areas, where the authors suggest that families came together to prepare the food and drink to be consumed at events. To make beer, maize starch has to first be broken down into sugar that can then be converted into ethanol by yeast (Cutler and Cardenas, 1947; Jennings, 2005). The one-week-minimum process involves boiling the ground up maize in water and then transferring the liquid into fermenting jars. Maize beer typically cannot be stockpiled because it spoils faster than it can be produced (Jennings et al., 2005, p. 286). Today, families pool together home-brewed beer for events or, more rarely, come together with their brewing equipment in tow to produce a large batch (Jennings and Chatfield, 2009, p. 209). A similar pattern of brewing via independent producers seems likely for the first millennium BC ceremonial centers around Lake Titicaca.

Our understanding of the events that took place in this region almost 3,000 years ago is understandably imperfect. We know that maize was consumed and, based on the absence of charred kernels and other maize residues, we can argue that it was likely consumed in liquid form (Logan, Hastorf, and Pearsall, 2012, p. 250). If beer was drunk during the Formative Period, then its production was a communal effort and its consumption was largely limited to ceremonies that brought together disparate groups of farmers and herders in the shared worship of the fluid, fertile nature of the cosmos. Since all families participated in the making and drinking of beer, everyone's efforts were responsible for maintaining the flow of life essence through the world.

HUARI PATIO-GROUPS

In the Lake Titicaca basin, the era of competing ceremonial centers yielded in the mid-first millennium AD to the rise of Tiahuanaco, a city built in part by celebrants who offered their labor in return for feasts featuring prodigious quantities of maize beer (Goldstein, 2003). Beer also played a central role in the political economy of Huari, a city in the central highlands of Peru that rose to prominence by the beginning of the seventh century AD (Isbell, 2009). While most feasts in the Lake Titicaca region were inclusive events that took place in open, public spaces, feasts at Huari and its far-flung colonies were more exclusive, elite affairs that occurred within interior patios (Cook and Glowacki, 2003, p. 195; Nash, 2012, pp. 94–95). Maize beer was likely consumed at these feasts (Finucane, 2009, p. 542), but molle beer is also seen to have “played a critical role in Wari commensal practice” (Sayre et al., 2012, p. 233, also see Goldstein, Coleman, and Williams, 2009).

A woody tree native to the Andes, *Schinus molle* produces tiny red fruits during the dry season (Barkley, 1944; Kramer, 1957). Molle trees and molle-related toponyms are often found near Wari sites (Williams, 2009, p. 211), and seeds and other parts of the plant have been documented in high concentrations at Huari-affiliated sites like Conchopata, Cerro Baúl, and Cerro Mejía (Goldstein, Coleman, and Williams, 2009; Nash, 2012; Sayre et al., 2012). Molle fruits, unlike maize, contain abundant sugars that can be converted into alcohol by simply steeping the fruits in water for a few hours and then allowing the liquid to ferment (Valdez, 2012). It is therefore a less

labor-intensive beverage to produce, with most of the work involved in producing molle beer occurring before brewing when the twigs are winnowed from the collected batch and the fruit's papery skin is removed (Jennings and Valdez, 2018).

Evidence from paleobotanical analysis at Cerro Baúl suggests that the molle and maize beer consumed at exclusive events was likely brewed on-site in dedicated facilities (Moseley et al., 2005). An excavated brewery at the site had a production capacity of 1,600 liters per batch, ensuring that the few dozen people who participated in each event would have become very inebriated (Moseley et al., 2005, p. 17267). Although local families living on the outskirts of Cerro Baúl did not drink molle beer in their homes, they lived among the trees that produced the fruit. These poorer households appear to have collected and winnowed the molle used for brewing, even though they were unlikely to have attended the elite-centered patio events (Goldstein, Coleman, and Williams, 2009, p. 157).

The labor capture exhibited in molle beer production was a product of the class-based societies that were becoming more common in the Andes by this period. Building off earlier traditions, Huari iconography featured some of the same overarching themes as those found in the Lake Titicaca Basin during the Formative Period (Cook, 1994, pp. 187–190, 2012, p. 119). Fertility and circulation of life forces remained central features in the art, and feasts appear to have centered on reciprocal relationships between participants, ancestors, and gods (McEwan, 2005, p. 162; Nash, 2012, p. 91). Yet themes of violence, hierarchy, and sacrifice were now more prominent (Knobloch, 2012), reflecting life in a more stratified society where roles were at times violently dictated and enforced (Tung, 2012). The most important imagery was the staff deity complex composed of the staff deity, its winged attendants, and the sacrificer (Cook, 2012, p. 105). The complex brought together earlier iconography from different regions, all now embodied by the staff deity “who was tied to a concept of reciprocity, balance, cooperation, and renewal” (Cook, 2012, p. 119).

The molle beer consumed at Huari and Huari-associated sites thus fulfilled the same basic cosmological functions as maize beer did a millennium earlier in the Lake Titicaca Basin. Yet elites at Huari and many other settlements across the Andes were now positioning themselves as interlocutors between people and the forces of the cosmos that needed to be fed through offerings of alcohol. Most people participated in at least some facet of the production process—and thus did their part to feed the cosmos—but many were ultimately disenfranchised from the final step of sacred intoxication that enabled the world to work in a proper manner. Elite control over the labor of others may have been episodic and incomplete circa 800 AD (Earle and Jennings, 2014), but there was nonetheless a new ideology in place that the few could now speak for the many when engaging with gods, the dead, and other powerful entities. They “spoke”, in part, through exclusive drinking in private settings.

INCA ACLLAHUASIS

The Inca Empire expanded across much of the Andes during the fifteenth century AD. Ultimately encompassing an estimated 10 million inhabitants (D’Altroy, 2002, p. xiii), the empire was buttressed by a network of roads and administrative centers that tied the expansive region to the capital in Cuzco (Hyslop, 1984, 1990). The empire was hierarchically organized—at the top were the Inca-by-blood from

Cuzco, followed by local elites, and then everyone else (Malpass, 1996, p. 39)—and the empire was likely built in part from Huari ideas and, perhaps, infrastructure (McEwan, 1990; Schreiber, 1992). Inca drinking, however, was often a more inclusive affair that bore closer resemblance to the feasts held much earlier in the Lake Titicaca Basin, albeit on a larger scale.

Inca administrative centers were organized around great plazas that usually contained a stepped platform where the emperor or his representative would sit during ceremonies (Hyslop 1990, p. 71). At certain times of year, plazas were the location of feasts where hundreds gathered to celebrate religious holidays and to be repaid for their service to the state. While Huari feasts had been restricted to a few dozen elites, male heads of households from across a region were invited to Inca affairs. Millions of liters of maize beer were required each year to sustain these events (Morris, 1979, p. 32). Some of this beer was made by members of surrounding villages (Hastorf, 1991, pp. 151–152), but by the beginning of the sixteenth century most was produced by state workers using maize grown on state lands (D’Altroy 2002, p.275; Krögel, 2015, p. 25). Of particular importance in alcohol production were the *acllakuna* or chosen women.

Acllakuna were taken from their communities as ten-year-olds to serve the Inca and typically lived in walled compounds called *acllahuasis* found in regional administrative centers (Rowe, 1946, p. 283). The women’s principal tasks were to make cloth and brew beer, both of which were seen as essential gifts in Inca statecraft (Murra, 1960, 1980). There were as many as two hundred *acllas* living at the largest of centers (Cobo, [1653] 1990, p.172), who together could have easily produced a batch of beer capable of placating the thirst of a thousand guests determined to drink to excess (Jennings, 2005). Once in place, the empire’s dedicated brewing facilities, supported by its extensive agricultural lands, storage systems, and road network (Hyslop, 1984; LeVine, 1992; Bogadóttir 2016), allowed emperors to control the entire production sequence for maize beer.

Accounts taken down in the century following the Spanish Conquest suggest that basic elements of Inca cosmology were based on millennia-old traditions. Just as in the first millennium BC, an animating life essence coursed through the world uniting people, places, things, the dead, and gods (Ramírez, 2005). Alcohol helped to enable this flow, and drinking in ritual settings was a moral duty (Cavero Carrasco, 1986, pp. 38–40; Randall, 1993, p.74). The Incas legitimated their empire by arguing that the religious reforms that they instituted alongside their conquests increased the flow of life essence through the cosmos (Gose, 1993, p. 480). They installed Viracocha, a creator god, in the apex position, followed by their patron sun god, Inti. Subsequent positions were held by the moon, thunder, earth, and so on in cascading order of authority down to the deities and ancestors that were of local importance at that time (Cobo, 1990, pp. 22–36; Marzal, 1993, pp. 88–92; Laurencich Minelli, 2000, p. 7).

Properly feeding powerful cosmic entities was beneficial to all, and the Inca emperor offered his maize beer as the most appropriate of offerings. His beer, made by a special class of women from maize grown from state lands, was unique and thus incomparable with beer brewed at home (Goodman-Elgar, 2009, p. 96). The social debt incurred at feasts in previous periods had always been offset in part by the contributions made by guests (Jennings and Chatfield, 2009, p. 220). In the sunken temples of Lake Titicaca, those who came to the feast likely brewed their own beer; the feasts in Huari patio-groups were sustained by ties to those that gathered and

processed molle. On the eve of the Spanish Conquest, the Inca emperor's generosity, in contrast, was nearly complete. Households could only begin to repay him through a lifetime of labor service in return for the state's investment in the alcohol-fuelled circulation of the essence of life (Jennings and Duke, 2018).

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TAVERNS

In the aftermath of the Conquest, the Spanish government sought to save Andean people from themselves. Sixteenth century observers were astonished by how much people drank—Pedro Cieza de León observed individuals drinking more than 11 liters of beer at one sitting ([1553] 1962, p. 85)—and saw inebriation as a vice that needed to be controlled (Morales, 2012, p. 3). Combatting drunkenness was a religious and secular imperative in the Andes-spanning Viceroyalty of Peru as it was seen to encourage idolatry and interfere with the functioning of a moral and just political economy. A little alcohol, officials argued, could be consumed, but it should be the right kind of alcohol in the right kinds of ways (Butler, 2006, pp. 4–5). Few people listened.

Cultural collapse followed in the wake of the Conquest. Close to ninety percent of the population died during the next hundred years, and the few that remained were relocated into Spanish-style settlements and also forced to work for several months each year in Spanish-owned fields, workshops, and, especially, mines (Stern, 1982). Many people drank more under these circumstances, seeking to propitiate Christian and traditional powers or to dull the pain of lost homes and relatives. In response, the state ordered that maize and other native beers be served, but only in moderation when consumed in taverns or the home (Morales, 2012, pp. 53–54). Wine was to be the symbol of civilization and the proper gateway to god (Earle, 2012).

Wine, however, remained in short supply during much of the sixteenth century and it was instead maize beer that was most often consumed in the taverns that were rapidly proliferated in cities and resource extraction zones (Cummins, 2002, p. 207). Spaniards and other immigrants rushed to capitalize on the emerging market, shifting production regimes to create a system focused on “profits, credit, and debt” (Hayashida, 2009, p. 247). Staggering amounts of beer were produced—in 1603, 1.3 million bottles of maize beer were brought by animal caravan to the silver mining center of Potosí (Mangan, 2005, p. 83). Meant to contain inebriation, taverns created new spaces for recreational drinking that resisted the imposition of the new social order. Men stumbling drunk together into the streets reaffirmed native tradition in the face of colonial subjection (Morales, 2012, p. 57; Weismantel, 1991, p. 865).

As the sixteenth century drew to a close, the state's desire to eradicate alcohol was overcome by a desire to profit from it (Morales, 2012, pp. 54–55). The Viceroyalty of Peru was trying to create a diversified, self-sufficient economy (Klarén, 2000, p. 84), and the taxes obtained from taverns were a critical aid to these efforts. Yet, the state only collected a fraction of what it was owed. Many taverns operated illegally, and every effort to close them failed (Morales, 2012, pp. 56–57). The cost of entry—maize, water, ceramic pots, and a couple of free hands—was simply too low, and the many dispersed and hard-to-find production nodes proved impossible to monitor (Garofalo, 2001). Recognizing the futility of controlling maize beer, the state shifted its strategy in the beginning of the seventeenth century by championing another kind of alcohol that was more amenable to oversight.

Aguardiente is a distilled spirit made in the Andes from grapes or sugarcane. The crops and the distillation process were introduced to the region soon after conquest, and both plants required substantial investments in land, labor, and technology to be effectively cultivated. Converting sugar cane into alcohol required grinding mills, copper cauldrons, ox carts, and iron tools, along with teams of laborers who could work long, dangerous hours (Mora de Tovar, 1988, pp. 111–122). Making *aguardiente* from grapes required less material investments, but vines needed constant tending and only produced their first crop three years after planting (Brown, 1986, pp. 45–48).

Distilling alcohol worked best in large, fixed facilities on plantations—facilities that could be more easily monitored and taxed by the Crown. Coastal sugar and wine estates expanded rapidly in the seventeenth century, putting into cultivation land that had been abandoned as native populations collapsed. The few farmers that remained were pushed out (Keith, 1976, p. 111; Gonzales, 1985, p. 16). Estate owners brought in enslaved Africans to work the estates, and the resulting *aguardiente*—far more shelf-stable than maize or molle beer—was sold in estates, cities, mining sites, and abroad (Brown, 1986; Mora de Tovar, 1988; Buller, 2011).

Agricultural estates were not limited to the Andean coast (Keith, 1976; Klein, 1993). By the end of the seventeenth century, a handful of wealthy landowners held most of the highlands' prime arable land. Those that worked the fields for these landowners were kept isolated from the outside world (Handelman, 1975, p. 42), and often spent their meagre earnings underwriting Saint's Day and other obligatory religious events where alcohol flowed freely (Lyon, 2005, p. 112; Tord and Lazo, 1981, p. 6). By exploiting the indigenous tradition of communal drinking, estate owners created a downward spiral of alcohol and debt that trapped farmers in exploitative relationships. As one mid-twentieth century laborer lamented (quoted in Thurner, 1993, pp. 73–74):

The priests and the patrons kept us on the hacienda, in ignorance. We couldn't get to school. They kept us going from fiesta to fiesta, spending all our money, drunk all the time. All in all, it was a sad life . . ., everything was destined for the fiestas . . . [P]oor Ecuador . . ., they spent everything on beer and cane liquor, that's all.

Before the Conquest, alcohol production and consumption had been central to Andean governance. The Spanish Crown, in contrast, saw drunkenness as a dangerous contagion. After the Church's early efforts to forbid alcohol outside of the sacrament failed (Salazar-Soler, 1993), officials established taverns where consumption could be moderated and controlled. Nevertheless, restricting alcohol use went against the economic self-interest of tavern keepers, estate owners, and, more importantly, the colonial government. By the seventeenth century the state had done an about face, encouraging the consumption of *aguardiente* and other beverages that disenfranchised natives from alcohol production and tied them closely to the market economy. The cosmological underpinnings of inebriation were nonetheless left unchallenged, as administrators increasingly dismissed Andean peoples as "drunken Indians" that were incapable of change (Weismantel, 1991).

DRINKING TOGETHER?

Although the transformations wrought by the Spanish Conquest of the Andes are difficult to overstate, they occurred disproportionately to those living on the coast and in cities, agricultural estates, and mining and other resource extraction communities. Native populations in locations that were marginal to state interests were often left disenfranchised and isolated. Fundamental change in belief occurred everywhere (MacCormack, 1991), but in much of the sierra the idea of a “cosmological plumbing system” fuelled by the circulation of life energy endured (Gose, 2006, p. 35). Communities drank together to keep the world running in a proper manner. Those that moved away often continued to think that the cosmos functioned in a similar manner because core beliefs remained intact in the places that they still called “home” (Ødegaard, 2011; Nash, 1993).

Life in the sierra, however, is rapidly changing. Drinking together continues in places like Sonqo because reciprocity remains the backbone of the household economy (Mayer, 2002). You drink with your neighbors—be they people, objects, animals, gods, or ancestors—because you depend on each other. Yet, more and more young people are leaving their villages. Many of those that remain are involved in tourism and commerce, converting to evangelical Christianity, and participating in global media flows (Lund Skar, 1994; Paerregaard, 1997; Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1999; Allen, 2002; Himpele, 2008). Local reciprocal ties are thus fraying, and—as glaciers recede and springs run dry due to global



Figure 14.2 A family split between the city and countryside comes together to binge on Coca-Cola and eat roast guinea pig during a feast day in Cusco

Photo credit: L.J. Seligmann.

warming—even the gods and ancestors appear listless and angry (Paerregaard, 2013, p. 300; Rasmussen, 2016, p. 81).

Leaning on traditions like communal drinking has allowed communities to weather the tumultuous transformations of the last few decades (see Figure 14.2). But as social networks stretch across greater distances, prayers go unanswered, and families become less dependent on maintaining strong ties with neighbors, there are fewer reasons to drink *together*. At the same time, global interactions are leading to re-evaluations of indigenous identity, and there are many people from these communities who want to distant themselves from the “drunken Indian” stereotype that still lingers in the popular imagination. In some places, those that drink at house-raising parties are now labelled as “alcoholics,” and Western conceptions of disease and abuse are used to interpret excessive drinking as a pathology rather than ritual necessity (Butler, 2006; Magny, 2009). For millennia, consuming alcohol was a fundamental social responsibility that shaped the rise of Andean states and the response to Spanish invaders. Globalization, coupled with climate change, is rapidly eroding this conceptualization.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

KINSHIP, HOUSEHOLDS, AND SOCIALITY



Jessaca Leinaeweaver

The “Andean World” that the writers in this book describe is composed of many social groups and still more social beings. Anthropologists have debated over the years the most effective entrée into understanding the ways that Andeans think of themselves and understand their links to others. A particularly productive outcome is the agreement to think about Andean families, households, and communities as key social groupings that inform Andean peoples’ engagement with their worlds. Social groups of this nature, that share a common focus and are distinguished from other groups, may sometimes be described in this region with the Quechua term *ayllu* (Weismantel, 2006; Allen 2002 [1988], p.87).

In this chapter, I examine the flexible, complex, and productive kinship practices scholars have encountered across the Andean region, where powerful connections and alliances are created through domestic activities, everyday companionship or exchange of labor, and the circulation of people through households. Andean families, *ayllus*, and similar coherent social groups are often extensive and interdependent, and the multiple and diverse actions taken within the sphere of kin and household generally serve to broaden networks of relations rather than to narrow them, and to nourish connections rather than sever them.

For students of the Andean region, kinship is a fruitful model for understanding how Andean people relate to animals, places, and things. It is a guide for understanding comportment in other analytical spheres as well, such as economy, politics, ecology, cosmology, and expressive culture.¹ Meanwhile, for those interested in family organization across cultures, Andean kinship stands out because it is less about deep and historical genealogies (as we see, for example, in many African patrilineal societies) but rather about creating ties to myriad contemporaries and peers. Kinship in the Andes is characterized by sociality and community, and sentiments of relatedness extend beyond the human to animals and places.² Finally, nonspecialist readers will encounter persistent themes like conflict and alliance in unfamiliar settings—for example, the significance of a child’s first haircut takes on new meaning in Andean kinship. Two key volumes of anthropological work deal specifically with Andean kinship (Bolton and Mayer, 1977; Arnold, 1997), and readers are

referred to them for many enlightening ethnographic case studies. In this chapter, I focus on three interconnected examples: *compadrazgo* or co-parenthood, houses and households, and child circulation.

AN OVERVIEW OF ANDEAN KINSHIP

For readers unfamiliar with the decades-long discussion in anthropology over what “kinship” “is” (Sahlins, 2011a; 2011b), I begin this discussion with three key historical moments to provide a broader context. During the late nineteenth century, when anthropology first carved out its disciplinary ambit, its practitioners observed a vast diversity of kinship terms, practices, and patterns around the world and identified these as both central to understanding how different societies functioned, and a unique object of study that anthropology could specialize in (see Morgan, 1870 for a classic example). Although this nineteenth-century work on kinship terms did not emphasize the Andean region, a more recent example illustrates what we can learn from how kin terms are or were used: ethnohistorical scholarship has revealed that Huarochirí people of the same generation, but from different family groups or *ayllus*, referred to one another as siblings, and the kin terms employed in that context suggest “that the members of distinct *ayllus* see themselves as symmetric and collegial correspondents” (Dedenbach-Salazar, 1997, p. 169).

From this foundational position in the origins of anthropology, kinship studies lost their appeal as anthropology went through a more overtly self-critical stage in the 1970s and 1980s. During this period, anthropologists argued that studies of kinship ran the risk of ethnocentrism, because the aim of cross-cultural comparison made unavoidable the assumption that Western ideas about kinship—for example that it is genetic and biological—were real, and all other ideas about kinship were fictional, or cultural, material for analysis (see Carsten, 2000 for an overview of this history; see Collins, 1986, pp. 652–653 for a similar point about the “household” in the Andes). But at the turn of the twenty-first century, feminist anthropology and science and technology studies propelled a return to kinship thinking as a tool for uncovering how people understand their connections to one another in a variety of spheres, and for identifying how local patterns of social organization articulate with the global political economy, the material, and the historical.

I focus here on three features of Andean kinship that are especially compelling and characteristic. First, Andean kinship is described as bilateral. In other words, it is reckoned from “both sides”—for example, children bear two last names, one from their father and one from their mother, and relatives on either mother’s or father’s side are described with equivalent terms (like “grandmother” or “uncle”). Through these everyday features, as revealed in the analysis of kin terms such as was favored by nineteenth-century anthropologists, connections with relatives on both sides can be readily apparent. For example, in Figure 15.1, Mateo and Juana are cousins, and they have a surname—Quispe—in common, indexing their connections and materializing them for others and for themselves. Such a wide recognition of close, strong relationships has been viewed as adaptive in agricultural economies like those in the Andean highlands, where farmers must be able to call upon their connections for labor exchanges (Bourque and Warren, 1981, p. 38). Broad relationships with kin and townspeople are also called upon for assistance with local

and transnational migration (Paerregaard, 2008). Overall, then, the net of kinship is cast widely rather than narrowly. The breadth is also seen in another descriptor, “horizontal;” by horizontality, I mean that Andean kinship highlights peers, including siblings and in-laws, rather than the deep histories of lineages. The term *ayllu*, introduced above, epitomizes this characteristic.

Second, Andean kinship is said to be characterized by reciprocity. By reciprocity, I mean a broad conceptualization of exchange and flow. *Ayni* is the Quechua term for this concept of neutral reciprocity common throughout the Andean region (Alberti and Mayer, 1974; Skar, 1982, p. 213; Portugal Catacora, 1988, pp. 68–69). *Ayni* describes an action taken with the expectation that it will be reciprocated (Van Vleet, 2008, p. 15). As Allen has written of social relations in the Southern Peruvian village Sonqo, “Life revolves around *ayni*. Nothing is done for free; in *ayni*, every action calls forth an equivalent response” (2002 [1988], p. 92). Such notions of reciprocity are well-documented in the Andes, where labor, gifts, and other nearly unremarkable items are exchanged with such regularity that “it is impossible to untangle the exact pathway of any single exchange dyad” (Brush, 1977, p. 135). Although the idea of reciprocity can carry overtones of equality, this very feature can equally involve a great deal of inequality (Orlove and Custred, 1980, pp. 35–36; Seligmann, 1995, pp. 97–98; Leinaweaver, 2013a). This is because, as anthropologists have known since Marcel Mauss’s essay on the gift written in the 1920s (Mauss 1990 [1954]), in normative exchange, one person is always indebted to another. That is, even when a gift is “repaid,” it generally recapitulates and extends the relation of exchange and indebtedness (Alberti and Mayer, 1974, p. 21; Skar, 1982, p. 213; Mannheim, 1991, p. 19; Paerregaard, 1997, p. 88). Thus the descriptor of kinship as governed by reciprocity should not connote egalitarianism, but simply the generative power of exchange for eliciting social relations and helping them to endure and transform.

The third key feature I have observed to be true of Andean kinship is its temporal dimension. That is, it is observably produced through repeated interactions

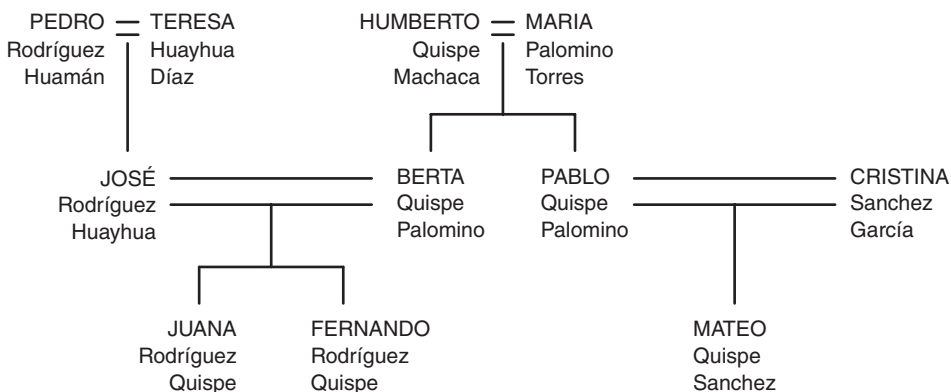


Figure 15.1 The transmission of last names from “both sides.” As children bear surnames from both parents, they can easily trace both maternal and paternal connections by recalling relatives’ last names

Diagram by Jessaca Leinaweaver.

over time. For example, a series of adjustments occurs when a daughter-in-law moves into her husband's family home, and both she and her in-laws—ideally—work hard to graciously share space and earn one another's affection (Van Vleet, 2002, pp. 578–80). One of the most symbolic arenas for such interaction is culinary. As Mary Weismantel has argued, giving and receiving food over time is a key ingredient in the materiality of Andean family life (1988; 1995). In the highland Ecuadorian town of Zumbagua, a man could say about a boy he had only recently incorporated into his household, "I am going to be his father . . . Aren't I feeding him right now?" (Weismantel, 1995, p. 690). This statement conveys explicitly that feeding creates relatedness, but not immediately. Andean kinship is embodied, forged through the regular repetitions of shared tasks over time and within domestic spaces, and drawing frequently on the distinctive properties of food as "embodied material culture" (Dietler, 2006, p. 232). Relationships are made, valued, and sustained through the production, preparation, and sharing of food. But here, too, there is room for inequality and tension aligned with the notion of exchange; as Van Vleet notes, "a one-way flow of food reinforces the dependency of those who eat but do not feed" (2008, p. 32).

The notion of production over time is also reciprocal, in a sense—while relationships are produced along a temporal dimension, entering into and participating appropriately in those relationships is central to producing social persons. For example, it is through being a child of a parent that a young person is cultivated or disciplined into maturity, defined as competence in self-sufficiency, necessary skills, productivity, and contribution to society (Ossio, 1984, p. 128; Morgan, 1990, pp. 90–100; Harvey, 1994, pp. 69–70; Skar, 1994, p. 205; Van Vleet, 2008, p. 68). And one of the appropriate tasks parents can assign to children—along with herding, carrying water, spinning, or knitting—is caring for younger siblings, so that it is through the performance of kinship responsibilities that a child becomes a fuller person (Collins, 1988, pp. 140–141; Anderson, 2007, p. 228). In another example of the power of appropriate kinship actions to produce personhood, maturity is not seen as fully attained until a person has married (Isbell, 1985 [1978], pp. 81; Anderson, 2007, p. 233; Van Vleet, 2008, p. 8;), acquired *compadres* (Isbell 1985 [1978], p. 116), and welcomed children (Van Vleet, 2008, pp. 58–59).

In the following three examples, I will show how these features—breadth, reciprocity, and production over time—are enacted in three kinds of practices common in Andean kinship: *compadrazgo*, coresidence, and child circulation.

CASE STUDY 1: COMPADRAZGO

I mentioned above that a person cannot be viewed as fully mature without having acquired *compadres*. Here, I detail what this consists of. *Compadres*, or co-parents, are fellow adults who are connected by virtue of a relationship of sponsorship. For example, if you have become godparent to my child by baptizing him, you are my *compadre* or *comadre* (the word is gendered—co-father or co-mother). Your sponsorship obligations to my child do not end at the moment of baptism, but continue throughout life; in addition, your relationship to me is also formalized, and I may call on you for support in the future. To ensure that relationship remains activated, I will bring you gifts of food from time to time (Figure 15.2).

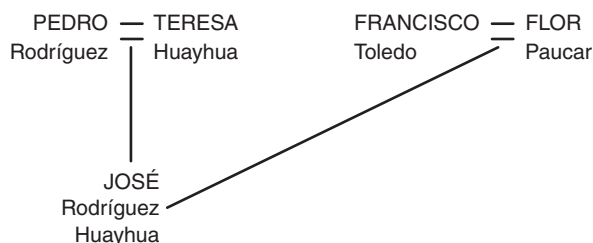


Figure 15.2 In this depiction of *compadrazgo*, Francisco and Flor have baptized Pedro and Teresa’s son, José. As a result, Pedro and Teresa become Francisco and Flor’s compadres, and each should refer to the others with that “kin term” going forward

Diagram by Jessaca Leinaweaver.

As seen from this example, *compadrazgo* (co-parenting) is based on the Catholic institution of *padrinazgo* (godparenting; these terms are also gendered, so you would be my child’s *padrino*—godfather—or *madrina*—godmother). *Compadrazgo* is a widespread ritual and social practice throughout Latin America and Europe. However, in the Andes, it also draws from pre-colonial tradition; a form of sponsorship where adults cut a child’s hair for the first time has been documented both prior to the conquest and today (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1965, p. 217; Harris, 1980, p. 72; Albornoz, 1989, p. 177; Molina, 1989, p. 119; Isbell, 1997, pp. 275–279; Spedding, 1997, p. 126). In a more recent depiction of this ceremony, Enrique Mayer explains that every adult participant cuts a small lock of the child’s hair, gives a gift of money to the child, and enjoys a generous feast; however, the matted, longest lock is cut by the godparents, who make the largest monetary gift (1977, p. 66).

The distinction between *padrinazgo* (godparenting) and *compadrazgo* (co-parenting) is a subtle one, yet the shift of perspective is telling for what it indicates about Andean kinship practices. When a couple become godparents to a child—whether through sponsoring the child’s baptism or first haircut, or through some other less familiar sponsorship, such as paying for a mass for the child’s health, or the clothing for a child’s graduation from elementary school—they have formalized a connection between themselves and the child. Yet they have also done something that is more significant in a context where peer or horizontal relations are highlighted: that is, they have formalized a relationship with the child’s parents. That is the key to *compadrazgo*. The child is not the sole focus of the relationship, but rather, a conduit of the relationship between his/her parents and godparents (compare Rubin, 1975, p. 174).

Compadrazgo contributes to the extensive nature of the Andean family by growing it, in practical terms, through a novel sort of exchange (Foster, 1953, p. 20; Ossio, 1984, p. 142). *Compadrazgo* thus illustrates the first feature of Andean kinship I identified – breadth – because it extends an adult’s kinship network through strategically arranging and shoring up a new relationship, or strengthening an existing one, with an outsider; that is, it creates what kinship scholars would call an “alliance” (Foster, 1953, p. 2; Davila, 1971, p. 400). In my experience, a godparent could not be drawn from one’s own house; he or she must be found outside. One woman I knew in the Peruvian city of Ayacucho told me that “the godfather

shouldn't be family, he should be a stranger" (Sp: *persona extraña*) in order to enforce a properly respectful relationship. The geographical or social distance between compadres makes their infrequent encounters special. And yet, though distant, they are kin: one piece of evidence that compadres are so central to the life of Andean kinship is that sexual relations between them are viewed as incestuous (Morote Best, 1953, p. 203; Spedding, 1997, pp. 116–117). A further benefit of compadrazgo is that it is theoretically limitless; not being exclusive, it allows for the creation of alliances with multiple outsiders. This broadening of the network, resulting in additional labor assistance among other things, has been described eloquently by Mary Weismantel as the accrual of human capital (1995, p. 690).

Compadrazgo also reflects the second feature of Andean kinship I identified—reciprocity. The idea of exchange deeply informs the practice of compadrazgo. On the occasions when my partner and I became godparents to children in the city of Ayacucho, we understood it to be an exchange whereby we proffered a new set of clothes and the child's family treated us to a generous meal; subsequent encounters involved frequent gifts of food (from the child's family to us) and clothing (in the other direction). In very practical terms, compadrazgo begins with the exchange of everyday assistance or gifts. The nature of the assistance and gifts differs depending on the degree of verticality in the relationship, that is whether the compadrazgo is across classes, entered into between a wealthy patron as a godparent and a laborer as the child's parent (see Lobo, 1982, p. 151), or more horizontal, such as between peers in a village (Mintz and Wolf, 1950; Foster, 1953). A compadre of equal or lower social standing may be called upon as a source of labor (Collins, 1988, p. 116; Gose, 1991, p. 43); a compadre of equal or greater social standing may be called upon as a potential source of financial or social assistance (Isbell, 1985 [1978], p. 116; Lobo, 1982, p. 133; Ossio, 1984, p. 121; Allen, 2002 [1988]).

Finally, like all social roles and relationships, compadrazgo becomes more cemented and permanent through everyday activities over time, which was the third feature of Andean kinship I identified. First, while the origin of the compadrazgo is in the ritual moment of sponsorship, the relation itself will develop over time through the regular gift or labor exchanges I have just mentioned and through overlapping compadrazgo (for example, my partner and I became the godparents to one set of siblings, and we were subsequently invited to baptize their cousins in another city, strengthening our ties to the extended family). Second, the act of becoming a compadre and the subsequent behavior involved in properly carrying out the duties of a compadre are steps which contribute to a person's growing and concretizing adulthood over time.

CASE STUDY 2: CORESIDENCE

For a second example I turn to the relations shaped by the Andean house or household: that is, the idea of coresidence. The notion of "household" also requires a digression into cross-cultural and theoretical framing, for like the concept of "kinship," it too has a history, with its own biases and tendencies. While there is often significant overlap between what scholars understand as a "family" and a "household," the reference to household highlights "geographical propinquity or common residence" within which individuals share both space and "domestic" activity (Yanagisako,

1979, pp. 162, 165). Such domestic activities include production, distribution and consumption, transmission of resources, and social reproduction or socialization (Wilk and Netting, 1984). Mayer's historical work on the Andean household echoes many of these features: he found it to be characterized by co-residence, subsistence and care, a pool of labor, and "a node and center of a complex web of reciprocal exchange flowing into and out of it" (Mayer, 1984, pp.111–112).

More recently, anthropologists have examined the notion of household within an architectural and structural sphere, in which the concept of "house" refers to the members of the socioeconomic unit, as well as to the symbolically and functionally meaningful physical space (Block, 2016, p. 157; see also Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995; Gillespie, 2000). In the Andes, then, it becomes significant that the house is also a consumer good, and its architectural style and housing materials reflect social relations and aesthetic ideologies possessed by its enactors (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1994; Gudeman and Rivera, 1995).³ What makes houses and households, in this dual definition, significant is that they shape residents' activities, so that they instruct residents about how to live (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 90). For example, Catherine Allen has noted how a move from a small, warm adobe house to a drafty, concrete room transforms Andeans' bodily actions and sociality, so they no longer stoop to enter, nor do they spend as much time in the cold indoors (2002 [1988], p. 236). Such houses thus also give material form to the social relationships within the household (Lévi-Strauss, 1987, p. 55). An important reminder—as true for kinship as it is for the household—is that its forms and practices change over time and the range of what might be considered "normal" can be quite extensive (Harris, 1982, p. 144).

How are breadth, reciprocity, and production over time exemplified within the framework of an Andean house? The breadth is exemplified by the occupants of an Andean house, and by its frequent relations with other households. The houses I knew best in Ayacucho, the Peruvian city where I worked, were rarely occupied solely by members of a single nuclear family. The house I thought of as my comadre Margarita's included her, her husband, her three children; occasionally a stepdaughter or an aging parent, both of whom mainly lived in the house in the village; and later on a grandchild when the child's mother moved to another city to work. It also from time to time housed a lodger or two from Margarita's village, and relatives or fellow villagers who were passing through. Other living beings within the house compound's adobe walls included chickens, guinea pigs, cats, and a dog. While this peri-urban residence was the house I knew best, rural homes exhibit similar patterns. In addition, co-residence in transnational contexts appears to be facilitated and smoothed by the associations between co-residence and kinship – for example, unrelated labor immigrants sharing a rental apartment such as Peruvians and Ecuadorians I observed in Spain (Leinaweaver, 2013b) or Ecuadorians in New York City (Pribilsky, 2007).

The broad network of kinship for which the house serves as a nexus is exemplified not only by who resides within the walls, but also by the multiple neighborhood exchanges in which the house and its residents participate (Anderson, 2007, p. 233). That is, the household is the unit of exchange in many of the instances of reciprocity or *ayni* that have been widely documented in the literature on the region. Another way of saying this is that the extended network on which Andeans draw for labor assistance is in no way coterminous with the household (Collins, 1986, p. 660).

Ideally, each household must provide a laborer to the village group projects known as *minka* (utilized for community efforts like cleaning out the irrigation canals each year). So while actions within the household are less often characterized as reciprocal, the household itself is the conceptual actor in exchange. And this means that the very exchanges between households help to reinscribe them as bounded entities, ones which are very much in dialogue with their peers (Harris, 1982, pp. 150–151). Another example of this, directly linked to the discussion in the previous section, is that not just children but houses themselves can be “baptized,” creating for their owners additional compadres required for personhood and social life.⁴

Finally, production over time plainly characterizes houses in the Andes and elsewhere. Houses are constantly changing things; as Collins has written, they are dynamic structures built and enacted by their residents (1986, p. 667). Building on Allen’s description of the ayllu as a family group for which “locality is the main criterion” (2002 [1988], pp.82–83), I have noted that “residential locality has been paramount to Andean social and ethnic identity” (Leinaweaver, 2009, p. 779). Whether composed of adobe or bricks and concrete; whether roofed by thatch or pressed tin; whether co-occupied by a litter of guinea pigs or a good mouser, the house in the Andes should not stand empty but should be occupied by humans who are one another’s companions (Leinaweaver, 2007; 2008). The final case study I offer below demonstrates even more directly how it is not just the house that is built up over time, but also the social relations within it.

CASE STUDY 3: CHILD CIRCULATION

Child circulation is another practice common to Andean kinship that illustrates breadth, reciprocity, and production over time. My first research project in the Andean region examined what I called child circulation—how children might go to live in households other than those they had been born to (Fonseca, 1986, p. 15). They did so to accompany other families who sought companionship – for example, an older widow or a family with children the same age as the circulated child. There were also overtones of help and assistance—that the receiving family was aiding the sending family in some way by taking in a child who otherwise would have been another mouth to feed, and that they were aiding the child by exposing him or her to a new arrangement of social class—expressed through language, school, residential location, attire, and food (Leinaweaver, 2013a). However, this move was thoroughly distinct from legal, formal adoption practices, which emphasize “an outsider’s assessment of parental fitness or lack of fitness” (Modell, 2002, p. 183).

The breadth I have referred to in Andean kinship is illustrated in child circulation, which is based on the ideology of close connections among members of a large extended family. It is logical that children are not circulated indiscriminately, but rather within and along those connections: to the parent’s or child’s own siblings, or to their grandparents, or, again, to their compadres. Thus, the very exchange or movement of children between ostensibly separate and distinct houses actually delineates webs of social relationships, and these movements both count on and dramatically demonstrate the breadth of kinship.

The idea of reciprocity or exchange is also inherent in child circulation, which—again like compadrazgo—is shaped by the hierarchies that it emerges

from and reproduces. So the circulated child is expected to “help” in the household (Young, 1987; Orlove, 2002) and to offer companionship to its residents (Leinaweaver, 2007; 2008) and in turn to receive meals and lodging that are locally viewed as superior, or opportunities that are intangible but recognized. Assessments of who feels grateful and whether they are adequately grateful (Leinaweaver, 2013a) index the sense that an exchange has occurred.

Finally, here too we can observe the production of kinship over time – illustrated very poignantly in cases of child circulation where the child “becomes accustomed” and so do members of the receiving household. One young woman I knew in Ayacucho explained to me that when she first went to live with her aunt and uncle, she would return to her town every weekend for the first two years; eventually, she said, she “got accustomed” (Leinaweaver, 2008, p. 98). Another young woman who had moved into her aunt and uncle’s house told me she began to be unaccustomed to her previous home on an unpaved road far from the center of town: “I feel uncomfortable . . . I’m not accustomed there. It’s different, there’s a lot of dust” (Leinaweaver, 2007, p. 171). As I have suggested, for each of these young women, it is through that process of accustoming, of “quietly comparing what she couldn’t do before to what she now feels comfortable doing, [that] family is formed and reinforced” (Leinaweaver, 2008, p. 99).

CONCLUSIONS

The three examples—of *compadrazgo*, of household definition and exchange, and of child circulation—each support and connect one another. A potential *compadre* should be drawn from another household, not one’s own. A household gains much of its meaning from being a place one can receive *compadres* with hospitality, or receive the child of a sibling or neighbor for the purposes of upbringing and companionship. Children are most productively and effectively circulated along known lines of connection—to *compadres*, to familiar households. *Compadrazgo* and child circulation are flows and connections between households; households take shape through the children that move through them and the godparents they acquire. Through it all, living together over time creates and fosters familiarity, while living apart reproduces distance.

These are three examples I find compelling and know well, but there are many others to explore—for example, the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law connections Van Vleet describes (2002; 2008), the unique set of commercial and collaborative relations developed by market women (Babb, 1989; Seligmann, 1989; 2004), and the transnational kinship practices we see as Andeans migrate to North America, Europe, and elsewhere in South America (Miles, 2004; Berg and Paerregaard, 2005; Pribilsky, 2007; Paerregaard, 2008; Leinaweaver, 2011). In each of these cases, one could encounter the key features of Andean kinship I have highlighted here: the broad and encompassing reach of a network that grows to respond to social need; the centrality of exchange and reciprocity for maintaining the flow of social relations and the moral personhood of participants; and the embodied, grounded, historical nature of Andean social relations that are not (or not only) given but must be produced, reproduced, fed, and nourished over time and through material and affective exchanges.

I have proposed here that these principles—seen so clearly in these exemplars of kinship and household practices—are enacted in wide-reaching contexts and can be encountered across “Andean Worlds” and throughout the other chapters of this book. Though Andean societies are neither uniform nor unchanging, it is not inaccurate to observe that the broad extension of sociality, the persistent theme of reciprocity, and the actively produced nature of all social relations are features not only of kinship but also of Andean social, cosmological, economic, and ecological worlds more generally. Those anthropologists in the late nineteenth century who posited that kinship was a key to understanding unfamiliar, and familiar, social worlds were not so far wrong.

NOTES

- 1 There are problems with dividing social life into different “spheres” in this way, but it can be analytically useful to do so. Regardless, in the Andes as elsewhere, the boundaries between conceptions of kinship and of economy are blurry; for one thing, relatives are called on to assist with communal and everyday labor, and family members of all ages are valued for their ability to assist in the household economy (Weismantel, 1988, p.170).
- 2 Animals are often conceived of as the equals of humans in their roles (MacCormack, 1991, p. 171) and social relations to one another (Cayón Armelia, 1971, p. 150) and to the humans with whom they live (Quispe Mejía, 1968, p. 175; Bolin, 1998, pp. 55–56). Places are similarly endowed with life and conceptualized as related to humans (Abercrombie, 1998; Allen, 2002[1988]; Cadena, 2015; Salas Carreño, 2016) throughout the Andean region.
- 3 Similarly, the material artifacts within the house bear heavy symbolic weight even as they essay practical invention as well: is cooking achieved primarily over a wood burning hearth or a gas range (Antrosio, 2002, p. 1115)? Do the house’s inhabitants urinate in a porcelain toilet installed by an NGO, or squatting under heavy skirts while herding (Allen, 2002 [1988]; Orlove, 1998)?
- 4 The “baptism” of the house through its public and celebratory roofing is called *zafacasa* (from the Spanish, *zafa*, adorn, + *casa*, house). It required a good deal of labor, often acquired through kinship connections, “as well as a set of sponsors, the homeowners’ compadres (essentially, the house’s godparents)” (Leinaweaver, 2009, p. 778; see also Mayer, 1977, pp. 69–72; Gose, 1991).

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PART VI

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND
RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION
AND RESILIENCE





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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

PRODUCTION, TRADE, RECIPROCITY, AND MARKETS



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This chapter offers a brief overview of the economic systems of the Andes, largely from the point of view of indigenous and rural populations. Covering such a broad historical range, from pre-Columbian to contemporary times, is an impossible task given the region's long history of continuity, change, and internal diversity of ethnic groups, ecological zones, and economic modes. Although there has never been a single way of approaching economic production in the Andes (or anywhere else, for that matter), there are some common themes that emerge. I will begin by discussing the general concepts of the *ayllu*, reciprocity, and verticality which are often used to understand Andean economic systems. While these specific terms are not universally used throughout the region, I argue that these logics about the relationships between people, labor, ecology, and exchange are widespread. From there I will move to an overview of the economic systems of the pre-Columbian, colonial, and contemporary Andes, touching on issues such as ideals about self-sufficiency, the intersections of kinship and economies, the introduction of currency, barter, marketplaces, informal economies, and neoliberalism.

Andean marketplaces today are vibrant economic spaces, often pictured as places where colorfully-dressed indigenous women haggle over sheep carcasses, DVD players, and produce, where streets are crowded with shoppers, stalls, and vendors with handcarts, and where economic life is public in all its glory and grittiness. This makes them popular touristic attractions, but underneath the postcard images lie a deep history of complex systems for exchanging goods and labor across ecological zones and ethnic groups. These marketplaces have their origins in the colonial period, but the social networks that make them successful also have pre-Columbian roots.

The unevenness of available historical records affects our understanding of how Andean economies of the past were organized and has catalyzed ongoing debates about whether economic practices such as barter or marketplaces existed in the pre-Columbian Andes. There is ethno-historical data available for the Tawantinsuyu Empire, which existed at the moment of the Spanish conquest and about which both Spanish and indigenous chroniclers wrote extensively. The details of how mechanisms such as barter and marketplaces intersected with more centralized systems of Incan state landholdings and labor systems, and how much Incan economic

practices reflected long-standing Andean systems as opposed to reflecting innovative state-building strategies, continue to be key questions (Hirth and Pillsbury, 2013). While the logistics of moving products from producer to consumer have changed in the last five centuries, there are commonalities that span the *longue durée* from pre-Columbian llama caravans that moved *chuño* (freeze-dried potatoes) and *ají* (chili peppers) up and down the eastern slopes of the Andes, to today's urban market vendor selling copied cassette tapes of Arabic pop music. People in the Andes have never consumed only what they can produce, but there is nevertheless an ideal of self-sufficiency that refers to cultural logics about how social units are comprised. To understand those continuities, I turn now to a brief description of the concept of the ayllu.

THE AYLLU

The *ayllu* is a flexible concept, referring to a group of people linked by overlapping ties of kinship, territory, religious practice, language use, and occupation. In pre-Columbian times this included shared religious practice at local *huacas*, or earth-centered shrines, while today this may be expressed through devotion to particular Catholic saints. Huacas can be unusual natural features, mountains, springs, burial sites, sacred buildings, or archaeological sites. The most local of these might be specific only to the ayllu where it is located, while regional huacas such as the cities of Tiwanaku or Cuzco, or Pachacamac, drew pilgrims (including other huacas) from far away. Members of royal Inca ayllus, called *panacas*, were descended from an Incan king who was also present as a mummy bundle and who was, like huacas, animate in his own right (Zuidema, 1983). The ayllu is where reciprocity, political bodies, and religious practices intersect.

Ayllu participation was nested in and underlay the larger organization of territory, politics, and economic networks. In Tawantinsuyu, ayllus were comprised of moieties, themselves ranked into “upper” (*hanan* or *urqusuyu*) and “lower” (*hurin* or *umasuyu*) groups, categorizations that were both geographic and symbolic. Urqusuyu groups on the western side of the Andes were associated with masculinity and dryness; umasuyu groups on the more humid eastern side of the Andes were associated with femininity and humidity. These gendered divisions were both complementary and unequal. Ayllus were grouped into larger units, eventually reaching the level of the four *suyus* or quarters that made up the Tawantinsuyu Empire as a whole. Each of these nested units had a political leader who mediated between those within his group and those who were above it in the hierarchy. Through this system, goods were moved through economic networks, armies were raised and provisioned, and collective labor was organized (Bauer, 1996; Stanish, 2003).

For both individuals and groups, ayllu alliances and conflicts are segmentary and context dependent. While, ideally, individuals support their local ayllu and those within which it is embedded, they may make more complicated decisions based on land tenure, relationships with neighbors, economic ties, and kinship. These complications may be dormant until they are brought into the open by tensions over land use, fights, or warfare (Platt, 2009).

Recently the meaning of the term ayllu has shifted, taking on new political meanings (Fabricant, 2010). Other terms such as *comunidades* (communities) often

encompass the same complex intersections of kinship, territory, political organization, and religious practice.

VERTICALITY

The concept of ayllu must be considered alongside Andean understandings of the physical environment. One of the enduring models for thinking about pre-Columbian Andean agricultural economies is that of “verticality” as described by John V. Murra (1975 [1972]; see also Brush, 1976; Mayer, 1979). Verticality is not just about the production of goods across ecological zones, but also a set of logics about land use, labor, and ideals of self-sufficiency. In the pre-Columbian period households strived to maintain direct connections to territories in multiple ecological zones, or personal ties to those who lived in them. These relationships were economic in the broad sense, intersecting with kinship and larger political systems, including ayllus.

Pre-Columbian and contemporary Andean agriculture relies on the steep slopes of the Andes to ensure productive fields and access to products from multiple ecological zones. Successful agriculture in this landscape requires heavy input of labor, careful control of water resources, and precise knowledge of microclimates. Agriculture depends on local particulars of soil, sun, latitude, altitude, and water access, while non-agricultural resources such as oceans, lakes, and pasture fields are also essential. Enrique Mayer (2002, pp. 239–277) calls these “production zones” because their importance results from the interaction of human activity with the existing environment, thus creating productive ecologies. They include the western coast of the Andes, the high mountainous pastoral spaces of the *puna*, the intermontane agricultural plateau of the *altiplano*, the semi-tropical *valle* on the eastern slopes of the Andes (also called *yungas* or *kichwa*), and the Amazonian basin.

Ties across these ecological zones were created and maintained through ideals of reciprocity, a term that covers a range of social interactions where both parties feel a sense of obligation. Reciprocal relationships may be more egalitarian, such as those between adult siblings, while others may be extremely hierarchical, such as those between the Inca ruler and the agriculturalists in his empire. In all cases, these are ongoing relationships that extend far beyond specific moments of exchange. In pre-Columbian times, where no currency was used, this social fact was more evident, but Andean people today continue to see exchanges of labor, time, and assistance as part and parcel of their economic and social worlds.

FORMS OF RECIPROCITY: AYNÍ, MINK’A, MIT’A

There are many forms of reciprocity in the Andes, but three terms commonly used by scholars to discuss these are *ayni*, *mink’a*, and *mit’a*. Each encompasses different understandings of the socio-economic relationships and mutual responsibilities between participants. These specific terms are not used everywhere throughout the Andes, but the concepts they describe are widespread (Webster, 1981).

Ayni describes reciprocity between people of relatively equal status, where their exchange of labor or goods is also seen as equal (Mannheim, 1986; Gose, 1991; Van Vleet, 2008). Local use of the term varies. Sallnow (1989) documented how, at his fieldsite, *ayni* described exchanges that were assumed to be reciprocal in the long

run—such as assisting the sponsor of a festival—but not those that were immediately returned, such as helping a kinsman plant his field. The latter was simply called “helping” (but in Spanish rather than Quechua: *ayuda*).

Mink’a is understood as reciprocity between relative social equals that is not expected to be an equal exchange. A person might call on his kin to assist with building a house in exchange for food and drink during their work, or be offered part of the harvest in exchange for help bringing in a crop. The term highlights the personal relationships between the parties involved; it does not include merely hiring workers who are paid in food (Sallnow, 1989).

In contrast to *ayni* and *mink’a*, the *mit’a* was a form of state collective labor that was nevertheless understood in the idiom of reciprocity and organized through *ayllu* (Gose, 2000). While often associated with Tawantinsuyu, earlier Andean empires such as Tiwanaku may have also used centralized labor systems such as the *mit’a* to maintain intensive agricultural systems (Kolata, 1986). In Tawantinsuyu, the Andean empire for which we have the best ethnohistorical data, the *mit’a* system provided labor to maintain agricultural fields and flocks that were owned by the Inca king himself. Early Spanish chroniclers noted that the state of Tawantinsuyu did not demand tribute in goods, but rather in labor. Local peoples could be called upon to work on the Inca’s land, weave textiles with wool he provided, build roads, or repair irrigation systems, but they could not be asked to give up their own crops. When production failed (due to drought or other events), the Inca had no claim on those produced by his subjects on their own land. This may have helped mitigate against crises where Andean farmers would have been unable to produce for both tribute and their own subsistence (Murra, 1995; Stern, 1995).

Mit’a collective labor groups were organized through the *ayllu*, thus linking political and economic networks. The difficulties of this are described by Abercrombie (1998) in his narrative of a local *mallku*, or *ayllu* leader, named Inca Colque who organized a *mit’a* in 1520. While Inca Colque imposed on those under him the performance of labor for the Inca, he also fêted his subordinates with maize beer (*chicha*) and feasts. On the way to Cuzco to perform their labor service, the group was provisioned from state storehouses and performed libations to important huacas along the way.

The *mitimaq* is a particular relationship of politics and land-use. Although named for the Incan institution, it is probably older. Rather than rely on markets and trade to acquire goods from distant areas, the Tawantinsuyu Empire would instead move populations into distant ecological zones. These *mitimaqkuna* colonists continued to view themselves as part of their original *ayllu*, and preferentially engaged in reciprocity with members of their own *ayllu* over trading locally (D’Altroy, 2003, p.248).

Pre-Columbian Andean economies functioned in part through networks of reciprocity and obligation that scaled down to the level of households and communities, and up to the level of empires. These networks facilitated the trade of goods across ecological zones, ensuring access to far-away goods. In the early colonial period (sixteenth century), “Aymara highlanders saw the distant sea coast or the inland tropical forest as parts of their normal universe” (Murra, 1968). Highland Andean communities consumed coca leaves, maize beer, ají chili peppers and peanuts (from the eastern slopes and Amazon basin), and saw conch shells (from the west coast) as valued items, but all these were routine parts of their material culture.

Pre-Columbian Andean empires such as the Inca, Wari, Tiwanaku, and others existed without the economic instruments of currency or writing. Nevertheless, they created and maintained large-scale networks for distributing goods and provisioning armies. Andean cities were centers of ritual and political life in part because they were the hubs of such networks,

These economic systems were backed with sophisticated systems of accounting and statecraft. The most famous of these were the Incan *quipus*, knotted cords that recorded numeric and historic information that were interpreted by a group of highly-trained specialists, the *quipucamayuc*. There is debate about whether these cords recorded words, numbers, or served as mnemonic devices, but they were accepted by both Incan officials and Spanish conquistadors as legitimate legal documents (Julien, 1988; Urton, 2001; Quilter and Urton, 2002; Urton, 2003; Salomon, 2004). These technologies made it possible for economic systems to engage in multiple scales of production, from the local level up to that of the state.

Collective labor systems continue to operate today within local communities, although they are often referred to with other terms, such as *faena* (Guillet, 1980; Sallnow, 1989). Such labor is used to maintain community irrigation systems, build bridges or schools, or undertake other community construction projects (Trawick, 2001).

THE CONQUEST OF THE ANDES

The arrival of the Spanish Conquistadors to the Andes in 1532 was part of one of the most destructive upheavals in human history. The combined effects of first exposure to European diseases (smallpox, malaria), war and conquest, and starvation after the disruption of established food distribution networks are impossible to overstate. While population estimates vary from nine to forty million for the Andes in the late fifteenth century, it is widely accepted that the population plummeted by ninety percent (Denevan, 1992, 1996, 2011).

Nevertheless, many social and economic forms that harken back to the pre-Columbian period survived and were integrated into radically different economic models that included currency, marketplaces, and social hierarchies based on ideas about “race.” While in all societies there is both continuity and change, scholarly tensions exist over which of these tendencies are highlighted. This challenge is compounded by the nature of Spanish colonial documents. Even the most detailed chronicles from this era, such as that written by Guaman Poma (1615), were political documents that must be read against the grain. Pre-Columbian documents such as the knotted quipu codes and textiles were not always recognized as such after the art of interpreting them was lost.

Andean peoples did not have a singular response to the introduction of mercantile and capitalist logics into their economic systems. They acted strategically to resist, as well as benefit, from these new systems. In the colonial era, leaders of *ayllus* (*mallkus* or *caciques*) served similar mediating roles as they had under the Tawantinsuyu Empire, negotiating between the needs of the people under their leadership, and the demands of those above them.

Pre-existing inequalities in Andean societies impacted how individuals and communities experienced the changes of this colonial moment. Some Andean lords, for example, were able to translate status into entrepreneurial success in the new marketplaces that

supplied colonial cities such as Potosí in what is now southern Bolivia, the location of the mountain *Cerro Rico* (literally “The Rich Hill”), one of the primary silver mines of the Spanish colonial enterprise. In other cases, lords were able to protect members of their ayllu from abuses by purchasing the labor of others to perform service to Spanish colonial governments, in one case even purchasing their own tribute to ensure their own ayllu’s food security (Stern, 1995). Contemporary observers noted that Andean peoples found tribute in goods far more onerous than tribute in labor, a reflection of the economic logics that governed statecraft in pre-Columbian times (Murra, 1995; Stern, 1995). Tribute payments and taxes introduced under Spanish colonial government promoted the integration of currency into daily life.

The Spanish colonial government used preexisting forms of collective labor, such as the *mit’a*, for extracting value from indigenous populations (scholars distinguish these two systems by spelling the later, Spanish, system *mita*.) The Spanish colonial government’s *mita* system allowed local indigenous leaders (*mallkus* or *kuracas*) to govern, and for communities to maintain their local autonomy, in exchange for supplying laborers for the colonial apparatus. For those who worked under the *mita* it was a form of slave labor, and for many was a death sentence (Stavig 2000). It is unsurprising, therefore, that many people fled rather than participate in it. These *forasteros*, indigenous peoples who migrated away from their own communities, lost rights to land in their own ayllu but were not subject to *mita* requirements in their new homes.

Other indigenous Andeans found new opportunities in the colonial marketplaces that emerged to supply burgeoning colonial towns and produce goods for export to Spain, especially silver. Growing populations of miners and other urban workers required market women to supply them with food, *chicha* (maize beer), and other basics. These entrepreneurs included indigenous, free Black, and poorer Spanish women. Even in the seventeenth century, women dominated Andean marketplaces (Mangan, 2005).

THE CONTEMPORARY ANDES

Moving into the contemporary era, we find that while there have been major changes, elements of both the pre-Columbian and colonial past are evident. Today households continue to maintain access to multiple resources through strategies such as discontinuous agricultural plots, wage-labor, migration, and markets. Contemporary Andean economies are not holdovers from the past, however; they also reflect new realities of capitalism, neoliberal economic politics, and the resurgence of indigenous political movements. We must tread carefully in making equivalences between the deep past and the present, and avoid binary divides between subsistence and capitalism, currency and barter, or rural and urban economies. Nevertheless, general logics about verticality and reciprocity continue into the contemporary Andes.

This is particularly evident in the flexible logics of “mixed household economies.” While there have been multiple theories about the relationships among households, kinship, production, and migration (Mayer, 2002; Colloredo-Mansfeld, 2009), it is well established that very few contemporary rural Andean households can rely solely on their own agricultural production for survival. The ideal of rural self-sufficiency continues as a marker of indigeneity, but most agriculturalists also engage in wage-labor and marketplace economies. (Early in my own fieldwork, my naive questions to rural Andeans about whether tourism or agriculture was “more important” to their

households were met with plain confusion, as living from only one of these activities was simply not a plausible option.) In rural areas, households combine resources from crops, animals, wage-labor, and small-scale production of ceramics, weavings, tourist souvenirs, and other saleable goods. Those with fields may herd cattle, sheep, or camelids, but homes with less land also produce guinea pigs, rabbits, chickens, pigs, and even domesticated dogs and cats to be sold as pets in urban markets. Animals may be fed kitchen scraps to create value from material that would otherwise be wasted, or fed purchased feed that links household meat production into larger networks. Rural residents sell each other milk or cheese, and engage in paid labor for their neighbors as *yatiris* (ritual specialists), midwives, and builders. Producing and selling tourist souvenirs, from ceramics to sweaters, is a major source of income in some areas (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 2009; Sammells, 2014; Smith, 2015). In Otavalo, Ecuador, as well as in Bolivia, culture itself is a major export, as Andeans musicians travel worldwide to perform (Wibbelsman, 2010; Bigenho, 2012; Meisch, 2013).

Many rural residents migrate to work in cities (often as construction workers or domestic servants), or to plantations growing coca, coffee, sugar, flowers, or other products. Labor migrations can last for a few weeks, years, or a lifetime. Urban households established by first or second generation rural migrants may also combine formal employment, temporary wage-labor, small-scale entrepreneurship, rent



Figure 16.1 An Aymara extended family harvests potatoes for household consumption, Tiwanaku, Bolivia, 2012

Photo credit: Clare A. Sammells.

income, access to rural lands and crops, and other resources. These urban residents often travel to rural areas to farm their own land, participate in the harvests of kin in exchange for a part of the crop, or to purchase agricultural goods for resale in urban markets (Seligmann, 2004, 2009). While away, many migrants maintain connections to their villages by sponsoring festivals or helping with planting and harvest. These connections strengthen kin and reciprocity ties, as well as mitigate the vagaries of economic marginalization (Figure 16.1; Figure 16.2).

As migration abroad increases, so do remittances (Paerregaard, 2010; Takenaka, Paerregaard, and Berg, 2010; Yarnall and Price, 2010; Tapias and Escandell, 2011). Andean migrants have large communities throughout Latin America, Europe, and North America, where they engage in wage labor and often send money home, thus connecting rural Andean households to global networks.

In my own rural field site it was common practice for young people to spend their entire working lives elsewhere—in Bolivian or foreign cities— before returning to the village. Wage-labor provided capital that could then be invested in children's education, livestock, shops, market stalls, hotels, or restaurants. Some of these activities even operated out of inherited family homes. While their adult economic lives might appear to be firmly grounded in urban wage-labor, the larger picture shows this to be embedded within a logic of maintaining access to rural production and the resources of the larger family.

Andean communities continue to rely on the logics of kinship and reciprocity that operate at the level of individuals, families, and local communities (see Leinaweaver 2008; Wutich, 2011). Kinship is a flexible system, including not only biological kin and members of one's community, but also non-biological kin. Godparents are created through religious life-event celebrations such as baptisms, first communion, marriage, or secular events such as school and military service graduations. *Compadrazgo* (co-parenting, i.e., the *compadre* relationship between the parents and godparents of an individual) is a central part of Andean kinship, and involves incest taboos and clear kin responsibilities. Godparents (especially of baptism and marriage) are expected to assist godchildren and compadres with gifts and expenses for the ceremony, but possibly also with future studies, loans, finding employment, or setting up a marketplace stall or other business. Some godparents are chosen for their wealth and social connections on the hopes that this will benefit the child later in life; in other cases, the godparent relationship is used to strengthen existing kinship or friendship ties. *Compadrazgo* therefore creates reciprocal ties that may be experienced as more or less egalitarian.

Forms of political organization seen as uniquely Andean have reemerged or been strengthened in order to deal with capitalist networks. In one Ecuadorian community, reciprocity between kin has allowed Quichua dairy farmers and cheese producers in Olmedo to reclaim the milk business from mestizo intermediaries. Relationships between dairy producers and their intermediaries are based not only on the price offered for milk, but also on the intermediaries' ability to offer interest-free emergency loans and provide food and drink at major festivals. These are market relationships, but they are also personal ones based on forms of unequal reciprocity (Ferraro, 2006).

BARTER: HOLDOVER OR ADAPTATION?

Given the deep history of reciprocity in the Andes, and the introduction of currency in the sixteenth century, it would be tempting to assume that contemporary

barter in the Andes is a holdover from the past, but there are no clear divisions here between capitalism and subsistence, nor between currency and non-currency (Harris, 1995). While pre-Columbian economies operated without currency, I believe that it is unlikely that barter in its contemporary form is merely a practice from the deep past. It seems more productive to interpret barter practices as creative strategies for surviving on the margins of global capitalism and mitigating the effects of economic crisis (Orlove et al., 1986).

Graeber (2011, pp. 21–41) shows how barter is often practiced in contexts where the participants are accustomed to using currency but find it in short supply; there is a lack of physical currency, but money in the abstract is still the unit of account. In the Andes, barter exchanges often refer to market prices, and are delineated in time and space. Although actors may not know each other in advance, they know that being in a particular place, at a particular time, with particular goods, will lead to barter. For example, Salasaca indigenous women in Tungurahua province of Ecuador know that between February and April they can take cherries into a nearby town to barter with local mestizo women for avocados. Each side reads clear cultural cues of clothing and season to find exchange partners (Corr, 2016). Fishermen on Lake Titicaca sell, barter, and consume the fish they catch, but those who primarily barter fish tend to deal in native species, are more likely to live on the shores of Lake Titicaca, and are more likely to be women. Fish are bartered for a limited number of agricultural goods, including freeze-dried potatoes (*chuño* and *tunta*), potato, barley, quinoa, and broad beans. Nevertheless, either barter or sales of fish can lead to more established *casera* (vendor–client) relationships or be isolated events. Importantly, these barter transactions refer to market prices in determining equivalences (Orlove et al., 1986).

Once a year in the Bolivian town of Guaqui there is a marketplace where household ceramics are bartered for twice their volume in crops such as *chuño* or *tunta* (depending on the preferences of the ceramic seller). The vendors I approached there did not know how much to charge for their ceramics; while they were certainly accustomed to using currency, this was not an appropriate context for it. While individuals looking to barter may not seek specific trade partners, the terms of trade are usually clear in advance. People who barter in the contemporary Andes create spaces where currency itself is not needed, even though market logics continue to apply, however unevenly.

AMBIVALENT MONEY

Barter may capture the imagination as an alternative economic form, but the use of currency is far more common, and more visible, throughout the Andes. In rural villages neighbors use money to purchase milk, cheese, or other goods from each other; to purchase rice, school notebooks, and clothing from stores or market stalls; and to pay taxes and electrical bills. Money is a fact of life in the Andes, and nowhere is that more obvious than in the marketplace.

Andean peoples are both totally familiar and somewhat uncomfortable with currency. They know how to cleverly invest a large sum lent by a sibling working abroad, and how to recognize a counterfeit coin offered at a market stand. But in a cultural landscape where many “things” are animate, including mountains, human remains, stone statues, and pre-Columbian gold, it is unsurprising that the physical manifestations of a chaotic global economic system—the metal coins and paper bills that

constitute wealth—are understood to have forces of their own. Andean peoples see currency as both animate and morally suspect. This is particularly evident in mines, where miners turn to *el Tio*—a being who hovers between an Andean mountain spirit called a *supay*, and the Christian devil—to ensure that mining results in material prosperity without loss of human life. In other contexts, money is seen as possessing an *ajayu* (soul) that is vulnerable to witchcraft (Nash, 1982; Taussig, 1983; Gose, 1986; Harris, 1995; Mayer, 2002; Taussig, 2004).

Contemporary Andean peoples are savvy entrepreneurs in part because they recognize the ambiguities that currency reveals. There is no contradiction between profit-motives and offerings to Pachamama (the “Earth Goddess”), between “good customer service” and calling the *ajayu* of potential clients. This complex relationship with currency does not suggest that Andean peoples are trapped in a non-monetary past; on the contrary, it shows they engage with the fickle and arbitrary capitalist economy with all the tools at their disposal.

ANDEAN MARKETPLACES AND INFORMAL ECONOMIES

Andean marketplaces tend to be dominated by women who earn, manage, and risk their own capital. Marketplaces are both gendered and “raced.” Men do participate in markets in various ways, from those who carry heavy cargo for a fee to those who own stands with their wives or in their own right. But it is women, especially *cholas*, who dominate. Seligmann (1989) and Weismantel (2001) both describe *cholas* as women who inhabit conceptual and often physical space in between white and indigenous worlds, and who take on shifting racialized positions depending on social context. When selling to white clients, the *chola* appears as an indigenous woman in her wide skirts and bowler hat. But when traveling to rural areas to buy goods or participate in festivals, she is seen as urban, fashionable, and well-to-do. In a context where racial categories are fluid and tied to economic class, residence, and clothing, *cholas* are able to move between social and economic positions.

Market women draw on reciprocal networks of kin and friends in order to establish themselves and be successful in the market. In Seligmann’s (2009) biography of Cuzco market women, she notes that as a young woman Lucre was able to parlay the friends of her deceased mother into providing her with small loans so that she could eventually occupy a permanent market stall. Once established as a vendor, she used her position to assist her own children and grandchildren, as well as younger market women. This is an example of a larger pattern. In cities such as La Paz, market women are often financially successful businesswomen, able to educate their children to work in professional fields that were closed to them. As identity has shifted over the last thirty years from a focus on class to a focus on ethnicity, new generations of indigenous women no longer feel that they must renounce indigeneity in order to attend college or be professionals. In Cochabamba, younger market women mix the business knowledge gained from their mothers with what they learn in formal university settings, without shedding their identity as *cholas* or urban indigenous women (Scarborough, 2010; Seligmann, 2004).

Marketplaces are also political spaces. Women vendors are organized into associations that protect their market interests—sometimes by excluding more informal market vendors—but also serve to organize them as political actors. Market vendor associations



Figure 16.2 Aymara artisans produce ceramics to sell to tourists, Tiawanku, Bolivia, 2004

Photo credit: Clare A. Sammells.

were major actors in events such as the “Water Wars” in Cochabamba that protested the privatization of the municipal water supply in 2000 and the “Gas Wars” of El Alto in 2003 (Gill, 2000; Shultz and Draper, 2009; Kohl and Farthing, 2013).

Marketplaces and market women were deeply affected by neoliberal economic policies of the 1980s and 1990s, and formed strong political resistance to those policies starting in the early 2000s. Under neoliberalism, employment became less stable and the informal economy (meaning those parts of the economy invisible to state mechanisms and therefore untaxed) expanded. Low-paid labor, such as ambulant vending and domestic work, became increasingly feminized, monotonous, grueling and underpaid (Ypeij, 2012; Goldstein, 2016).

Under these conditions, many Andean indigenous women turned to marketplaces as a source of informal employment. Many market women are economically successful, socially respected, and well-established, managing large amounts of capital and selling goods such as meat, electronics, and clothing. But markets have also absorbed increasing numbers of people in more precarious situations. Some manage small stocks of inventory such as tissues, batteries, or socks from handcarts or even what they can carry in their hands. While the bright lights of the city promise prosperity, the reality is that rural poverty—with some degree of self-sufficient agricultural production—is sometimes preferable to the worst of urban poverty. Nevertheless, the trend of rural-to-urban migration continues.

CONCLUSIONS

One of the major dilemmas facing ethnographers today is the complex relationship between economic systems and ethnic identities. The category of “indigenous” in the Andes is not merely a reference to those descended from populations present in the Americas before 1492, but also places groups within a hierarchical system of race, class, and economic activities that emerged in the colonial era (Seligmann, 1987; Mangan, 2005; Brockington, 2007). Indigenous peoples are seen as closer to the earth through their agricultural work, production and use of adobe bricks for their homes, use of ceramic cooking vessels, open sandals, and other factors (Orlove, 1998). These categories became naturalized as “racial” but, in reality, are flexible. Individuals who are born as “indigenous” but find themselves engaging in labor that is not identified as such—such as owning a store or being a teacher—often change their identity. While non-indigenous rural people may engage in some agriculture—keeping a small field for potatoes or raising a few pigs—their primary economic identity remains in their shops or restaurants. Agricultural labor is seen as iconic of and linked to indigeneity, even though many Andean indigenous peoples no longer live in rural spaces. Racial and ethnic categories are fluid and dynamic, in constant conversation with economic and political realities (Albro, 2005; Postero, 2006; Salman, 2009; Canessa, 2012; de la Cadena, 2015). This dynamism is evident in how indigenous identity is performed in daily life and in public ritual. Solstice celebrations held annually in Tiwanaku, Bolivia, for example, draw thousands of urban pilgrims to this rural space to perform indigeneity on the national stage (Sammells, 2012).

While drawing neat connections between the deep past and present is impossible and problematic, we can nevertheless see some threads that connect the Andes through ideals about reciprocity and kinship. The flexibility of these systems is what makes them impossible to trace neatly through history, but also what makes them powerful for adapting to, and challenging, economic disruptions and social changes.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

ANDEAN GODS AND CATHOLIC SAINTS

Indigenous and Catholic intercultural encounters



Iris Gareis

INTRODUCTION: RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTERS AND CULTURAL CHANGE

The Spanish conquest of the Andes brought two different religious systems into contact. Pre-Columbian Andean religions were polytheistic and inclusive, whereas Catholicism was characterized by its monotheistic and exclusive nature. Since for the Spaniards there could be only the one Christian god, Andean deities were seen as representations of demons. In contrast, the pre-colonial Inca Empire incorporated deities of subdued peoples into the pantheon of state religion. For Andean peoples, therefore, it was no contradiction to include the Christian god in their belief system and adore at the same time Catholic and their own supernatural beings. Another difference with the European religious system was the absence of “evil” as a moral category in Andean religions. Hence, the opposition of “good” and “evil,” so important in Christian thought, as well as the personification of evil in the figure of the devil did not make sense in the indigenous belief systems and raised many questions for Andean peoples.

At the same time, Andean religions shared some features with Catholicism, such as individual confession to a priest and a ritual communion resembling the celebration of the Eucharist. Furthermore, in both cultures, the early modern Spanish and the Andean, religion permeated every aspect of social and political life. Just as the Spanish king claimed to be installed by the grace of God, the Inca ruler declared himself to be the son of Inti, the sun god, and thus his representative on earth. Likewise, in both Spain and the Andes, divine law had to be observed and obligations towards the supernatural beings were expected to be met immediately, to avoid the wrath of the divine beings.

Parallels and differences characterizing Andean religions and Catholicism entailed diverse processes of change following the encounter of the two religious systems. Three centuries of Spanish colonial rule in the Andes, evangelization, and the concurrent repression of indigenous religions, eventually transformed Andean religiosity, giving way in parts to the adoption of Christian faith, but also to a variety of syncretistic forms. At one end of the spectrum, the encounter of Catholicism and Andean

religions resulted in the merging of the two religious traditions. At the other end, however, indigenous religious leaders sometimes successfully counteracted the labor of the missionaries and kept Andean religions alive.

ANDEAN GODS, THE DEVIL, AND THE COSMOLOGICAL ORDER

In 1532, when Francisco Pizarro and his men came to the Andes to conquer the Inca Empire, they interpreted the Andean religions according to their own belief system as “idolatry,” suggesting that the indigenous peoples adored “false gods.” Consequently, the first reports of the conquistadors addressed Andean cult centres as “mezquitas,” the Spanish word for mosques, while the Andean gods were considered to be “demons.” Representations of gods in the shape of animals and the remains of blood sacrifices which the Spaniards found in some temples seemed to confirm the demonic nature of the natives’ religions. As a result, the Andean cults were not only labeled as idolatry, but also identified as demonolatry, or adoration of the devil. The Spaniards’ assumption that the Andeans worshipped nothing but a host of demons demanded immediate repression of the natives’ cults, the destruction of the religious sites, and the punishment of indigenous priests. Although the Spaniards adduced the evangelization of the Andean peoples—according to the papal donation of rights of sovereignty to the Spanish crown—as justification of the conquest, during the early years of their presence in the Andes, the annihilation of Andean religions was obviously considered more important than the Christianization of the native population (Duviols, 1971, pp. 41–45; Gareis, 1987, pp. 217–218). At this time, even missionary expeditions focused on the destruction of indigenous religious sites, dedicating much less effort to evangelization. In 1562 royal official Ortiz de Zúñiga reported to the Spanish Crown with regard to an earlier campaign of a priest in the northern highlands that the result could at best be called superficial Christianization since, twenty years after the missionary’s visit, the local population was still lacking any knowledge of Catholic doctrine (Gareis, 1987, p. 371).

The obsession of conquistadors and missionaries with demons is, however, not surprising, given the omnipresence of the devil in the everyday life of early modern Spain. In fact, at this time the devil played an important role in the collective imagination of Europeans and was familiar to all layers of the society (Gareis, 2008, pp. 48–51). The exclusiveness of Christian thought, in which worship was due only to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin, and Catholic saints, but certainly not to supernatural beings of the culturally other, resulted in the Europeans’ conviction that the gods and spiritual beings worshipped by the Andean population were demons, emanations of the devil, whose aim was to lure the Amerindians to eternal damnation in the depths of hell (Duviols, 1971, pp. 29–33; MacCormack, 1991, pp. 232–241). As a result, preachers constantly admonished their native parishioners to resist the temptations of the devil because otherwise the sinners would suffer terrible consequences. To illustrate the eternal tortures in hell that awaited the unrepentant sinners, elaborate pictorial programs in Andean churches showed scenes from the Last Judgment. The devil was further depicted as a common character in secular drama or religious plays (*autos sacramentales*). He also frequently appeared in legends and folk tales (Gisbert, 1994, pp. 79–80; Gareis, 2008, pp. 55–59).

Paradoxically, the Spaniards' incessant endeavors to exorcise the devil from the Andes actually brought this European supernatural being to the Americas in the first place (Duviols, 1971, p. 29). However, the introduction of the devil posed several problems to Andean thought. To begin with, neither the notion of "evil" as a moral category, nor the devil as personification of evil, existed in Andean religions. Therefore, Andeans did not conceive their supernatural beings as good or evil: instead, according to their conception of complementary oppositions, the divine actions were rather seen as "good" or "not-good," "favorable" or "not-favorable" to their adherents. It is evident that in the Andean religious universe the devil as personification of evil made no sense and that the abstract concept of evil presented even more difficulties. There could not have been a greater contrast to the early modern European conception of the world as a battlefield of good and evil forces, personified in angels and devils fighting for human souls (Crickmay, 2008, pp. 25–26; Gareis, 2008, p. 56). Indigenous testimonies highlight the problems in incorporating the figure of the devil into the Andean pantheon. As late as 1771, the north Peruvian healer Juan de Atocha, who was accused of *hechicería* (similar to sorcery), declared in his confession "that the healing was done by art of the devil and therefore he believed that the devil took part in his healing sessions." But then he said "that he neither conjured the devil, nor had he ever seen him." As the ecclesiastical judge reprimanded Atocha for the obvious contradictions in his testimony, the healer explained that

it is true he called [. . .] the [spirits of the] mountains and winds who sometimes left their center and came to where the defendant was, but although he believed that this was done by art of the devil, he did not believe that it was him whom he saw and therefore he never saw him face to face [. . .]

(Autos criminales 1771, fols 20v–21r)¹

Although Juan de Atocha had obviously heard of the devil, the native healer did not identify the Andean deities (his spirit helpers) with the supernatural being introduced by the Spaniards. Other indigenous witnesses from North Peru gave detailed descriptions of the devil, mainly inspired by European iconography, but as in Juan de Atocha's confession, they were keen to distinguish the Andean supernatural entities from demons. These and numerous other indigenous testimonies suggest that the European iconography of demons had made its way into Andean thought, whereas even more than two hundred years after the Spanish conquest the role of the devil as personification of evil to many Andeans still remained rather mysterious (Gareis, 2008, pp. 47, 57). On the other hand, sometimes Andean people criticized colonial Spaniards for their obsession with the devil and superstitious beliefs. In 1818, Silveria Flores, an indigenous peasant, declared that the tenant who had denounced her as a sorceress saw the devil almost everywhere, believing that "even the deer in the mountains were demons" (Autos contra María Manuela Quispe 1818, fols 6v–7r).

It has to be noted, however, that the difficulties of perceiving the devil as personification of an abstract concept were similarly experienced by the majority of the Spanish colonial population. Confessions from sorcery trials of the Inquisition tribunal in Lima refer to the devil as just another supernatural being that can be conjured and manipulated for individual purposes, such as love magic, treasure hunting, or magical healing (Relaciones de procesos 1570–1580, fols. 86r–v, 103r–v).²

Along with the literal demonization of Andean deities and the introduction of the devil, a new cosmological order was established, one quite different from its Andean counterpart. Catholic cosmology attributed the celestial sphere to God, the saints, angels, and all the good forces. Hell was located in the interior of the earth, the realm of the devil, of all evil forces, and condemned human souls. Man's world on the earth's surface was at the same time the battleground for the forces of good and evil, angels and demons, struggling for human souls. By contrast, in Andean cosmology the interior of the earth was the residence of chthonic deities and bore no resemblance to hell. It was the place of Pachamama (Mother Earth), who supplied humans with plants and animals for their subsistence and could thus not be the realm of the devil and evil forces. The complete absence of hell as a space of terror in Andean cosmology marked the major difference to the European idea of the universe (Gareis, 1999b, p. 258).

Missionaries and priests therefore took special care in their sermons to make their indigenous parishioners aware of the terrible destiny which was awaiting unrepentant sinners after their death. Moreover, in 1584, a new catechism dedicated to the instruction of the Andean population was published in Lima. The authors emphasized the importance of addressing the topic of the Last Judgment to exhort the parishioners, but above all to show that everyone was equal before God. Paintings of the Last Judgment in indigenous parish churches illustrated the tortures of hell and the delight of the faithful in heaven (Gisbert, 2001, p. 113, pp. 207–209). Andean author Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala demanded in his book that in every indigenous church a painting of Doomsday should be placed, to urge the parishioners to live in a Christian way. In his extensive portrayal of Andean cultures, finished around 1615, he also offered model drawings of hell and heaven. Guaman Poma's "Ciudad del infierno" (City of Hell) shows the enormous head of a feline. Pitiless demons push crying sinners into the open jaws of the beast. But their tears are in vain; on top of the tiger the devil, or in Guaman Poma's words, "the prince of darkness," rejoices at the sight of so many newcomers to his realm (Guaman Poma, 1980, fol. 674, 936, 941; Figure 17.1).

Guaman Poma's perception of heaven and hell as "cities" highlights his knowledge of contemporary Spanish ideas. In early modern Spain paradise—the "city of God"—was frequently conceived as a huge and wealthy city with golden houses and wonderful gardens perfumed by the fragrance of exquisite flowers. The counterpart to this ideal community in heaven was the dark and stuffy "city of hell" (Martínez Gil, 1993, pp. 488–489, 490–495).

In the course of time, the devil became a well-known figure among the Andean population, but obviously his counterparts in the battle for human souls—the angels—were more popular. Paintings of angels were present in many Andean churches; through the sixteenth and seventeenth century workshops of native artists produced hundreds of such paintings commissioned by highland communities and the Andean nobility. At the end of the seventeenth century Andean artists even created a unique tradition depicting the seven archangels with a *harquebus* or musket. This "heavenly artillery" was dressed in the colorful lace-trimmed uniform of the viceroy's guard and represented the seven virtues ready to fight the seven vices personified in devils (Gisbert, 1994, pp. 86–88). The enthusiasm for these paintings suggests that angels had already been adopted as familiar supernatural beings in the Andean universe. In 1697, an

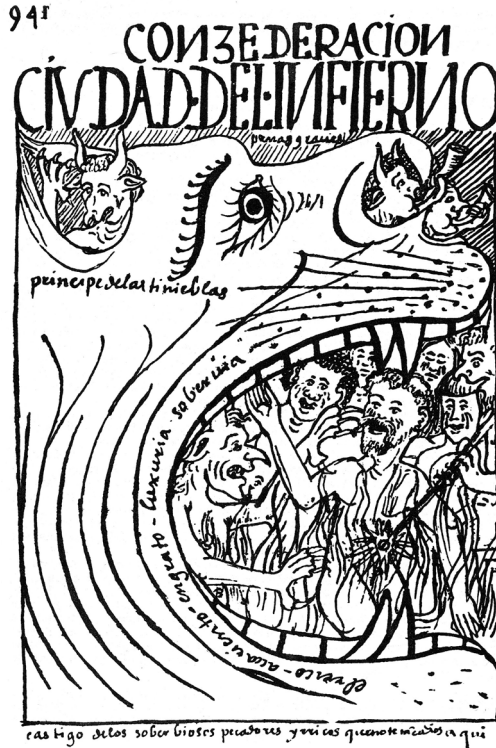


Figure 17.1 The mouth of hell in Guaman Poma's vision

Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, GKS 2232 4° [or "4to" or "quarto"]: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615, fol.94r).

idolatry trial against Juana Agustina, an aged healer of northern Peru, illustrates the popularity of angels with the indigenous population. Accused of having made a pact with the devil, Juana claimed that she had never conjured the devil, but rather had been elected as healer by a beautiful cherub with colorful wings; the angel introduced her to the profession and gave her the ability to heal (*Causa de hechicera*, 1697, fols 5v–9r). In this case, the cherub had assumed the position of spirit helper of the shamanic healer formerly occupied by Andean supernatural beings.

ANCESTORS, TUTELARY DEITIES, AND CATHOLIC SAINTS

In addition to the demonization of Andean gods, the introduction of the devil and his realm in the depths of earth involved serious consequences for the post mortal destiny of human souls. According to Catholic doctrine, only the souls of baptized Christians could hope to be saved and partake of the heavenly pleasures in the afterlife. This view excluded all pre-Columbian ancestors of Andean peoples from paradise, instead dooming them to eternal tortures in hell, since they had not heard the Gospel and

consequently died as heathens (Duviols, 1971, p. 290). In Andean thought, however, the ancestors played an essential role for the fertility of plants and consequently for the well-being of their descendants. The latter, therefore, took great care of the mummified bodies of the departed. In colonial times, they were hidden in remote areas, frequently kept in caves, and regularly received offerings from members of their family (Arriaga, 1968 [1621], cap. II, 203, cap. VIII, 222). The importance of the ancestors for the welfare of Andean peoples is emphasised by the term *malqui* (Q.) used to refer to the mummified bodies, and which also means “mummy” and “shoot” or “sprout” (González Holguín, 1952 [1608], p. 224). Thus, in Andean belief, malquis still participated in the life of their community, but in a sort of latent existence. According to indigenous testimonies it was necessary to “nourish” the ancestors with offerings of food and *chicha* (Q., maize-beer). Otherwise, they would get “hungry” and become very dangerous for their offspring (quoted in Duviols, 1986, pp. 87, 90, 143).

In historical sources the term “malqui” generally referred to immediate ancestors, whereas more distant, deified, or mythical progenitors were often named “*huaca*” in the same way as Andean deities localized in mountains or other natural phenomena were denominated. The notion “*huaca*” was used in Quechua as well as in Aymara language and comprised a broad semantic field associated with the term “sacred.” As was true of the malqui, the huaca were venerated for the vital energy they gave to human beings. They were responsible for the well-being of the group, fertility of the fields, and proliferation of domestic animals; in short, they provided everything necessary for the prosperity of their adherents (Arriaga, 1968 [1621], cap. II, pp. 201–205; Saignes, 1999, pp. 116–117; Gareis, 2005, pp. 121–122). In addition to these ethnic deities and supernatural beings, the sun, moon, and stars occupied privileged positions in the Andean pantheon. In the province of Cajatambo, for instance, they received offerings, but no temples or sites were dedicated for their worship. The stars and atmospheric deities, such as thunder and lightning or the rainbow, constituted the pan-Andean background for the local pantheon, in which malqui and huaca were of the utmost importance (Arriaga 1968 [1612], cap. II, 201; Gareis 2005, pp. 122–123).

Until the second half of the sixteenth century, Spanish authorities failed, however, to understand the complex organization of Andean religions and the interaction of the different religious levels in the former Inca state. The Spaniards’ distorted perception of the native religions was in part because their first encounters were mainly with members of the Inca elite or with priests of the great cult centers. Local cults and their less impressive religious sites remained mostly unnoticed until the beginning of the seventeenth century and their general features therefore persisted nearly unaltered as in pre-colonial times. Thus, the Spaniards were not only unaware of local religions, but their vision of Andean belief systems was also biased by the predominance of the Inca perspective. From the Inca point of view, the state religion was naturally the most important and occupied the highest rank, followed by the cults for pan-Andean gods. Early Spanish accounts of Andean religions, consequently, focus on Inca religion. Pan-Andean gods, such as Pachacamac, who played an important role for the Inca as well, were considered in the early Spanish reports, but local deities adored by the diverse ethnic groups of the Inca Empire—if mentioned at all—were neglected as “minor” supernatural beings or more often seen as “demons” (Salomon, 1991, pp. 4, 10–11; Gareis 2005, p. 116).

In the Inca hierarchical view of Andean religions, local deities were assigned a minor role. From the perspective of non-Inca ethnic groups, though, a different picture arises. Seen from a local perspective, the order of Andean religions was not hierarchical, but rather arranged in a concentric system. The inner and most important circle was reserved for local and ethnic deities, inextricably linked to the group's cultural identity. Pan-Andean gods occupied the next circle and the encompassing outer circle harbored the deities of the Inca state religion, represented by the sun god *Inti*. Although local groups included pan-Andean and Inca gods in their respective pantheons, their own ethnic deities were of the utmost significance for them. Usually considered as ancestors and creators of the local people, the well-being and continued existence of the whole group depended on these ethnic gods. This accounts for the much greater importance ethnic groups gave to local supernatural beings in comparison with the more distant pan-Andean and Inca gods. Accordingly, from a local or individual point of view, the hierarchical order of Andean deities was in a sense inverted, as pan-Andean and Inca gods venerated all over the empire and thus of greatest relevance on the level of the state religion, remained removed from the local group and neither played a major role in the religious festivities of the community, nor in everyday life (Gareis, 2005, pp. 137–138).

Because of the lesser relevance of the Inca state cult for the many non-Inca ethnic groups in the vast pre-colonial empire, it is evident that the initial Spanish policy of replacing Inca temples with Catholic churches and representations of Inca deities with statues of the Christian god or Catholic saints could not be entirely successful. Moreover, the fundamental importance of ethnic deities explains the persistence of local groups in defending their religions and concealing representations of gods, paraphernalia, and places of worship from the Spaniards.

One of the first reports on an Andean local cult delivered in 1560 by Augustinian missionaries from Huamachuco in northern Peru sheds light on the processes of religious change which took place as a consequence of attempts to eradicate the adoration of an important deity in the region. After more than a year of evangelization, one of their indigenous parishioners informed the friars of secret cults practiced in the province. Subsequently, the missionaries discovered a network of indigenous priests dedicated to the adoration of Apo Catequil. In pre-colonial times the oracle of Apo (“Apu” means Lord) Catequil attracted numerous pilgrims from distant regions. Not long before the arrival of the Spaniards, Apo Catequil's cult center was destroyed by the Incas because of an adverse prophecy.³ But as fast as the Inca troops were gone, the priests retrieved the vestiges of the broken image of the god from the river and built a new temple for Apo Catequil. It was only after the Spaniards conquered the region that the priests moved the image of the deity to a remote place. When the Augustinians finally detected what was left of Apo Catequil's statue, they ground up the stone and threw its dust into the river. Shortly afterwards a woman found a stone in her field, which was identified by an indigenous priest as a son of Apo Catequil. Subsequently, the offspring of the deity was worshipped as protector of the village. Not long afterwards, stones in other villages revealed themselves to be sons of the deity (*Relación de la religión*, 1992, pp. 8–10, 18–21).

Neither the Inca nor the Spanish attempts to put an end to the veneration of the Andean god were successful; nevertheless, the determination of the Augustinians to combat the “demon” made it impossible for the indigenous priests to carry on with

the cult of Apo Catequil as in the past. The Andean god was still remembered and venerated in his sons, but the cult had been fragmented into smaller local units. Evidently the priests of Apo Catequil had developed a strategy following the destruction of the site by the Inca, which they also employed when the Spaniards arrived in the province.

Similar strategies to keep local cults alive were reported for other Andean regions during the seventeenth century's campaigns to extirpate idolatry. The institution of the extirpation of idolatries was established in the archbishopric of Lima in 1610 following the alarming statement by highland parish priest Francisco de Avila that his indigenous parishioners were only superficially Christianized and secretly continued with their ancient "idolatry." Avila was appointed the first "visiting judge of idolatry" (*juez visitador de idolatría*) the same year; soon afterwards other priests were installed as *visitadores* by the archbishop of Lima (Duviols, 1971, p. 154ff., p. 202ff.). In the course of the seventeenth century several campaigns to eradicate the supposed "idolatry" of the Andean peoples were conducted by the archbishopric of Lima. Temples and religious sites were destroyed or converted into Catholic churches, idolaters punished, and the mummies of the ancestors (*malqui*) usually kept in caves outside the villages were burnt (Duviols, 1971; Gareis, 1987, pp. 382–393; Griffiths, 1998, pp. 47–56; Gareis, 2005, pp. 121–122).

In some regions, as in the province of Cajatambo, the repressive actions during the seventeenth-century campaigns to extirpate idolatry entailed a grim struggle for the mummified bodies between the local population and the ecclesiastical judges commissioned with the *visita* (inspection). While famous extirpators prided themselves on having burned hundreds of *malqui*, the Andean communities naturally tried—sometimes successfully—to conceal the mummies of their ancestors from them (Duviols, 1986, pp. 14, 53, 80; Gareis, 1999a, p. 242; Saignes, 1999, pp. 117–118). In a similar way, to avoid repression, the Andean parishioners hid representations of their gods by inserting them in the images of Catholic saints or in the wall of the church (Arriaga, 1968 [1612], cap. VIII, p. 223). Consequently, when the natives adored the saints at church, at the same time they prayed to their Andean gods. It may be assumed that the adoration of a native deity enclosed in the image of a saint in the course of time led to an overlapping of the two spiritual entities. Hence, the strategy of continuing the cult of their ancestors and tutelary deities under the veil of Christian service gradually fostered syncretism and sometimes even the fusion of Andean and Catholic supernatural beings. In the case of syncretism and fusion, several Catholic saints, such as Saint James, as well as the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ, and the patron saints of villages, achieved great importance in native religiosity. The "Christian huacas," as Catholic saints were soon called, eventually merged with Andean tutelary deities as the native parishioners considered them to be manifestations of the sacred in the same way as their ancient gods. As Andean ancestors or tutelary deities did in pre-colonial times, Catholic saints assumed an important role for the well-being of the community (Marzal, 1988, pp. 184, 203–210).

SYNCHRONIZING THE SACRED

In the second half of the sixteenth century missionaries intensified their endeavors and also gave more attention to the study of Andean religions in order to conceive

appropriate tools for the evangelization of the native population. Special efforts were dedicated to the Catholic education of the children and to the translation of the catechism as well as of other religious texts into native languages (Marzal, 1988, pp. 187–190). Many of these publications originated from the Third Council of Lima celebrated in 1582–1583 following the guidelines of the Council of Trent. It marked the beginning of a renewed fervor among Peruvian ecclesiastics of evangelizing the Andeans and a period of relative consolidation of the Catholic doctrine and teaching (Estenssoro Fuchs, 2003, p. 10). It has to be noted, however, that still in 1614 Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, the archbishop of Lima, complained in a letter to the king about the poor language skills the majority of parish priests had in Andean tongues. According to the archbishop, the priests of the indigenous communities neglected their duties completely and instead spent all the time engaging in their private economic interests (Gareis, 1987, pp. 373–376).

It is obvious that not all methods of evangelization and measures taken by the colonial ecclesiastical and royal administration proved to be successful, but there were also positive examples. As Catholic saints were in many regions adopted by the indigenous population and sometimes even merged with Andean supernatural beings, the sodalities, usually dedicated to a saint, the Virgin or Christ, introduced in the early colonial period soon became extremely popular with the native parishioners (Meyers, 1988, pp. 8–9). First of all, the brotherhood was an organization of individuals dedicated to the cult of a religious image, but it also engaged in mutual help and charity of the members. Obviously, as a reaction to the enormous proliferation of brotherhoods in Peru, the ecclesiastical administration decreed in 1551 that no new sodalities should be established until they had received an explicit license from the archbishop or bishop (Marzal, 1988, pp. 404–405).

As was true of the cult centers dedicated to huacas in the pre-colonial era, each brotherhood had its own land and livestock and an autonomous administration (Marzal, 1988, pp. 403–404). The attractiveness of brotherhoods resided in the protection and support they offered their members in difficult individual situations, as well as a sense of security conveyed by the affiliation to a social group. In much the same way as pre-Columbian huacas cared for the adherents to their cult, the members of the brotherhood considered “their saint” to be protector of their fellowship and their relationship with the spiritual being as a reciprocal one. On the corporately owned land the brotherhood produced crops in order to pay for candles, offerings, and the worship of the saint. Most sodalities had a mixed membership of women and men, but there also existed sisterhoods, such as the sodality dedicated to the Virgin of Monserrat in mid-seventeenth century Andahuaylillas (the Cusco region of southern Peru). It was composed of indigenous unmarried women and resembled a pre-colonial institution responsible for the cult of a local deity. In contrast to other sodalities, the membership in this case was not permanent. Once the women got married, they would leave the sisterhood of Monserrat and join another of the local sodalities (Hopkins, 1988, pp. 184–188).

New sodalities were usually founded by the parish priest, since he composed the charter with the governing statutes and a list of members’ obligations, especially the payment of the priest, offerings, and everything necessary for the worship of the respective saint. Furthermore, the priests of indigenous parishes exerted an influence on the selection of the officials, whereas sodalities of Spanish, mestizos, or people of

African descent were usually not subject to clerical control in choosing their officials. As the sodalities provided part of the priest's salary and their offerings, enhancement of the saint's chapel and other services contributed to the prosperity of the local church, the clerics supported the foundation of religious brotherhoods. While material interest might have prevailed in some of the parish priests, the colonial authorities fostered brotherhood organizations because of their enculturative functions (Hopkins, 1988, pp. 184–185; see Figure 17.2).

Andeans had their own diverse reasons for joining a religious brotherhood. Whether it made sense to them because of parallels with the former worship of Andean deities, or because they were fervent Catholics, in any case it was important to obtain the protection of the saints. Therefore, individuals became frequently members of various sodalities. In 1686, for instance, an indigenous tribute payer of a village near Lima declared in his testament that he was a member of five brotherhoods (Canchaleque, 1686, fs. 11–14). A further incentive to join a sodality might have been the possibility of being chosen for an office in the organization, thus attaining power and reputation. In this way the sodalities contributed to the Christianization of the

919



Figure 17.2 Andean author Guaman Poma highlights the good order and Christianity of indigenous sodalities

Courtesy of the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, GKS 2232 4° [or “4to” or “quarto”]: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615, fol. 919).

Andean population, but at the same time they offered an opportunity for indigenous agency and self-empowerment even for *hatun runa* (ordinary tribute payers).

In the Andean communities the *caciques* or ethnic lords (called *kuraka* in Quechua) often occupied the highest rank in the confraternities. Their role as mediators between the indigenous community and the colonial authorities enabled them to accumulate offices in the religious realm as well as in the colonial administration. As cultural brokers the *kuraka* were, however, in a difficult position. It was their duty to ensure that the members of their community regularly visited the Catholic services and observed the commandments of the church, but as in precolonial times they also played an important part in Andean religious ceremonies. In particular, their functions in public rituals for ancestors and *huaca* made them vulnerable to idolatry accusations. On the other hand, they also occupied a prominent position in Catholic festivities. A series of oil paintings from about 1675, for example, shows the indigenous political authorities of the former Inca capital Cusco as protagonists of the Corpus Christi procession (Dean, 1999, pp.2, 63–64, 79). Most of the *kuraka* did fairly well in mastering the Spanish as well as the Andean cultural code fulfilling at the same time their obligations to Andean gods and Catholic saints (Millones, 1995, pp. 104–106, 131–137).

CONCLUSION: CONVERGING RELIGIOUS CULTURES IN THE COLONIAL ANDES

Intercultural encounters occurred more frequently and with greater intensity in urban centres than in rural regions, but even in smaller villages the different ethnic and socio-cultural groups constantly interacted with each other in everyday life. These continuous contacts triggered a mutual rapprochement of Andean and Catholic religious thought and practice. Not only did Andeans adopt the Catholic veneration of saints, but also Spaniards and descendants of Africans consulted Amerindian oracles and worshipped *huaca*. In 1541, for instance, a Spaniard living in the highlands informed Francisco Pizarro of a premonition expressed by the local *huaca* that the life of the governor was in danger. The Spaniard wrote that he himself had heard the oracle of the Andean deity and was convinced it had to be taken seriously (Estenssoro Fuchs, 2003, p. 18).

While practicing magic or participating in religious ceremonies, people of Andean, Spanish, and African descent mutually adopted elements of each other's culture. Colonial Spanish and Africans were, for example, using coca leaves or psychoactive and medical plants from Andean pharmacopeia, such as the San Pedro cactus, in healing or divination rituals. The trial records of the Inquisition offer plenty of evidence of the cross-cultural use of coca leaves as well as of indigenous practices employed by colonial Spanish and African magicians. Particularly in the urban centers of the colony, magical rituals such as propitiatory, healing or divination rites, brought people from different ethnic sectors and layers of society together. Since they all shared the idea that the protection of supernatural beings was essential for their well-being and that illnesses or misfortune originated in harmful magic, religious and magical rituals provided a space for communication among members of the different ethnic groups. The resulting interreligious dialogue fostered the merging of the diverse religious traditions into new hybrid forms, but the elements

adopted from their ethnic segments were not chosen at random. Rather, each group incorporated those elements that made sense in their own religious or magical system. As a consequence, especially in colonial cities, popular cultures of knowledge gradually emerged, which incorporated ideas on religion and magic of the different socio-cultural sectors involved.

The cult of the Lord of Miracles (Señor de los Milagros) in Lima or the Virgin of Copacabana, as well as many other pre-colonial religious sites converted into Christian sanctuaries, show that the intercultural encounters did not just provoke a paralleling or juxtaposition of two separate religions; rather, the adoption of Andean to Catholic ritual or vice-versa often eventually led to a synthesis of the different ethnic religious systems.

NOTES

- 1 Translations from Spanish are courtesy of author.
- 2 There is plenty of evidence for this perception of the devil in the Inquisition reports. See, for example, *Relaciones de procesos*, 1587–1599, Libro 1028, fols 502r–503r. The Lima tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition was installed in 1570, but it had no jurisdiction over the indigenous population (Duviols, 1971, pp. 217–218).
- 3 Two historical traditions report the event. According to the younger one, transmitted by Jesuit Father Arriaga [1621] and Augustinian Antonio de la Calancha [1638], Inca Huayna Capac destroyed the site, furious as he learned that the oracle became famous and wealthy because it had accurately prognosticated the death of his father (Arriaga, 1968 [1612], cap. II, p. 203; Gareis, 1987, pp. 191–192). Older historical sources from the sixteenth century claim that the last Inca ruler Atahualpa destroyed the religious site, since the oracle had wrongly predicted that his half-brother Huascar would win the battle for the Inca throne (Gareis, 1987, pp. 192–196).

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

EVANGELICALISM IN THE RURAL ANDES



Guillermo Salas Carreño

Evangelicalism has spread across the Andes since around the 1960s but has very notably grown since the 1980s, as Pentecostalism has similarly done across the world, a truly global phenomena (Poewe, 1994; Martin, 2002; Robbins, 2004). Below, I present some aspects of the Evangelical presence in the rural Andes by focusing on cases located in Quechua-speaking communities of the southern Peruvian Andes—particularly the community of Hapu (Cuzco)—while making brief references to relevant literature from cases in Bolivia and Ecuador. The dominant term that both broader society as well as converts themselves use to refer to their churches is *Iglesias Evangélicas*. Although in other areas of the world the rapid spread of similar churches is clearly associated and analyzed in terms of Pentecostalism, most of the Latin American academic literature frames these churches as Evangelical. This is the case even though some of these churches are primarily Pentecostal, while others are Evangelical but have been influenced to differing degrees by Pentecostalism (Andrade, 2004; Robbins, 2004; Smilde, 2007). Nevertheless, there are good historical reasons for the preponderant use of “Evangelical” in the Latin American academic literature.

Evangelicalism emerged in the eighteenth century from the Anglo-American revival movement known as the Great Awakening. Evangelicalism can be characterized by “*conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *Biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism” (Bebbington, 1988, pp. 2–3, emphases in original) Evangelicals are committed to the orthodoxy of the Protestant Reformation and tend to be culturally, politically, and theologically conservative (Sweeney, 2012). Pentecostalism evolved from Evangelicalism in the early twentieth century; it can be briefly characterized by the “foursquare gospel,” or four core theological ideas: Jesus baptizes with the Holy Spirit, which happens when it enters the person, taking hold of his or her life; Jesus offers salvation; Jesus heals the faithful who truly trust him; and the second coming of Jesus will happen soon (Dayton, 1987).

While Evangelical missionaries and churches have been present in the Andean highlands since the late nineteenth century, its marked expansion coincides with the

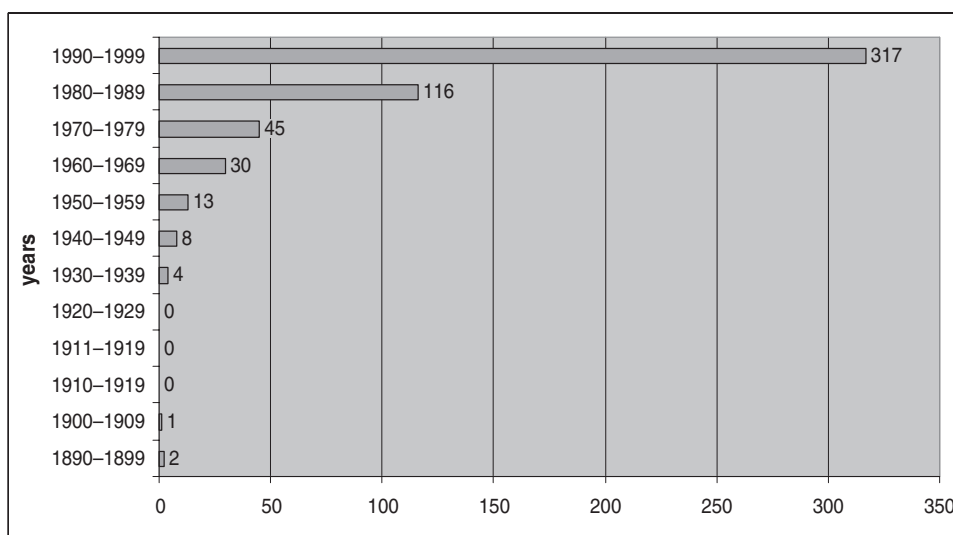


Figure 18.1 Number of Evangelical organizations (churches, missions, associations) according to Ecuador's Ministerio de Gobierno (1896–1999)

Data source: Andrade, 2004, pp.329–360.

expansion of Pentecostalism in the 1980s, as can be seen in Figure 18.1 of Evangelical organizations over time in Ecuador.

The expansion of Evangelical churches in the rural highlands includes some Pentecostal churches, and many Evangelical ones have been tinted by Pentecostalism. However, most of these churches do not include Pentecostal practices such as speaking in tongues or falling into ecstasy during services. The expansion of Evangelicalism can be appreciated in the Peruvian National Censuses: The percentage of Evangelicals was 5.2 percent of the population in 1981, 6.8 percent in 1993, and 12.5 percent in 2007 (INEI, 1982, 1994, 2008). The presence of evangelical converts is strongest in rural areas, which constituted 16 percent of the population in 2007 (INEI, 2008). See Table 18.1 and Figure 18.2.

Table 18.1 Rural and urban Catholics and Evangelicals in Peru

<i>Population</i>	<i>Religious affiliation</i>	<i>1993</i> (%)	<i>2007</i> (%)
Urban	Catholic	90.3	82.3
	Evangelical	5.5	11.5
Rural	Catholic	85.7	77.9
	Evangelical	10.3	15.9
Total	Catholic	89.0	81.3
	Evangelical	6.8	12.5

Data source: INEI, 1994, 2008.

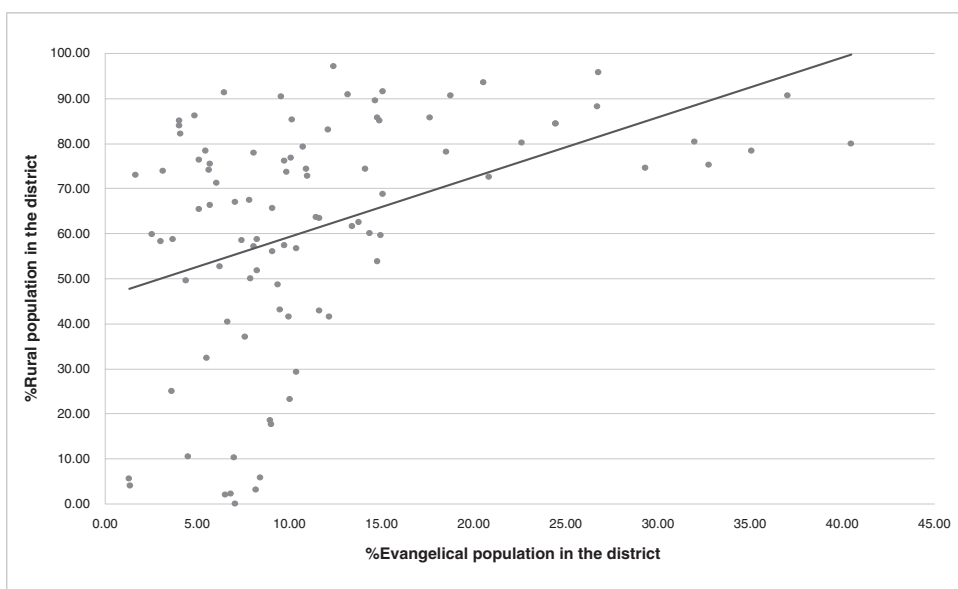


Figure 18.2 Correlation between evangelical population and rural population in 93 Andean districts of Cuzco (2007)

Data source: INEI, 2008.

This pattern is more evident when examined at the district level for highland Andean departments.¹ In 2007 Evangelicals comprised 11 percent of the population in the department of Cuzco, but at the Andean district level this percentage ranged from 40.5 percent (Huancarani) to 1.3 percent (Yucay) (INEI, 2008).² This variation correlates with rurality; that is, the more rural a district, the more Evangelical.³ While this is a widespread pattern in the southern Peruvian Andes, it should not be assumed to be homogeneously present throughout the Andean highlands. Van Vleet (2011) found in Potosí (Bolivia) that those who converted to Evangelicalism were migrants that had left the rural community for urban or lowland regions, while the Catholics who remained in the community were seen as “tied to a supernatural landscape.” Canessa (1998) presents a similar panorama for the Bolivian northern highlands, claiming that Evangelicalism is “most prevalent in areas of greatest contact with the metropolitan culture.”

During the 1980s, the rapid expansion of Evangelical churches in the Andean highlands started to fill the vacuum left by a steady decline in the presence of Catholic priests in rural communities. This decline was a slow and long process that took place in the twentieth century but had started even earlier. From the 1970s, some Catholic parishes attempted to halt the decline through the training of local catechists (Orta, 2004). At that time, the Andean Catholic Church was embracing liberation theology and the theology of inculturation. The former, founded by the Peruvian theologian and priest Gustavo Gutiérrez, is “an interpretation of the Christian faith out of the suffering, struggle, and hope of the poor”

(Berryman, 1987, p. 6). The latter is an effort to “celebrate and incorporate cultural difference within a universal frame of Christian identity” (Orta, 2004, p.3). This involved embracing indigenous practices—some of which only a decade before were framed as idolatrous superstitions—“as culturally specific expressions of universal Christian meaning” (Orta, 2004, p.3). When Evangelicalism started to grow in the rural areas, the scarcity of Catholic priests contrasted with the relative ease with which Evangelical pastors emerged from local communities. While Evangelicals framed indigenous practices as idolatrous and thus condemned them because of their literalist interpretation of the Bible, Catholic priests, embracing what became known as the theology of inculturation, were attempting to incorporate indigenous practices within canonical Catholic practices. Seen from Evangelical perspectives, these practices, as well as those involving images of saints, were clearly idolatrous. Additionally, the direct access to the Bible promoted by Evangelical churches contrasted with what Evangelicals pointed out as a self-interested concealment of it by Catholic priests. Why did the Catholic priests keep God’s words just for themselves? Why did they not rely on the Bible instead of participating in idolatrous practices?

While many Evangelical churches began their presence in the Andes animated by foreign missionaries, the vast majority now have local leadership. Some of these churches are huge, with a presence in all Andean countries and are part of global organizations such as The Assemblies of God.⁴ Established in 1919, *Las Asambleas de Dios del Perú* currently has approximately 6,000 local congregations across the country, including those that carry out their services in Quechua, Aymara, and some Amazonian languages (LADP, 2017). There are also large national churches such as the *Iglesia Evangélica Peruana* that traces its origins to the arrival of English missionaries in the 1880s. As early as 1897, two English missionaries established a church in Cuzco. By 1919 they had a first synod of churches of the Central Peruvian Andes Synod and in 1930, held one for the Southern Peruvian Andes. Currently the *Iglesia Evangélica Peruana* is well represented among local churches across the Andes (IEP, 2017).

There are also smaller churches that do not have a national reach, such as the *Iglesia Evangélica Maranata* with a presence in two Andean and one Amazonian departments of Southern Peru: Cuzco, Puno and Madre de Dios (this church is found in Hapu, a Quechua-speaking community of Cuzco where I conducted fieldwork⁵). It was founded in 1975 in the Amazonian city of Puerto Maldonado by the Swiss Mission of Evangelical Cooperation. Soon after, it started to expand into the neighboring highlands of Cuzco and Puno. By 2009 it had more than 240 established and self-sustaining churches distributed across Madre de Dios, Cuzco, and Puno. The Maranata Theological Seminary of Minister Training is located in Cuzco city, and also has training facilities in Huancarani, Paucartambo, Ocongate (Cuzco), Puerto Maldonado and Mazuko (Madre de Dios). It has connections with three international organizations: the Global University;⁶ the Messianic Jewish Biblical Institute;⁷ and the Betel Ministry for Latin America.⁸ The *Zonal Church* of Tinki—which coordinates fifty local churches in three districts—has jurisdiction over the church established in the community of Hapu (Salas Carreño, 2012).

As these examples show, these heterogeneous Evangelical churches are part of transnational networks that give them access to information and materials, and foreign pastors often make visits to urban centers. While there is a hierarchical

organization between local churches and zonal ones—the latter coordinate and oversee several local ones – the local churches enjoy high levels of autonomy.

Usually there is more than one Evangelical church in a town and even in a small rural community. While they usually have only slight differences in theology and practices, the presence of two or more churches results sometimes in conflicts in recruiting new adepts and in converts switching periodically from one church to another (Pærregaard, 1994).

CONVERSIONS AND RECONVERSIONS

The histories of the arrival of Evangelicalism to rural communities tend to display a relatively clear pattern. They start with the return of a person or a couple who, because they have been living in another community or town where there was already a church, converted to Evangelicalism. Migration is crucial in the spread of Evangelicalism (Pærregaard, 1994; Van Vleet, 2011). The ways in which the initial converts articulate with their community are also crucial for the spread of the new faith.

As Spier (1995) has shown for one community in Cuzco, when just one individual converts to Evangelicalism, he or she faces serious problems trying to carry out agricultural work. Spier shows how Evangelicals' refusal to consume and offer alcohol and coca leaves hindered their ability to arrange cooperative groups crucial for some agricultural tasks in the Andes (on the importance of cooperative groups in Andean agriculture see Mayer, 2002). The consumption and offerings of alcohol and coca leaves are considered basic acts of consideration and respect, not only between humans, but also between humans and agentive places (Allen, 2002). This sparked the resistance of the spouses of recent converts worried about the future of their children's social networks. The convert household needs to work hard in order to convince some others for their conversion to be viable in the community (Spier, 1995). While Evangelical churches stress individual salvation, conversion to Evangelicalism in the rural Andes cannot be an individual project. Evangelical converts necessarily have to construct some levels of cooperation and hence communalism in order to remain in their rural communities.

The first converted household has to make a strong effort in order to convert the other households of their cooperative group, which are usually those of their close relatives. If that becomes impossible or only partially successful then it has to convert other households to form a viable new group of cooperation. These initial times are narrated as very difficult period when the Catholic majority mocked and despised them. Often one of the first converts is a charismatic leader that becomes the pastor after acquiring some theological training in an urban center where the church has a strong presence. After a first group of cooperation constituted by related converted households was firmly established in Hapu in the early 1990s, the growth of conversions kept pace, following kinship ties related to residence. By 2007, just over half of the Hapu households had become Maranata. The distribution of Catholic and Maranata households in the three Hapu sectors can be clearly seen in Table 18.2:

Crucial in the spread of conversions in Hapu were charismatic leaders of relatively wealthier households. These leaders had usually successfully served the community in positions of authority and before the Evangelical presence; they also tended to be *paqu*, people knowledgeable in mediating human relations with powerful places

Table 18.2 Distribution of Hapu households according to self-ascribed religious affiliation (2008)

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Maranata</i>	<i>Total</i>
Yanaruma	25	0	25
Quchamarka	1	32	33
Raqch'i	9	7	16
TOTAL	35	39	74

Data source: Author's fieldwork, 2008.

owners of fertility and life (Allen, 2002; Salas Carreño, 2016). Those households that were dependent on borrowing a wealthier household's sheep to put manure on their fields could not easily sever their ties with them. Hence, the conversion of a charismatic leader influenced the conversion of his clientele. This was not just economic calculation, but also involved the influence of the leader's charisma and the evidence of non-human blessing: large herds and good harvests indexed the favorable relationship with powerful places in the case of Catholic leaders, or God's blessing in the case of Maranata ones.

It is important to stress that these conversions are not necessarily unidirectional processes from Catholic to Evangelical. Many Hapu households have reconverted back to what they consider Catholicism, which involves the practices that mediate their relations with sentient places. While by the early 2000s almost all the Yanaruma households had converted to Evangelicalism, they came back to Catholicism in 2005. This process was triggered by the illness of three people who were young, strong, and belonged to the families of two young Yanaruma leaders. These three eventually died, although all the converts were praying for their health and recovery. According to some versions, the pastor discouraged the relatives from giving complex food-offerings to powerful places that might have been causing the illnesses. The illnesses might have been these places' punishment for having stopped regularly giving them food after conversion. Thus, the relatives saw the deaths as evidence of the worthlessness of Maranata practices when facing the anger of powerful places. The young age of those who had died reinforced the certainty that this was the way that the places were punishing them. The relatives quit the church and strongly criticized it and its pastor. All Yanaruma households reverted to Catholicism. The renewed commitment of Yanaruma people to the practices that mediate their relation with the places also was encouraged by foreign visitors who had an interest in what they saw as "indigenous spirituality" tinted with environmentalism and who were strong critics of Evangelicalism (Salas Carreño, 2012).

These reconversions are not exclusive to Hapu. Pærregaard (1994), discussing the case of a small town in Arequipa, claims that these returns to Catholicism were tied to ways in which Evangelicalism threatened converts' local identity through preventing them from participating in communal festivities. After some time, these persons tend to join a different Evangelical church present in town. In other cases, after an initial period in which Evangelicalism is a relative novelty, the membership in these churches can show a strong decline when it is well established and has become part

of the routine, as reported by De la Piedra (2010) for Uripata (Cuzco). In still other cases, members' attendance at services, their refusal to participate in customary indigenous practices, and their rejection of alcohol and coca become lax, as for example in the community of Ocoruro (Cuzco) (Salas Carreño, 2010).

MORAL SUPERIORITY, HIERARCHY, AND PROGRESS

Maranata converts in Hapu used to mention economic reasons for converting. As is true of many other celebrations across the Andes, Hapu communal celebrations involved a distribution of households' accumulation of resources—obtained through agricultural and seasonal migration work—associated with the creation of status and the reproduction of the community. By refusing to participate in these celebrations, converts to Evangelicalism did not have to endure the economic burden of communal festivities. Some scholars, as a result, have foregrounded economic motivations as a primary reason for Evangelical conversion in the Andes (Barreda, 1993; Cárdenas, 1997; Olson, 2006). However, these economic explanations are only one aspect of broader and more important moral issues.

Conversion narratives, in Hapu and elsewhere, tend to be brief and clearly patterned: Before, there was drunkenness, domestic violence, and parental irresponsibility. After conversion, there is no more drunkenness, no more violence, but rather a better life. This fragment of a conversation with Nicolás, one of the first converts, who was in his late thirties in 2008, is a good example:

I become Maranata in order to honor Christ. Before, I wasn't a good man. I used to be drunk and to fight. I abandoned myself in drunkenness. I abandoned my children and my wife. Hence, the gospel, God's commands, came to me. That drunkenness wasn't good. People in drunkenness are finished. When I listened to these words, when I paid attention to this gospel, I received Christ's directions. Since then, I have never gotten drunk again, not once. I neither beat my children nor my wife. Now I live well.⁹

Conversion narratives are usually characterized by a radical rupture with the past marked by an encounter with a transcendent agent. The past of moral degradation and enslavement to vices is left behind for a life of moral improvement and an awakening from the darkness of ignorance and sinful life (Meyer, 1998; Schieffelin, 2002; Robbins, 2007). As Keane (2007) points out, the moral narrative of secular modernity and the narrative of religious conversion are structurally similar. "[T]he past, in the narrative of religious conversion as much as in that of secular modernity, is the world of alien gods and those who maintain relations with them" (Keane, 2007, p. 131). Maranata claims of moral superiority are similar to those who see themselves as "modern." The hierarchical opposition between modern/traditional becomes coupled with the opposition Maranata/Catholic. Through such narratives, Hapu converts make claims of moral superiority in relation to Hapu Catholics who, we must assume, by cultivating Q'ero practices, are lost in drunkenness, beat their partners, and live a morally perilous life.¹⁰

This attitude is coupled with efforts to improve their material conditions with an emphasis on improving their house and keeping it clean, as well as investing in their children's education, and thus to bettering their living conditions. Living well

according to the gospel is an important way to ensure salvation (De la Piedra, 2010). This emphasis on improving their situation makes Evangelicals interested in and open to development projects (Cárdenas, 1997; Olson, 2006), and their celebration of individual salvation also fits well the neoliberal ethos of individual solutions for social problems that have been present, in different ways, in all Andean countries (Wightman, 2007; Elisha, 2008; Van Vleet, 2011). Hence, Andean Evangelicalism fits relatively well within Weber's (1958) argument about the role of the Protestant ethic in the emergence of capitalism. Given the voluntary participation in Evangelical churches and the local origin of pastors, Andean Evangelicalism also fits well in Weber's (1946) elaboration regarding the "Protestant sects" of the United States, particularly in the articulation of networks beyond the locality through assumptions of trustworthiness.

As Maranatas look down on Catholics, similar moral judgments run in the opposite direction. Catholics deploy a criticism that is common in many contexts of conflict with Evangelical converts (Smilde 2007; Magny 2009): Evangelicals cannot live up to the standards they proclaim. Isabel, who attended some Maranata services after which she decided to remain Catholic, expresses this:

Guillermo (G): Are the Maranatas good? Aren't they?

Isabel (I): They aren't good.

G: Why not?

I: They don't comply with what they say. They don't comply with God our father. It is hard to serve him. Not to get drunk; not to say bad things. They don't follow those rules. They don't like their fellow human beings. Because of that they aren't blessed.

G: Really?

I: Yes. That is why their animals aren't blessed. If they had complied with God, he would have given them animals, food, and money.

Similar opinion is expressed by Demetrio who was a former Yanaruma Maranata convert:

They prayed for a while but then they forgot that. Within the church they have said good things, right? But when they get out they are talking about others, about this one, about that one. [. . .] This one is drinking. That one is walking with another woman. That one is speaking. That is not to be Maranata. For me that is totally wrong.¹¹

For Demetrio, Maranata people are not just victims of unachievable moral standards. They are also hypocrites who pray inside the church and, once outside, they criticize each other. This kind of criticism, voiced mainly by former converts who have left the church, is powerful because they claim to know what it is to be Maranata first hand. It is also the case that not all converts live exemplary lives, removed from any consumption of alcohol, coca leaves, or other behavior they describe as sinful. I participated in several family rituals attended by Maranatas whose relatives invited them to imbibe insistently and who ended up as drunk as anybody else.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL WORLDS

Alcohol and coca

To refuse to drink alcohol in the Andes is to refuse social engagement, as alcohol consumption is deeply related to family and communal rituals. Drinking on ritual occasions is almost mandatory and it is expected that participants end up inebriated (Harvey, 1991; Huarcaya, 2003; Castillo, 2015). Allen (2002, pp. 219–220; see also Pérez Galán 2004, p. 120) points out that the introduction of cheap (and poisonous) industrial alcohol since the 1980s has provoked damaging effects, including higher levels of alcoholism and deaths by alcohol poisoning, thus fueling the embrace of Evangelicalism.

Alcohol consumption as well as coca chewing follow etiquette that involves sharing them with the places before consuming them (Allen, 2002). The strong association of this etiquette with ritual practice makes Maranata criticism of alcohol and coca consumption linked to a criticism of Q'ero practices, which are condemned as idolatrous adoration of saints' images and places, that is, of the devil. In the words of Toribio:

Why is it said that coca is bad? They always offer food to this world with coca. So, this world, the mountains, the lands, the springs, the prairies are always greeted with coca. [. . .] Coca is the dish of the evil spirit. [. . .] That evil spirit exists in this world and tempts people in many different ways [. . .] It is not good to offer food to this world. The custom, the dances, those attentions to idols, and the adoration of idols; that is not good [. . .] We are safe following the Bible. That is why we no longer chew coca.

Exodus 20:3–5 is a key text in Maranata discourse used against indigenous practices as well as against worshipping Catholic images: “Do not have other gods but me. Do not make any idol or any resemblance of what is in the world above, or any resemblance of what is inside the earth or in the water. Do not bow to them and do not worship them” (SBP, 2004, p. 91)¹². Combined with Revelations 21:8, this passage is used against the practice of food-offerings for the powerful places: “But cowards, unbelievers, those who are shameless, murderers, those who commit dirty sins, *layqakuna*, idolaters and all liars will be thrown into the burning lake of flames and sulfur” (SBP, 2004, p. 400). *Layqakuna* refers to people knowledgeable in giving food-offerings to places with the aim of harming other human beings.

The prohibition on consuming alcohol and coca leaves provides two grounds for Maranatas' moral superiority. On the one hand, alcohol is associated with sins such as domestic violence; on the other, alcohol and coca are deeply associated with practices that are framed as acts of worshipping idols and thus the devil.

While Maranatas condemn all practices that honor the places, they do not challenge their personhood. Rather they portrait these beings as aligned with Satan. They regard God's power as greater than that of the places. Hence, if they are on good terms with God, the places cannot harm them. In contrast with other contexts in which Evangelical conversion is analyzed as inherently destructive of indigenous worlds (see Rohr, 1997 for Ecuador), conversions in Hapu do not entail an ontological challenge but rather a realignment of human allegiances with non-human agents.

Similar scenarios are implicit in observations of Evangelical conversions in other Quechua communities (Allen, 2002, p. 227; Pérez Galán, 2004, p. 121). Swanson (1994) elaborates on how Evangelical conversions in highland Ecuador entail an internal development of indigenous worlds and an adoption of Evangelicalism in indigenous terms.¹³

For converts that have engaged in coca chewing for years, the association between coca and the places as well as the appreciation for the taste of coca leaves is inscribed in their habitus. Several Maranata converts told me that sometimes they miss chewing coca, but their consumption reminds them of the places.

Communal celebrations

Evangelicals' condemnation of alcohol consumption and coca leaf chewing goes together with their refusal to participate in communal celebrations of patron saints or Carnival. Several Maranata converts told me how, as part of their conversion, they had to burn their musical instruments, dancing costumes, and other regalia needed for communal celebrations.

Due to Evangelical conversion in Hapu the communal system of staff bearers (*varayuyq*)¹⁴ mainly responsible for carrying out the celebrations of the rainy season (associated with Carnival and Easter) has broken down. The community-wide Carnival celebrations have not taken place in the community since 2007. Only Yanaruma, the totally Catholic sector, kept celebrating these festivities in their sector but refused to carry it out in the community's center. Catholics accuse Maranatas of having destroyed not only these rituals but also the communal spirit that was reproduced through them. The Yanaruma attitude of carrying out their own festivities also has provoked the resentment of the Catholics of Raqch'i who do not participate in Yanaruma's festivities. In Demetrio's words:

Before, how was the community! Peaceful! We lived well. We had our festivities in Hatun Hapu. We all got together there. We ate and drank *chicha* (maize beer). Then, we were happy. But now, nothing! The Maranatas have wasted it all.¹⁵

The case of Hapu is one of strong conflict and opposition between Catholics who have strong allegiance to their practices that mediate their relations with powerful places and the Maranata who voice particularly strong condemnations of those practices (see Huarcaya, 2003 for the Ecuadorian Andes). Many other communities that have a significant Evangelical presence do not show such strong conflict and have reshaped the practices honoring the places in such a way that Evangelical converts continue participating in them. Allen (2002) describes how in many rituals that mediate the relationship between humans and places in Sonqo (Cuzco), the Evangelical converts have replaced alcohol with soft drinks but maintain the etiquette honoring the places. Pérez Galán (2004) reports a similar pattern for the community of Chawaytiri (Cuzco), where Evangelicals continue to participate in the system of staff bearers on the condition that they are allowed to perform all the required tasks without consuming alcohol. Magny (2009) reports a similar pattern for Churcampa (Huancavelica). In T'irakancha (Cuzco) the majority is Evangelical but they continue

practicing the communal celebrations without consuming alcohol. They explained to me that participating in these celebrations and even assuming their sponsorship as an Evangelical was not problematic because they entailed just *costumbre* (custom) that has to be followed for sake of the communal life without having actual religious consequences (Salas Carreño, 2010). These types of adjustments and concessions that both Catholics and Evangelicals make in order to maintain the community's unity are not always fully successful, but they are widespread. However, in some contexts, communality can start to break down as in Hapu. The dissolution of social bonds due to Evangelical conversion could happen even within an extended family, following generational lines, a dynamic that also hindered the reproduction of the community as a whole (see Van Vleet, 2011 for families fractured by migration and conversion in Potosí, Bolivia).

THE BIBLE AND QUECHUA LITERACY

Maranatas' reliance on the Bible in Quechua is fundamental to their sense of moral superiority and superior knowledge. As is true of other Evangelicals, they consider the Bible to be the source of unquestionable knowledge given by God. Similar to the situation in other Andean communities (Zavala, 2002; De la Piedra, 2010), Hapu converts find the source of rules and norms to live a good life in the literal reading of the Bible, which encourages vernacular forms of Quechua literacy. Even those who cannot read—the *ñawsa* (blind), who tend to be women, and older generations—or those who read in a very elementary fashion, can slowly learn to read in Quechua by following in the text what others read aloud from their Bibles during services or study sessions (De la Piedra 2010).

Memorizing crucial passages of the Bible is something that is cultivated by those who are most dedicated. Knowledge of the Bible is performed in conversations on a daily basis, properly citing certain verse in order to make a moral or practical point in relation to what is being discussed (Zavala, 2002; De la Piedra, 2010).

This sense of superior knowledge that rests on the Bible goes beyond Hapu. In their study sessions Maranatas claimed moral superiority and superior knowledge in comparison to the Spanish speaking elites of Cuzco city. As the following pastor's comments about the restoration of important Catholic images makes clear:

How is it that in Cuzco's Cathedral there are those moth-eaten gods! Now, once more, they are restoring their gods, right? The *taytacha* (Christ image), the *mamacha* (Virgin image) are moth-eaten. But we know that God would neither be moth-eaten nor rotten. No, my brother, my sister, God is eternal! They are totally mistaken.

Claims of moral superiority over *mistis* are not new. In certain contexts, Quechua people frame *mistis* as others who do not follow basic norms of respect with fellow humans and places. They can be portrayed as not properly socialized and morally questionable people (Mannheim, 1991, pp. 87–88; Allen, 2002, p. 35). However, Maranatas' claims of moral superiority are based on different grounds: the access to true knowledge through the Bible. This is remarkable because social hierarchies in the Andes are partly organized through levels of formal education (in Spanish)

that take for granted that Quechua speakers are illiterate and thus ignorant (De la Cadena, 2000). Hapu Maranatas turn these hierarchies upside down, framing urban Spanish-speaking elites who have higher levels of formal education as ignorant worshipers of places and man-made saints' images! Evangelicalism has given them a way to explicitly subvert, certainly only within some contexts, these long-established hierarchies.

Their reliance on the Bible associates them with the power and authority of literacy, but in Quechua. This is a relatively new phenomenon. For most of Republican history, to be literate was to be literate in Spanish: to read meant to read in Spanish. The efforts to build Intercultural Bilingual Education have not given the Quechua speaking parents the certainty that it would actually benefit their children insofar as school was understood as the way through which children can learn Spanish. Hence, most Quechua parents used to reject it (García, 2005). In contrast, in many rural Evangelical churches God speaks unquestionable truths in Quechua. This is no small achievement.

The Quechua Bible that is used in Hapu was published by the Peruvian Biblical Society in Quechua Cuzco-Collao. The same institution has another printed version in Quechua Ayacucho Chanka as well as downloadable online translations in 19 varieties of Quechua, in Aymara, and in 33 Amazonian languages. Similar translations exist in Bolivia and Ecuador. Evangelical churches across the Andes also produce other type of texts in their languages, notably songbooks. Currently the Bible in indigenous languages might be the most important instrument used in developing vernacular literacies in indigenous languages.

AUTHORITY AND POLITICS

Those who become Evangelical pastors in rural communities have two crucial characteristics: First, they are charismatic leaders. They could lead the construction of a church from scratch because of their perseverance, and their charismatic and persuasive personalities. Second, they typically have the best reading and writing skills in the community due to their continual study of the Bible. They are bilinguals with active literacy in both languages. This combination also makes them the type of person that the community needs as their local authority: a charismatic leader with a good reputation who is able to speak, read, and write well in order to interact successfully with the Spanish speaking state institutions. Thus, it is not surprising that Evangelical pastors or informal leaders tend to assume positions of authority and representation in rural communities. Furthermore, Evangelical leaders tend to stress their service to the community as an argument to counterbalance their refusal to participate in community celebrations (Salas Carreño, 2012). Hence, Evangelical leaders are deeply embedded in local politics.

These qualities and their deep convictions were crucial to the leading role that Evangelical pastors and churches played in documented cases of rural communities' resistance to the Shining Path during the years of the internal armed conflict in Peru. During the conflict an estimated 600 rural Evangelical pastors and leaders lost their lives (Del Pino, 1996; Paredes, 2014). Their discourse of the coming Last Judgment, of the need of radical change and forgiveness in a new life also has been strongly present in the period after the violence when devastated communities started to be repopulated and reconstructed (Gamarra, 2000; Theidon, 2012).

Evangelicals were not always prone to engage in politics. For example, Ströbele (1992) claims that millenarian certainties can be associated with a lack of interest in engagement in activism or social movements in the 1980s Bolivia. However, the case of the Ecuadorian Federation of Evangelical Indians (FEINE), founded in 1980, shows how Evangelical churches have engaged in a nationwide political organization that reclaimed indigeneity and effectively coordinated the mobilization of their constituents even participating in electoral processes (Guamán, 2006; Lalander, 2012).

At the national level, Evangelical churches have become increasingly involved in politics. In Peru this was marked in the 1990 elections when Evangelical churches supported the candidacy of Alberto Fujimori. In this century, Restauración Nacional, a non-official confessional party that is nevertheless led by an important pastor and clearly associated with Evangelical churches, participated in the 2006 elections getting 4.4 percent of the national vote at a time when Evangelicals constituted around 12 percent of the national population. This gap can be explained by a high level of fragmentation among different Evangelical denominations and shows that membership of an Evangelical church does not automatically entail a vote for an Evangelical candidate (Julcarina, 2008; Pérez Guadalupe, 2017). Recently, large and more clearly Pentecostal churches are deeply invested in an aggressive, internationally coordinated, and well funded campaign to annul liberal public policies promoting gender equality and sexual rights (Castro, 2017). Further research has to be carried out to understand how rural Evangelicals citizens relate to this politics.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have tried to offer reasons why Evangelical conversions tend to be more prevalent in rural than in urban communities in the Andes. Evangelicalism offers a promise of modernity articulated through a position of moral superiority grounded in a privileged access to unquestionable truths through the Bible as well as an attitude of working hard to improve living standards. In my field experience across the southern Peruvian Andes between 1996 and 2017, I found a consistent pattern backed by the statistics cited above: communities that are further away from urban centers, that have weaker migrant networks in cities, where it is harder to implement a small business, and which have limited access to basic services have higher proportions of Evangelical households. While this pattern is not the only possible one (see Canessa, 1998; Van Vleet, 2011), it shows that for peasant households enduring harsh living standards Evangelicalism can partially fulfill a promise of moral, social, and economic improvement when other paths to fulfill these hopes—alternate urban residence, informal urban jobs, informal mining—are elusive or plainly not viable for them.

NOTES

- 1 Peru is politically divided into *departamentos* (also called *regiones*), departamentos are divided into *provincias*, and provincias into *distritos*.
- 2 This analysis does not include the information for Cuzco's Amazonian districts.
- 3 The coefficient of determination (*r*-squared) in the correlation between Evangelical presence and rural population among 93 Andean districts of Cuzco is 0.2. This means, in

statistical terms, that around 20 percent of Evangelical presence can be explained by how rural the district is.

- 4 The Assemblies of God was founded in 1914 in Arkansas (USA). According to its web page currently it has more than 67 million members worldwide, “making the Assemblies of God the world’s largest Pentecostal denomination” (AG, 2016).
- 5 The community of Hapu is one of the Q’ero communities, regarded as the cornerstone of Andean cultural authenticity in Cuzco’s public sphere. Located in Paucartambo (Cuzco), they are difficult to access: in 2007, it took six hours by bus plus six hours by foot to arrive to Hapu from Cuzco city. They live from subsistence agriculture and seasonal migrations to work in the Amazonian informal gold mining or in urban centers as unskilled workers. Their practices, like those of other Quechua communities, presuppose that mountains and all named places are beings endowed with agency and intentionality who are the ultimate owners of fertility (Salas Carreño, 2012).
- 6 It is “a Christian university in the Pentecostal tradition” and “worldwide distance education provider bringing tools for evangelism, discipleship, and training to 180 countries around the world in 124 languages.” www.globaluniversity.edu (accessed on February 23, 2011).
- 7 It is a Christian organization that aims to “bring Jewish people into a personal relationship with the faith of Yeshua [Jesus], the Messiah, knowing their acceptance will eventually mean life from the dead.” While it was developed primarily for Jewish people, it is growing also in areas that do not have strong Jewish presence such as Korea and Peru. http://mjbi.org/about_us.php (accessed on February 23, 2011).
- 8 This is an Evangelical organization based in Argentina that produces audio-visuals and has expanded to Chile, Uruguay, and Peru. www.ministeriobetel.org (accessed on February 25, 2011).
- 9 Unless mentioned otherwise, all quoted conversations took place in Quechua and were translated by the author.
- 10 By Q’ero practices I refer to practices that are customary and distinctive to the Q’ero communities characterized in note 5.
- 11 Originally in Spanish, translated by the author.
- 12 Biblical citations are translated by the author from the Quechua Bible used in Hapu (SBP, 2004).
- 13 See related discussion by Robbins (2004) for contexts beyond the Andes.
- 14 Regarding staff bearers in the Andes see Rasnake (1988) and Pérez Galán (2004).
- 15 Originally in Spanish, translated by the author.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

NATION-MAKING AND NATIONALISM



Natalia Sobrevilla Perea

INTRODUCTION

The national histories of Andean nations are built on the foundations of the so-called *Historia Patria* that sought to explain independence as the struggle of oppressed nations against a despotic colonial power. These narratives, however, fit uncomfortably with the reality of how the wars of independence actually unfolded and make it difficult to explain the complicated paths that led to the establishment of new states in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and the progressive development of ideas of nationhood which, in some cases, have persisted to the present day. The Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador we know today emerged in 1830 after the failure of the Bolivarian experiment of Colombia, which we now call Gran Colombia. Bolivia and Peru did not become independent republics until 1824 and 1825, respectively, and briefly attempted to form a Confederation between 1836 and 1839. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first charts the processes that led to independence as well as attempts by historiographers of the Andean Republics to identify “precursor” moments or foundational myths. The second concentrates on how liberalism and republicanism underpin these nations inhabited by diverse populations. These are instances when, according to traditional history the “nation” expressed its desire to be free from colonial power. In the first section, we review these origin myths of independence. In some countries, the uprisings of Tupac Amaru and Tupaj Katari have been identified catalysts for independence.¹ Others have sought them in the establishment of *Juntas* (Governing Boards) in 1809 in the cities of Chuquisaca, La Paz, and Quito. In the second section, we look at the debates over who had the right to citizenship which began during the monarchical crisis. These debates became more acute during the nineteenth century, a time that can be understood as the moment when the new republics sought to integrate their varied populations, which include a large number of indigenous peoples.

PRECURSORS AND JUNTAS: INDEPENDENCE AND ITS ORIGINS

Historiographers have extensively debated whether independence resulted from long-term causes, namely the changes brought by the differences in style of government

of the Habsburg and the Bourbon dynasties, or if it instead resulted from the sudden shock of the Napoleonic invasion of the peninsula in 1808 and the intense reverberations felt throughout the Hispanic Monarchy.² In the Andes long-term causes have dominated the understanding of the period, since the repercussions from unrest caused by the great rebellions of 1780 were particularly long-lasting. This is because tax-riots seen from Bogotá to Arequipa were contemporaneous with the Tupac Amaru and Tupaj Katari rebellions that took place around the cities of Cuzco and La Paz. All were, to a large degree, reactions to the changes introduced by the Bourbon Reforms.

Neither the War of Spanish Succession (1702–1715) nor the Seven Years War (1754–1763) caused as much disruption in the Andes as the Napoleonic invasion, even though the loss of communication with the Peninsula was comparable on all three occasions (Kamen, 1969; Stein and Stein, 2003; Esdaile, 2015). The main difference between the first two conflicts and the latter was the implementation of the reforms introduced by the Bourbons. Initially conceived to increase control over government in the peninsula they were eventually rolled out to the colonies, dramatically altering the conditions in the American continent and in the Andes, in particular. The reforms included an opening of trade, increased taxation, and militarization through the development of local militias, as well as administrative changes that led to the creation of new viceroyalties: New Granada (1717–1739) and Río de la Plata (1776).³ The enlightenment also brought with it new notions that had long-lasting impact in the Americas (Hamnett, 2017). Fresh views on sovereignty supported the revolution in Britain's thirteen colonies leading to the Declaration of Independence and a Constitution. These same ideas led many in the Andes to reflect on their relationship with those who governed them, given the project of centralization that characterized the Bourbon Reforms.

Regina Grafe and Alejandra Irigoin have argued that while in the British Empire those in the colonies were, due to their economic scheme of representation and government, “shareholders,” in the Spanish Empire, the political economy made them “stakeholders” (2012).⁴ Grafe and Irigoin (2006) argue that the reason the Spanish Empire remained so stable for so long, governed without the need for force, was because elites and corporate groups negotiated their relationship directly with the King, and thus participated in their own governance, often by purchasing appointments. The Bourbon reforms challenged this arrangement, just at the time when the sovereign's authority to tax, and the relationship between government and the people within its jurisdiction was being viewed more critically. The success of the Independence of the United States of America further fueled these critiques.

The late eighteenth century was also a time of demographic and economic growth in the Andes, as populations had begun to recover from the acute displacement of initial colonization. Although the mining industry in Potosí did not flourish at the same rate as Mexico's, it continued to thrive, remaining at the center of a very large economic area reaching from Buenos Aires to Lima (Grafe and Irigoin, 2006). The Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata divided the territories around Lake Titicaca whose people had considered themselves as part of the same unit since before the arrival of the Inca. This led to severe disruptions in the region, further aggravated by growing fiscal pressure on the local populations. But discontent with taxation was not limited to the region that had been separated by the new viceroyalty in 1776. Anti-tax riots extended in 1780 and 1781 from Arequipa to the Comunero revolt in Bogotá, the

very same year the uprising of Tupac Amaru and Tupaj Katari erupted. The Great Rebellion, as it came to be known, impacted large areas of the southern Andes from Arequipa to Cuzco and La Paz, and lasted for over eighteen months.

The works of Walker (2014), Serulnikov (2003) and Thompson (2002) make it clear that the region was beset with discontent, which led to the mobilization of a variety of populations. Their work also shows how these movements nevertheless failed to become multi-ethnic coalitions fighting for emancipation. The work of David Garrett (2005) also highlights that it is not possible to think of Indians as a homogeneous group, as the needs and realities of nobles, for instance, were very different from those of the people subjected to taxation and who lived in the commons, or from Indians who had left their lands in search of work, becoming *forasteros*. It was precisely because these nobles, who could trace their ancestry back to the Incas, opposed Tupac Amaru that he was defeated. But despite the support they gave colonial authorities and the loyalty they displayed, the institution of the *cacicazgo*, or *kurakazgo* (chiefdoms) as it was known in the Andes, was severely weakened by the important backlash against Inca identity after the Great Rebellion. Quechua was banned, along with the use of indigenous clothing, and the reading of the *Comentarios Reales* written by Garcilaso de la Vega, as colonial authorities were convinced that the reading of this text had helped spark the rebellion (Walker, 2014).

The years that followed, although quiet in the Andes, witnessed the French Revolution, which in turn gave way to unrest in the Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue. The latter resulted in the first ever slave revolt (1791) from which a new nation emerged. The creation of Haiti in 1804 led to fear among elites that French revolutionary ideas would spread to the Andes (Rosas and Ragas, 2008). Similarly, the severe disruption caused by the Great Rebellion, especially the virulent targeting of European and American Spaniards, resulted in a view held by historians in the first half of the twentieth century that, in the Andes at the end of the eighteenth century, fear was so pervasive that it made it impossible for multi-ethnic coalitions to form. This fear has been used to explain why, after such a large mobilization against colonial systems in the 1780s, independence took so long to achieve (Rosas, 2009). This view—that fear prevented the coalescence of a multi-ethnic front—is representative of the historiography produced in Lima, the capital city that tends to imagine itself as not being indigenous. It was built from a nationalist Peruvian perspective that attempted to explain why the country failed to seek its independence when other countries did.

In the 1970s this view was reassessed in the historiography written for celebrations of Peru's 150 Years of Independence, which took place during the military regime led by Juan Velasco Alvarado.⁵ The place of Tupac Amaru shifted to become that of the first “precursor” in the very long fight for independence and self-determination. The statue to commemorate the 1824 Battle of Ayacucho built in the battlefield in 1974 is 44 stories high, each representing a year of fighting. But, despite this nationalistic view, the turmoil in the Andes in the 1780s did not result in the disintegration of the monarchy, which remained intact until the 1820s.⁶

Between the 1785 and 1805 calm was restored. And it was not until the 1808 Napoleonic invasion of Spain that disruption returned. In 1806 and 1807, emboldened by their victory at Trafalgar, the British had attempted to take over Río de la Plata and the reaction against them was immediate, with local militias defending

themselves against what they saw as an invasion. Support in money and kind was sent to the port from the Andean region (Sobrevilla Perea, 2015). What could have been seen as an opportunity to gain independence from the Spanish crown was instead considered a threat to local government.

Only a year later, Napoleon's troops invaded the Peninsula leading to the abdication of King Charles IV, in favor of his son Ferdinand VII, but when he was taken captive and abdicated in favor of Joseph Bonaparte, the reaction in America was quite different. At this point, the whole Hispanic monarchy was plunged into a severe constitutional crisis. Bonaparte attempted to bypass it by enacting a constitution in Bayonne, which was approved by some hastily assembled representatives, but the majority did not consider this to be legitimate (Fernández Sarasola, 2006). As the King was sequestered, but still alive, no new King could be proclaimed. The population in Madrid and many other cities rose up in insurrection and established self-governing Juntas, appealing to the idea that in the absence of the King, sovereignty belonged to the people.⁷ In contrast to the fate suffered by the Spanish ruling dynasty, the Portuguese monarchs relocated, with the aid of the British, to Rio de Janeiro. From there, Ferdinand VII's sister, Carlota Joaquina, wife to King João VI of Portugal, attempted to be named regent (Ternavasio, 2015).

In the Andes there was initially no reaction, just the conviction that the authority of the absent King should be respected. But as the power of the regional Juntas in the Peninsula grew, and a Central Junta was established in Seville, the desire among some American elites to have their own representation in regions that had seen their power diminish with the creation of the New Viceroyalties of New Granada and Río de la Plata intensified. In this context, the Juntas of Chuquisaca, La Paz, and Quito were created in 1809. Each was established in reaction to specific factors, but all responded to the desire to have a direct relationship to the crown that did not depend on the viceregal capitals. On May 25, a Junta was established in Chuquisaca when the instructions sent by the Junta of Seville via an envoy were rejected. A meeting of the judicial court, the *Audiencia*, vetoed the prospective regency of the Infanta (Roca, 1998).

In 1809 the Junta asserted its independence from both Lima and Buenos Aires but was dismantled without the use of force. Tensions in the region continued and fears that the Infanta would be named Regent led to a popular uprising that resulted in the creation on July 16 of a Junta in La Paz, organized around municipal authorities. Much more radical than its predecessor, the Junta mobilized people from a variety of backgrounds, and troops were sent from Cuzco by the Viceroy in Lima, which brought about the end of the uprising in three months (Sobrevilla Perea, 2012). A month later on August 10, the Creole elites in the *Audiencia* of Quito declared a Junta that no longer recognized the jurisdiction of the viceroys of either New Granada or Peru (Nuñez Sanchez, 2008). Representatives were elected for each of the neighborhoods in the city and envoys were sent to Cuenca, Guayaquil, and Panama with the intention of extending its control. But troops were sent from Bogotá and Lima and, like the Junta in La Paz, by October the insurrection had been completely extinguished.

Despite being extremely short-lived and not directly advocating independence, the republics of Bolivia and Ecuador identify in their national narratives the creation of these Juntas as the moments when independence took place. Considering that Bolivia did not emerge until 1825 and Ecuador until 1830, it is interesting to see how these Juntas of 1809 have captured the imagination of historians searching for the origins of

a national sentiment. In reality these Juntas were much more about asserting regional independence from Lima, Bogotá, and Buenos Aires by claiming a direct link to the absent King, than about a desire for independence from Spain. Although the Juntas of La Paz and Quito had some popular backing, in both cases they were vehicles for the Creole elites that aimed to assert their position, in large part reacting to the loss of autonomy with the creation of the Bourbon Viceroyalties. As a result, the Viceroy of Peru, Fernando de Abascal, was strengthened as he regained control over regions that had been lost with the Bourbon Reforms.

The Juntas of 1809 also signaled that the colonial authority in the newly established Viceroyalties was weaker. This became even more evident in 1810 when Juntas were created in April in Caracas, in May in Buenos Aires, in July in Bogotá, and in September in both Quito and Santiago. Once again, national historiography has identified these as the moments when independence was achieved even though all the Juntas, with the exception of the one in Río de la Plata, were defeated, and wars were waged for a decade or more before independent republics were finally established. All of the Juntas were the creation of Creole elites, who sought to use them as the mechanism to maintain their privilege in a period of acute uncertainty. The Juntas were also a reflection of how the ideas of the enlightenment had penetrated these social groups and how incipient notions of belonging had begun to develop around smaller localities, often around Audiencias. The monarchical crisis engendered by the Napoleonic invasion led to a reevaluation of belonging and of the relationship that individual regions had with the greater Hispanic monarchy.

LIBERALISM AND REPUBLICANISM IN THE ANDES

Prior to the United States Constitution and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, most of the world's population considered the notion that people were equal, absurd. Legal systems had been established to maintain difference not to encourage equality. But the revolutionary processes of the late eighteenth century challenged this as new ideas regarding individual rights began to circulate simultaneously with novel notions of sovereignty and legitimacy. This was undoubtedly one of the greatest changes brought by the Enlightenment as it resulted in a direct challenge to existing systems of governance. Citizenship, as we understand it today, was created in the newly formed Republics of the United States and France (Waldinger, Dawson, and Woloch, 1993). How it was conceptualized varied but provided an alternative to what existed at the time.

In the Andes, colonial authorities in the sixteenth century had established a legal fiction by creating two spaces of jurisdiction, called the Republic of Spaniards and the Republic of Indians (Levaggi, 2001). But this was problematic from its inception since mixing between colonizers and colonized began with the conquest itself creating a new category of people, the *mestizo*, that did not fit into either legal category (Barragán, 1997). A diverse population continued to grow, with further mixing taking place with slaves and freed blacks that accompanied the first conquistadors and continued to arrive in the Andes throughout this period (O'Toole, 2012). Not only was there a growing number of mestizos, but, as a result of the mixing of peoples of all backgrounds, a whole host of other categories proliferated, resulting in what was described at the time as a caste system (Thompson, 2007).

This complexity was not due only to the great variety of people who were part of the caste system, or even to the fact that position within them was not fixed since it was possible to purchase certificates stating an individual's whiteness (Twinam, 2015).⁸ Rather, the additional complications arose because even within the Republic of Spaniards differences were drawn between those born in Europe and those who hailed from America. Further, in the Indian Republic, distinctions were made between noble Indians, with access to property, education, and wealth (Garrett, 2005); common Indians who had to pay taxes to have rights to communal land and in the Andes had to participate in the *mita*, the collective forced labor in mines and textile mills; or *forasteros*, Indians who had abandoned their communal lands and given up both their rights and their obligations. Natives were those who were not part of the colonial system or its legal structure, and were considered "savages" until missionaries incorporated them.

This complex tapestry of legal categories and people was the context into which war erupted. For those of peninsular origin at the very pinnacle of society their main interest was in maintaining the status quo so that they could retain control over the administration of the colonies as well as of most of its wealth. Only two examples of how to sever ties with their metropolis were available to them: the American, which allowed for the maintenance of slavery and the preeminence of colonial elites, and the Haitian one where former slaves dominated. After the Napoleonic invasion, some of these Spaniards born in America—who were known as Creoles—reevaluated their situation and began to think that this was an opportunity to recast their relationship with the Crown. Some authors such as Simón Bolívar and Simon Collier (1983) and David Brading (1991) have described this as a consequence of the development of what they call "creole patriotism," a movement that sought more autonomy and was devoted to the aggrandizement of the locality of origin. But not all American-born Spaniards saw the Imperial crisis as an opportunity to sever ties with the metropolis and many remained committed to remaining part of the Hispanic Monarchy to the bitter end.

Neither those fighting for breaking their ties with the crown nor those who aimed to maintain their relationship with it could be assured of support from those of indigenous origin, or from the variety of *castas* (Méndez, 2005; Sobrevilla Perea, 2015; and Echeverri, 2016). The armies and militias on both sides were made up from people from all the castas, and it was not necessarily the case that someone's ethnicity would make them more inclined to support one side or the other (Blanchard, 2008; Echeverri, 2011; Sobrevilla Perea, 2011). From 1809 onwards the colonial militias that had sometimes been organized along ethnic lines, as well as other militias which were based on the locality of origin, became the bases for the armies that were set up all over the Andes, initially to fight over the creation of Juntas, and eventually to defend the King or to fight for independence.

Who was going to be incorporated into the political entities that were being created, and in what way, varied greatly depending on the proposed projects. In Venezuela in 1811, for instance, it was clear to those who were part of the castas that Creoles had no intention of including them as equals in their projected Republic. This was one of the reasons the castas supported those who fought against it (Blanchard, 2008). In the confrontations between the Junta of Buenos Aires and the Viceroyalty of Peru in the Altiplano around Lake Titicaca between 1810 and 1816, Indians of

all kinds fought on both sides of the conflict, as did Creoles and even European Spaniards (Sobrevilla Perea, 2015). The first changes of a liberal nature were in fact proposed by those in the Peninsula as they were attempting to maintain their relationship with the American possessions at the time when the Napoleonic occupation was threatening to destroy the Hispanic Monarchy from within.

In 1810, the Regency decided to call for the meeting of a parliament. In honor of the medieval institution it was given the name of *Cortes* and it assembled in the port city of Cádiz under the protection of the British. Representatives were elected for the whole monarchy and America was declared to be an integral part of the Monarchy and not a colony (Garriga and Lorente, 2007). All men who hailed from Europe or America over the age of 25 who were homeowners could vote and be elected, in a process that was indirect and took place at three different jurisdictional levels, the parish, the district and the province. In the Peninsula elections were held at the city level whereas in America representatives were elected for Viceroyalties and Captaincies-General (Rieu-Millan, 1990). As most of the elected representatives could not travel, those who met at the Cortes were mainly alternates who were based in Cádiz, and they took quite radical liberal measures.

In the Andes, the Cádiz Cortes abolished the mita and the Indian Tribute in 1811, important interventions that reflected the Cortes's extremely liberal posture (Peralta Ruiz, 2008). They backed these actions despite opposition of the Peruvian representative who argued the mita should be extended to all the people who lived in the areas close to the mines. But as Indians were now considered equal to Spaniards, most representatives to Cortes thought it unfair that Indians should pay taxes, or work for free, because of their ethnic origin. In an even more surprising turn of events, many of the indigenous people of the Andes chose to continue paying tribute on a voluntary basis (O'Phelan, 1997). Many Indians considered it their duty to pay because they received access to communal land in exchange. This was the beginning of one of the most enduring issues for nineteenth-century liberals in the Andes: whether Indians should pay tribute and if their control of communal lands should be guaranteed by their payment of tribute.⁹

The Constitution passed in 1812 was built on liberal notions, but as Roberto Breña has argued, it differed greatly from either the American constitution or the French one of 1792 because it was written in defense of an absent King and not as an attempt to break away from him (Breña, 2015). It was firmly Catholic and although it presented the two hemispheres of the Monarchy, as equal, with citizenship granted to both, representation was not balanced, as less populated Spain had more representatives than America (Sobrevilla Perea, 2016). Some areas that had declared Juntas rejected the Cádiz Constitution because they were not given equal representation. But whether it was implemented or not, the Cádiz Constitution served as a blueprint for all the other constitutions written in the region after independence. This experience established a strong and enduring link between having a constitution and a legitimate government.

The Constitution had yet another problem, the official denial of citizenship to those of African descent. In practice, a loophole existed which permitted those who had defended the King to vote. This meant that in some regions those of African descent could not vote whereas in others, they could. As a consequence, some areas with large black populations rejected the constitution while others embraced it

(Eastman and Sobrevilla Perea, 2015). As a result, large areas of the Andes, from Popayán in present day Colombia to the *altiplano* (high-altitude plateau) in present day Bolivia, to regions throughout Peru, the Cádiz Constitution was enacted and put into practice, introducing liberalism to large areas with indigenous, African, and mixed populations and providing these groups with citizenship.

One of the most revolutionary consequences of the extension of citizenship to these populations was the explosion of electoral fervor in the Andes. Not only were deputies to Cortes elected but also in all urban areas with more than 1,000 inhabitants, municipal authorities were to be chosen yearly. Although indigenous people had voted in the colonial period, an important change was introduced as those chosen governed not only the republic of Indians, but in many cases mixed administrations of Spaniards and Indians. As Nuria Sala i Vila has shown, this meant that municipal authorities who were indigenous could be found in places where Spaniards also lived (1993). Elections spread throughout Andean societies and, in spite of the great variation in levels of participation, they became ingrained in the idea of legitimacy, and in some regions, such as Peru, the franchise remained open for most of the nineteenth century.

However, the Constitution was short-lived. In 1814 after the defeat of Napoleon, Ferdinand VII was returned to Spain and he sought to recapture his power as absolute King. This proved to be very difficult and in some areas he was no longer able to regain control. In July 1816, the city of Tucumán declared the Independence of the United Provinces of South America. The latter was an entity that had the illusion of encompassing the provinces previously under the control of the Viceroyalty of the Río de la Plata, but with autonomy established in Paraguay since 1811, conflict raging with Montevideo and war over the provinces of Upper Peru, this seemed elusive at best.

In the north of the continent those who had risen against the King were subdued by an expedition sent from the peninsula with the veterans from the Peninsular Wars. This prolonged the wars from 1815 to 1821, but did not impede the creation of Colombia under the stewardship of Simón Bolívar. Colombia encompassed all the provinces of the Viceroyalty of New Granada. War also extended to the south, but eventually Chile became an independent republic in 1818, and from there a naval force was sent to the coast of Peru. Under the command of José de San Martín, independence was declared in Lima in 1821, although a large contingent of Americans and Spaniards continued to defend the King in the Andes until their final capitulation after their defeat in the Battle of Ayacucho in 1824.

Warfare sealed the fate of each of the Andean republics. They emerged from more than a decade of fighting, but without much clarity over what their exact contours should be. New nations had to be built from scratch, taking into account distinctive concepts of self and nation. Initial attempts to build large federations were greeted with skepticism by those in the regions that had fought with an idea of more control over their destiny. The Río de la Plata descended into conflict over what kind of relationship the provinces should have with the capital of Buenos Aires, a conflict that was not resolved until the 1880s. Paraguay asserted its independence, as did the newly created Republic of Bolivia, which took its name and first constitution from its Caracas-born liberator.

Bolívar dreamt of a vast Federation of the Andes with a constitution that gave its leader power for life to govern a wide swath of the continent, from the Caribbean to the southern Andes. But just as Bolívar's constitution was approved in Bolivia

and Peru in 1826, he hurriedly returned to Colombia where the union he had built was perilously close to disintegration. In 1830, the union finally splintered and three new Republics emerged: Venezuela, Nueva Granada, and Ecuador. Bolívar died shortly afterwards of grief and ill health at the age of 47. He had sealed the end of the Hispanic monarchy in South America and the new republics were governed either by his disciples—like Juan José Flores in Ecuador, Antonio José de Sucre in Bolivia, and Andrés de Santa Cruz in Peru and later Bolivia—or by his former foes, such as Francisco de Paula Santander in New Granada and Antonio José de Páez in Venezuela. They aimed to build nations and differences among them in the newly created states whose borders were not completely established, and whose histories remained to be written.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY NATIONS

From the fulcrum of war new nations emerged which, in their first years, were consumed by conflict over how exactly they should be governed and organized. The issue of legitimacy lingered from the time of Imperial crisis and continued to plague the new states. Some new republics saw constitutions and elections as a basis for making a claim to legitimate government, but, often, emboldened by their military success or frightened by their possible enemies, the leaders who emerged from the wars of independence competed over the control of the state apparatus. New nations were built on the basis of what existed: a deeply powerful and influential Catholic church, colonial legislation, a military apparatus inherited from more than a decade of war, diverse populations, as well as vast territories with cities and hinterlands with strong local identities that were difficult to integrate.

These conditions contributed to a long and complicated process of establishing nations, which lasted well into the last third of the nineteenth century. Wars became a conspicuous feature during this period. Confrontation took place between the new republics, sometimes to establish borders, at other times to support one side or another of a civil war. Leaders emigrated freely from one republic to another aiming to strengthen their opposition to those in power. Internal conflict became endemic making the difficult task of creating new state structures harder still. Nations were still porous, their borders and citizenship ill-defined until at least the 1840s.

Towards midcentury, a new generation of liberals came of age and sought to implement the changes they considered had not been achieved by those who fought for independence. In most cases this meant the abolition of slavery that remained in all the Andean republics until the 1850s, with the exception of Chile and Bolivia, where it had been abolished much sooner. Indian tribute became once again an issue of contention in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia where it had been reintroduced after a short-lived abolition. Many discussions over citizenship that had taken place during the period of the Cádiz Constitution were rekindled. Should Indians and African descendants, some of whom were still slaves, have the same rights? Could they be considered equal to whites?

Who was to be a citizen and what rights were to be guaranteed were major issues of debate throughout the nineteenth century and even the twentieth. Communal lands that had been protected by tribute began being disaggregated, and corporate rights and obligations came to an end, placing indigenous people in vulnerable positions.

The idea that they should be equal in the face of the law was not equated to the notion that they should have some legal protections. Liberals also reevaluated their relationship with the Catholic Church to diminish its power and wealth. In some areas such as Colombia this led to war; in others like Peru and Ecuador the Church continued to work with the state to control large indigenous populations. In time, liberals managed to dismantle local systems of finance backed by local parishes and ended the control of the ecclesiastical courts. The tensions between regionalism and centralism endured adding further fuel to the fire of these first years of independence, which were dominated by men of the military.

In the first hundred years of existence the new republics that emerged in the Andes strongly established themselves as independent nations. Many of the ideas of “imagined communities” proposed by Anderson (1991) developed during the nineteenth century after independence and not before, as many nationalist historians have argued. Indians, those of African descent, and mixed people were integrated with variable success into the ideas of what constituted the nation, some by promoting ideas of mixed nations, such as Colombia and Venezuela. Other nations, such as Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, kept an uneasy relationship with the indigenous majorities, while Chile and Argentina imagined themselves as increasingly white and “civilized” as they destroyed many of their indigenous populations.

As the nineteenth century progressed, liberals were in ascendancy in all the Andean nations. Ideas of science and progress dominated elite circles that had managed to consolidate their control over the political and economic arenas in the new nations. By the time of the War of the Pacific (1879–1883), the independence of Panama (1904), the war between Colombia and Peru (1932–1933), and the Chaco war between Paraguay and Bolivia (1932–1935) things had changed dramatically and a sense of nation had emerged strongly in all the Andean nations. Nevertheless, in spite of the development of nationalism the promise of equality ushered in by the Enlightenment and independence was not realized. Instead, and as time went on, inequality increased in all the Andean nations.

NOTES

- 1 The Tupac Amaru and Tupac Katari rebellions took place in Cuzco and La Paz in 1780. Sparked by a reaction against the Bourbon Reforms, they were the largest uprisings against colonial power in the region. Much attention has been paid to these uprisings, e.g. Walker (2014); Serulnikov (2003), Thompson, (2002), Cahill (2002), O’Phelan (1995), and Phelan (1978).
- 2 The historiography of the 1970s tended to consider the Bourbon Reforms more as the reason for independence struggles, while the one emerging in the 1990s has viewed the Napoleonic invasion as the catalyst for Independence. Gabriel Paquette (2009) presents a useful historiographical review.
- 3 On the Bourbon Reforms, see Andrien (1995), Barbier (1980), Fisher (2003), Lynch (1958, 1989), and McFarlane (1993).
- 4 Stakeholders are all those who have interest in a business even if they had not personally invested, whereas shareholders are only those who actually own the shares in a company.
- 5 For these debates, see Cecilia Méndez’s (n.d.) ongoing work on the historiography and memory of Tupac Amaru II, and Sobrevilla Perea (2015).
- 6 There was, in fact, a whole new line of argument over independence, in which scholars claimed it had not been achieved by Peruvians but rather had been conceded to them (Bonilla and Spalding, 1972)

- 7 For a discussion on how ancient ideas of representation were repurposed and adapted, see Hamnett (2015).
- 8 Casta paintings portrayed these different groups of people, trying to provide a way to present them coherently.
- 9 In Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia these issues remained at the center of discussion for many decades, with periods of tribute abolition followed by times when tribute payment was reintroduced.

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PART VII

POSTCOLONIAL LEGACIES IN
THE ANDES





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CHAPTER TWENTY

ORDINARY STATES

Fantasy, fear, and displacement in twentieth-century Peruvian state formation



David Nugent

In November of 1949 the military government of Peru, led by General Manuel Odría, undertook a project of truly massive proportions. Utilizing the collective resources of the entire state apparatus, the regime mounted a campaign of vicious persecution against APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana or the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance), a political party regarded as a dangerous evil. In the Chachapoyas region of northern Peru—the focus of this chapter—the campaign failed, precipitating a (temporary) crisis of rule. Officials came to believe that they were incapable of carrying out even the most basic of government functions. They also came to believe that their efforts to govern were being undermined by APRA, the party they themselves had forced underground. Indeed, the authorities attributed to the Apristas a subterranean party apparatus with miraculous powers. They came to view their own state as a pale imitation of a sophisticated, complex state structure located somewhere deeply underground. What was so alarming about this alternative state structure was that it remained invisible to the naked eye (Nugent, 2010).

What are the mechanisms that allow states to produce the illusion of ordinary, everyday rule? What transpires when (as described above) that illusion is shattered, and a seemingly rational state becomes delusional? In the case at hand, fantasy and fear as well as anxiety and delusion informed virtually every aspect of the everyday production of rule. Even so, in ordinary circumstances it was exceptionally difficult to recognize this fact. Indeed, based upon normal government practice, one would never have known that such irrational forces played any role whatsoever in the official activities of state. For there were enormous difficulties in seeing past the state's carefully crafted exterior of the rational and the routine.

In the pages that follow, I argue that scholars have yet to understand the significance of the modern state's commitment to producing the appearance of the ordinary—to the role of concealment and misrepresentation in creating a legitimating veneer of rule (Abrams, 1988). I support this argument by bringing to light what government practice was so determined to obscure—the role of the remarkable and the delusional in routine state activity. I further suggest that looking beyond the state's production of the ordinary and the routine is essential to understanding what states do and are.

The three main varieties of state theory—the institutional, the cultural, and the magical—are ill-equipped to explain developments of the kind presented here. As we will see, institutions were clearly involved in state formation, but in no sense was the state an institution that monopolized legitimate force (cf., Weber, 1946). Culture was a key component of state formation, but it would be highly misleading to view the state as a cultural construction (Geertz, 1980; Steinmetz, 1999).¹ Delusion and fantasy informed state activities in fundamental ways, but by no means was the state a magical projection (Coronil, 1997; Taussig, 1997).

These conceptual frameworks cannot explain developments of the kind presented here, in which the (rational) state undergoes a major transformation, and becomes something seemingly other than itself (delusional). These frameworks focus on what lends continuity and order to political domination. This makes it difficult to understand change and disorder except as processes that are external to the state—as processes that threaten what it is and does. I move beyond an opposition between order and disorder, however, to examine how each emerges out of the other. In the process, I seek to understand how the state can appear in more than one guise.

The government's paranoia about APRA reflects deeper contradictions in state formation. The crisis of 1949 had its roots in earlier state efforts to effect broad social transformation. Beginning in 1920, the government had undertaken a project even more massive than Odría's efforts to eliminate APRA. Planners had sought to mobilize the collective resources of the entire state apparatus to forcibly modernize the country's vast mountainous interior, which was regarded as backward and feudal. Employing the personnel of multiple government offices, and the conscripted labor of hundreds of thousands of subalterns, state planners attempted to build an infrastructure to incorporate the highlands directly into the forward-looking coastal region. This process of integration would produce something that progressive elites regarded as sorely lacking: a truly national economy, society, and culture.²

These grandiose government schemes to "accelerate history" provoked novel forms of conflict and resistance that are key to understanding the dynamics of state formation. Of equal importance, however, is a consideration of the official language that the authorities were compelled to employ in (mis-)representing the disorder they themselves had provoked. As was the case with Odría's encounter with APRA in 1949, in prior decades officials were compelled to generate ongoing accounts of their (failed) efforts to modernize. As one might expect, these explanations were filled with distortions. But there was a logic to these distortions, the origins of which can be traced to Peru's foundations as an independent polity.

In its founding charter, the republic of Peru drew extensively upon a transnational language of political legitimacy that it shared with the other nation-states that formed during the "age of democratic revolution" (Palmer, 1959–64). This language of state was based on Enlightenment principles of equality and the common good that systematically masked or distorted existing social relationships, making them unspeakable and un-representable.³ In other words, state discourse invented rather than represented the social world in which it attempted to intervene (O'Gorman, 1972; Ferguson, 1990).

Having imagined the countryside into being—and in ways that portrayed it as an obstacle to state consolidation—government officials encountered a whole range of difficulties when they attempted to implement modernization projects. The explanations

they generated to explain these difficulties had much in common with state discourse more generally. Official accounts of the government's frustrations with modernization ignored or misconstrued existing social ties, and conjured into being a series of phantom problems and imaginary concerns.⁴ It was these phantoms that became the focus of government efforts at surveillance and control.

SOVEREIGN DISORDERS⁵

In the early twentieth century Peru was rent by contradictions. The country had been founded in the 1820s on principles of democracy, equality, and individual rights, but the government was not remotely able to make good on these arrangements. Such principles were routinely invoked in political ritual and discourse to represent the activities of the government. But in much of Peru, everyday life was organized by principles that were diametrically opposed to the precepts of "popular" sovereignty.

One such region was Chachapoyas, situated in the northern highlands. In this region, society was highly stratified by race, class, gender, and ancestry. The handful of families that made up the landed elite claimed descent from aristocratic Spanish forebearers, as well as the right to rule the region free from the interference of *indios* and *mestizos*. Indeed, even social interaction with such people was minimized, and structured so as to require the ongoing public performance of deference and subservience.

Even so, the landed class was far from unified. Rather, different factions of the elite, each with an extensive clientele, struggled to control the region's entire apparatus of state. In turn-of-the-century Chachapoyas this competition was settled by violent confrontations, the victor going on to construct a region-wide political machine. This machine monopolized political posts, absorbed incoming revenues from the government and engaged in state-sanctioned extortion of wealth from indigenous cultivators. The victorious coalition also used the state apparatus to violate the constitutional protections of opposing factions, as public displays of domination were essential to the reproduction of aristocratic rule. This juxtaposition of publicly performed aristocratic practices and officially articulated popular principles reflected the peculiarly disordered nature of sovereignty that obtained at this time (Nugent, 2001).

As of 1930, however, these elite-led political machines broke down. Instead of a single, broad coalition controlling all political positions for the entire region, government posts came to be divided piecemeal, among many separate warring families. This shifted the terrain on which these families did battle. Rather than struggle over the state apparatus as a whole, it was the inner workings of government that became the ground on which elite families waged war. They did not, however, engage in violent confrontations, as they had in the past. Instead, they concealed their struggles behind a mask of concern for the common good.

Warring elite families employed the same language of liberal rights that the government used to characterize its activities, but toward different ends. Drawing on its positions in government, each family sought to discredit adversarial families, who occupied their own bureaucratic posts. Families would do so by accusing their adversaries of behaving in corrupt ways that betrayed the public trust. In this manner, each family sought to remove its enemies from office, and to fill the vacated posts themselves. This competition over fragments of rule generated a new dynamic among the offices of government. Functionaries who once would have cooperated with one another to

carry out official extortion found themselves in direct competition. The effect was to introduce extensive disorder into the operation of the state.

The central government thus encountered a bureaucracy rife with internal conflict when it called upon that bureaucracy to implement its modernization projects, including roads, bridges, schools, and marketplaces. They also included water, sewage and sanitation facilities, and small hydroelectric plants. Modernization also focused on such issues as new bureaucratic infrastructures to enumerate the population and uniform procedures for recruiting the rural population into the military.

Efforts to modernize the Chachapoyas region were consistently framed in a language of the common good. The reality of modernization, however, was that it represented a massive assault on rural society. For the enormous quantities of labor necessary to carry out the government's many projects of improvement were conscripted from the peasantry. Implicit in government plans was thus the assumption that there was a vast field of idle peasant labor on hand, waiting to be put to use for the good of the nation.

This field of labor, however, was not a thing of fact but of fiction. It was conjured into being by individual bureaucrats, as they designed their projects of improvement. Government planners showed no interest whatsoever in the actual number of rural cultivators who could be conscripted.⁶ Instead, they simply demanded the number of laborers they required: "so many workers to be conscripted for task A, so many additional workers for task B," etc.

Having assumed the availability of virtually unlimited quantities of labor, the authorities became deeply perplexed when they were unable to conscript it. Finding themselves without the work force they needed, officials turned for help to the coercive branches of government. When they also proved unable to produce this (fictive) labor supply, crisis ensued.

CONJURING AN IMAGINARY WORK FORCE

The armed forces provide a good example of the ways that delusion informed seemingly ordinary state processes. This may be seen in the military's use of numbers. The army was clear about the number of men it required: 2,125 men from each of four provinces.⁷ It is revealing to compare the number of individuals the army demanded with the number actually available, for there were fewer than the required number in three out of four provinces.⁸ The military thus made its calculations in total disregard for the society from which it sought to recruit.

The military's seemingly cold calculations disguised the most passionate of concerns born of deep anxieties about the country's shameful condition. The army regarded itself as the sole force capable of nationalizing a profoundly corrupt society, which was deeply divided by partisan interest.⁹ Only if they were able to take raw recruits and shape them into disciplined soldiers, however, could the armed forces fulfill their nationalizing role. It was thus the military's belief in its unique ability to save the nation that informed its conscription demands. Although it was impossible to draft the entire agrarian workforce, the army attempted to do just that. This meant that the military was faced with a perpetual deficit of future soldier/citizens.

The armed forces, however, were far from being the only office that looked to the peasantry to provide the labor required to save the nation. As each additional office did so, it further inflated the (imaginary) labor deficit. An example is provided by the Office

of Roads, which was charged with building the Chachapoyas highway. This artery was regarded as crucial to the future of region and nation, as it would allow both to realize their enormous potential for prosperity and growth. Official fantasies about untapped fields of labor were evident in the plans of the Office of Roads. As before, it is the numbers that tell the story.

The scale of the Chachapoyas highway project was enormous. It continued for over three decades, and at times called for 1,000 workers. In 1940, there were 1,113 households in the districts from which the Office of Roads sought its 1,000 conscripts (MHC, 1942, pp. 5–6). Each household was thus expected to surrender one man every three months for twenty days.

The Departmental Engineer in charge of the project was perpetually short of workers. It is easy to understand why, for he was asking the entire peasant population to sacrifice key elements of its workforce over extended periods of time. The debilitating nature of this labor tax led to endless recruitment problems. Adding to the problems of the households that were subject to this tax was the fact that they were also subject to the above-mentioned conscription demands of the army, which also sought to deprive peasant society of its entire male workforce.

Between them, these two offices alone demanded a labor force twice the size of the actual population. When one remembers that these were only two of many modernization projects, the role of fantasy in constituting seemingly ordinary governing processes (conscription) comes out with great clarity.¹⁰ State officials were concerned not with the present but the future, not on what was present but what was absent. They were preoccupied with hastening the arrival of what was so sorely missing—a modern, progressive nation-state.

The impossibility of delivering laborers that did not exist meant that the district functionaries who organized conscription had to offer ongoing accounts of their inability to do so. Because there were certain truths that could not be uttered in political discourse, however, their accounts were a combination of elision and fabrication. What could not be uttered was the fact that the entire modernization effort was based on force. For the era's transnational language of political legitimacy did not recognize the legitimacy of polities that were based on coercion.

What was true of virtually all nineteenth-century republics also applied to Peru. The country had been founded on “liberal” rights and protections that were intended to protect individuals from the arbitrary use of state power (Nugent, 2008). Peru had thus been established on precepts that were intended to protect its citizens from the very kinds of programs the government was seeking to implement. To acknowledge that the government's entire modernization scheme was in flagrant violation of its own founding principles would be to declare Peru outcast from the community of progressive, modern nation-states in which the people were sovereign. As a result, there was a conspicuous silence about the systematic use of coercion to effect modernization.

Government efforts to carry out programs that could not be carried out, and officials' inability to acknowledge that the programs would fail, generated disorder at the very heart of state activities. Functionaries found it impossible to procure the labor required for modernization. They were also unable to explain why. Instead of stating the true causes of their difficulties (the violence of conscription), they were compelled to invoke imaginary problems. They were equally compelled to draw the attention of their superiors to these imaginary concerns. As a result, the state

was forever chasing phantoms. Three such (phantom) problems dominated official discourse: 1) corrupt functionaries, who illegally coerced rural cultivators to labor on private estates; 2) the Indian peasantry, which was thought incapable of understanding national causes; and 3) APRA, whose fanatics encouraged the peasantry to ignore their conscription obligations.

These delusional preoccupations played a crucial role in constituting the state as bounded, autonomous, and legitimate. Indeed, blaming the failures of modernization on phantom forces obscured the preponderant role of state activities in creating the problems that the government sought to solve. It also displaced responsibility for these problems onto external sources, which were said to undermine efforts to modernize the nation.

PHANTOMS OF STATE I: OFFICIAL CORRUPTION

Among the phantoms that were regarded as threatening modernization were corrupt government functionaries. These individuals were said to be abusing their positions, betraying the public trust, and violating the rights of the peasantry by forcing them to labor on private estates. This meant that they could not contribute their labor voluntarily to public works. In order to cleanse the state of those who were corrupting it, officials passed anti-corruption decrees that criminalized interference with conscription. They also employed novel forms of legislation and surveillance to apprehend and punish the guilty parties.

Instead of purging the state of corruption, however, these reforms made state dynamics increasingly chaotic. For elite families regarded the anti-corruption decrees as little more than a means of removing their adversaries from office. Toward that end, they initiated an endless round of accusation and counter-accusation, charging their foes with corrupt behavior.

This effort to rid the state of functionaries who violated the rights of the peasantry was deeply delusional. It was not just corrupt officials who were violating the rights of the subaltern but all officials. Indeed, the government's entire program of conscription was based on brute force. And if all officials were systematically violating the constitution, the very existence of a legitimate state apparatus was called into question. Government efforts to frame conscription as a duty to the nation rather than a violation of the constitution were therefore anything but trivial. Indeed, the very existence of the "state" depended on the maintenance of this distinction.

The need to monitor the behavior of corrupt officials appeared to reference a real problem. It actually created a phantom. It converted labor scarcity—which was a function of state fantasy—into an issue of individual morality. It also masked the circumstances that made corruption inevitable—that compelled all functionaries to betray the public trust by continually failing to produce the (imaginary) workforce needed for modernization.

PHANTOMS OF STATE II: POLITICAL SUBVERSIVES AND NAÏVE INDIANS

The government also came to believe that forces from beyond the boundaries of the state were undermining its normal operation. Among these forces was APRA.

Government officials became obsessed with the need to know, control, and do away with the Party of the People (as APRA called itself). To understand the government's obsession with the party, some background is in order concerning the conditions out of which APRA emerged.

The disorder that characterized the middle decades of the twentieth century was not only a function of the massive program of forced labor initiated by the central government. Equally disruptive were the instabilities provoked by the rapid expansion of the export economy. In 1889 Peru settled its outstanding debt to British creditors, and foreign investment began to pour into the country. As it did so, patterns of production and exchange were extensively disrupted, and new possibilities for accumulation emerged. Enclaves producing primary goods for foreign markets began to grow rapidly. So too did the working classes, who found themselves living in conditions of great precarity.¹¹ As laboring groups organized themselves into political parties, they offered a serious challenge to the status quo (Stein, 1980; Parker, 1998).

One party that emerged in these conditions of widespread insecurity and immiseration was APRA (Klaren, 1973). The Party of the People was formed in the early years of the Depression, and called for its own form of socialism. Land and industry were to be nationalized, worker cooperatives were to be formed throughout the economy, and women and indigenous people were to be granted a range of new entitlements and protections. The party also promised to do away with inequality, labor exploitation, and government extortion.

The response from working- and middle-class groups was overwhelming.¹² Virtually overnight, it seemed, APRA succeeded in attracting a very large following. One of the party's innovations was to establish an organization of cells and committees across much of Peru. This helped create the impression that the party and its followers were everywhere.

In its early years APRA organized uprisings and coup attempts together with disaffected elements in the military. The repression that followed forced the party underground, compelling APRA to remain virtually invisible. But the authorities would at times encounter evidence suggesting that invisibility was not to be confused with inactivity. Ultimately, officials concluded that the subversives had formed an extensive underground party structure, which members were employing to thwart state efforts to modernize the region.¹³ Indeed, cases in the archives show that officials believed that the Apristas had surreptitiously recruited large numbers of people to their cause, that they were meeting secretly on a regular basis, and that the party had developed its own form of code as part of a system of clandestine communication that helped them coordinate their activities.

Having become convinced that they were surrounded by subversives, but being unable to determine who they were, the authorities became deeply suspicious of everyone around them. Especially alarming was their suspicion that the Apristas were interfering with government efforts to conscript peasant labor for modernization projects. In this way functionaries linked APRA with a second phantom problem—the Indian peasantry. Officials routinely remarked on the poor work ethic of indigenous people, their addiction to vices, their naivety, and their inability to understand national causes. These characteristics, the authorities claimed, made the Indian population easy prey for the Apristas, who were said to be inciting indigenous people to refuse to provide labor for public works.¹⁴

Officials thus came to see APRA as a dangerous evil. They also came to believe that their chance discoveries of Apristas organizing were but the surface manifestation of a far deeper problem. Having discovered that some Apristas had used the labor of under-aged children to deliver secret messages, it was difficult to avoid wondering how many other Apristas were doing the same. Having found that some members of the party had used their neighborhood bar to plan illegal activities, the authorities were led to suspect that other bars were being used in the same way. Having seen that the party's influence extended into schools, sports teams, the bureaucracy, etc., it was difficult not to wonder how much further APRA's networks extended. Having learned that some party members made trips to the countryside to organize the peasantry, it was difficult not to wonder how many more might be doing the same.

To control the situation the Prefect sought to broaden the reach of the state. He did so by establishing a range of new security measures. In urgent messages to school principals, bar owners, government officials, etc., the Prefect appealed to everyone to collaborate in a region-wide effort to control APRA. It is unlikely to have escaped the Prefect's attention, however, that without the tacit support of school teachers, bar owners, the police force, and others, APRA could never have been as active as he believed it to have been. This may have been why the Prefect warned everyone that he would hold them accountable should they fail to cooperate to the fullest.

Government efforts to modernize the highlands thus introduced extensive disorder into the everyday operation of the state apparatus. The authorities responded by attributing this disorder to the machinations of APRA. The difficulties the government faced in governing, however, had little to do with the party. Rather, they stemmed from the enormous burden that modernization represented to indigenous cultivators. Even so, the authorities continued to pursue these very policies. They also invested enormously in attempts to monitor and control APRA. Indeed, by 1949 the forces of order had become truly desperate about the subversive threat. Using his own form of code, the Prefect wrote to Lima begging for reinforcements. No one could be trusted, he explained. Everyone was an Aprista (Nugent, 2010).

CONCLUSION

What are the theoretical implications of the above-mentioned developments? As noted earlier, the three main varieties of state theory are ill-equipped to explain developments of the kind described here. Regardless of their theoretical orientation, most scholars regard the state as something that either does (or should) cohere—whether institutionally, culturally, or magically. As shown in the pages above, however, what would conventionally be called the state lacked coherence in precisely these terms.

The state-as-institution was wholly lacking in coherence. One of the legacies of the past was that powerful elite families found themselves doing battle over the inner workings of the state apparatus. Rather than work together toward any collective goal, these families did everything in their power to undermine and obstruct the state activities of their adversaries. As a result, something of a war of all against all broke out within the apparatus of government. Rather than cohere, the state-as-institution was in conflict with itself. There were an entire series of forces at work that disordered its operation from within.

It is equally clear that the state lacked coherence in cultural terms. The official language of rule proposed universalist, egalitarian principles from the Enlightenment as the basis of national community. The everyday practice of rule, however, drew upon the legitimacy of pre-Enlightenment principles of hierarchy, privilege, and difference. One of the few regularities in everyday administration was that government functionaries were compelled to use the language of liberal rights to represent profoundly illiberal activities. While this representational practice was a constant, it contributed to the disorder and incoherence of state activities.

Nor was it the case that the magic of the state allowed it to cohere. Indeed, state processes failed utterly to disguise cultural constructions behind a facade of objectivity, neutrality or rationality. They were equally unsuccessful in naturalizing arbitrary cultural constructions—in making them seem ordinary, or taken-for-granted. While the authorities asserted that the categories and activities of state were real, natural, and right, there is no indication that anyone believed them. Indeed, the entire question of belief is irrelevant. Government officials were compelled to represent their activities in these terms regardless of their own views on this matter.

The Peruvian state thus lacked coherence as a coercive institution, a cultural construction, and a magical projection. Even so, there was a kind of coherence to the state, which was based on “displacement.” This term refers to the process by which government officials attributed the disorder produced by modernization to phantom forces other than modernization. In the process, they systematically misrepresented their activities (conscription), their problems (corruption; APRA), and the solutions to those problems (surveillance and punishment). Government functionaries did not engage in displacement due to collective discussion or debate. Neither did they decide on the terms they would employ as they engaged in displacement. Nonetheless, virtually all government officials participated in displacement, and virtually all used the same terms to misrepresent their problems. As a result, while state officials were forever chasing phantoms, these were the same phantoms. And officials employed the same strategies in an effort to control those phantoms.

The coherence that the state achieved through displacement was not based on a monopoly on armed force. To the contrary; coherence emerged in response to the government’s failure to coerce or compel. This coherence also failed to generate order, discipline, or rule-governed behavior. In a context of deep institutional disorder, displacement produced a highly unstable form of coherence—one that was focused on official efforts to control non-existent entities to which the government attributed magical powers.

The coherence of state activities was equally based on the construction of seemingly neutral categories of rule (population, conscription and enumeration)—categories that were just as fantastic as were phantoms like corruption and APRA. Coherence was also based on the inevitably failed attempts of officials to manage the powerful imagined entities that were seen as undermining the ordinary [sic!] activities of government. The coherence of the state was thus magical, but it did not normalize state-sponsored activities. Instead, it stemmed from the failure to institutionalize these activities. It was a symptom of fear and anxiety rather than being a reflection of order and control.

In “Hegemony and the language of contention,” William Roseberry (1994, p. 361) argued that hegemony is not about consensus but disagreement. He proposed that

hegemonic processes “construct a common material and meaningful framework for living through, talking about, and acting upon social orders characterized by domination.” Paraphrasing Roseberry, I close by suggesting the following: State formation establishes a shared discursive (as distinct from meaningful) framework for misrepresenting disorder as order, and for policing the divide between the two. The language of rule upon which modern states base their legitimacy asserts a common good that inevitably masks or misrepresents key social relationships—especially those based on inequality. Indeed, the state depicts itself as the guardian of a mythical general interest that is contradicted by the very social relations it is compelled to reproduce. As a result, there are always truths about the social order that cannot be acknowledged. This means that state processes conjure into being powerful phantoms that are said to provoke the disorder that state activities themselves generate (or encourage). It is these imagined entities—brought into being through displacement—that become the focus of surveillance and control, and upon which the coherence of the state depends.

NOTES

- 1 See Sharma and Gupta (2006) for an insightful discussion of the distinction between functional and cultural approaches to the state.
- 2 See Larson (2004) for a fascinating analysis of the rise of the “Indian question” in the Andean republics in the late nineteenth century in relation to elite efforts to modernize the region.
- 3 For an insightful discussion of Roman law as a new language of legitimacy in early modern European state formation, see Abrams (1988).
- 4 See Scott (1998) for a related formulation, which focuses on state simplifications.
- 5 See Nugent (1997), Chapter 2, for a more detailed discussion of the relationships outlined in this section.
- 6 Information about the characteristics of the regional population was available in the form of municipal records and census materials.
- 7 The figure of 2,125 men per province assumes that men pressed into military service were gone for an average of five years, a figure that is based on extensive discussion with informants. In fact, the figure of five years is a conservative one, for two reasons. First, a large number of men who were recruited into the army never returned. Second, it was very unusual (and also illegal) for those who did return home to be drafted a second time. In other words, the loss of 2,125 men per five-year period from each of the provinces of the highlands of Amazonas was a permanent one. While it is true that there were small numbers of adolescents who became eligible for the draft during any five-year period, they could not make up for the 2,125 men who were taken by the armed forces (see MHC, 1942).
- 8 There were 2,021 men in the province of Chachapoyas (a deficit of 104), 1,441 in Bongará (a deficit of 684), 1,415 in Mendoza (a deficit of 710) and 4,080 in Luya (a surplus of 1,955; MHC, 1942). The figures refer to the five-year period from 1940 to 1945. I have subtracted men in the 19–50 age category who lived in the city of Chachapoyas, and also those in the larger towns who were listed in census materials or in municipal records as white or mestizo, or who were registered to vote. In general, they were able to avoid the draft. Even so, I have erred on the side of caution; these figures over-estimate the number of men who were available to fill the conscription quotas.
- 9 See Cobas (1983) and Nunn (1979, 1983) for a more in-depth discussion of the nationalizing, professionalizing tendencies in the Peruvian military.
- 10 The extensive labor demands of local (i.e., municipal) government further inflated official labor needs, swelled the ranks of the imaginary workforce, and increased the labor deficit.
- 11 For scholarship on the export zones that formed beginning in the late nineteenth century, see Dore (1988), Gonzales (1985), Klaren (1973), Mallon (1983) and Peluso (1999).

- 12 According to Stein (1980), APRA appealed in particular to the organized working class, as distinct from the urban day laboring population, that was not integrated into union structures.
- 13 Documentos de Correspondencia de la Prefectura del Departamento de Amazonas. 1936. Archivo General de la Nación. See Nugent (n.d., Chapter 8) for a more detailed discussion of this police investigation.
- 14 See, for example, Gobernación del Distrito de La Jalca al Sr. Prefecto Interino del Departamento. 15 de Junio de 1932. Oficios de los Gobernadores. 1932.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

AGRARIAN REFORM AND “DEVELOPMENT”

—♦—
Anna Cant

INTRODUCTION

Land struggles generated political conflict across the Andes for much of the twentieth century. Indigenous communities had suffered the steady encroachment of their land under both colonial and republican rule and, in many cases, were forced to retreat to the most inhospitable highland territory. Large amounts of land were concentrated in the hands of a small number of large estates, known as *latifundios*, while huge numbers of peasants survived through subsistence farming of small plots, known as *minifundios*. Unequal access to land formed the basis for broader social inequalities as landowning elites used their economic power to dictate the terms of trade, water access, labor rights and political representation.

From the mid-twentieth century onwards, the status quo was challenged from various directions. Governments of different political persuasions engaged in innovative projects of agrarian reform to modernize their economies and respond to peasant movements. While many agrarian reforms fell short of realizing their modernizing objectives, they had long-lasting consequences for the distribution of political power and the citizenship status of indigenous and peasant populations.

THE LAND PROBLEM

Postcolonial legacies of land inequality

During the pre-Hispanic era, diverse regional cultures developed in what is now Peru. These cultures generally combined family occupation of the land with collective tenancy and labor, albeit with important regional variations. Resources were distributed to allow local self-sufficiency and the accumulation of a surplus that could be used as tribute for local chiefs. The expansion of the Inca Empire during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries led to the development of agriculture and the centralization of tribute, a system that the Spanish sought to appropriate (Matos Mar and Mejía, 1980, p. 17). As a reward for participating in the 1532 invasion, some early settlers were granted an *encomienda* by the Spanish Crown, which gave them rights to the tribute and labor of the subjects of certain indigenous chiefs, or *caciques*. Access to labor and

tribute was more valuable to the settlers than land ownership at this point. However, the *encomienda* system collapsed around thirty years after the Spanish invasion due to massive demographic decline in the indigenous population and a simultaneous increase in the settler population and its consumption needs. By the late sixteenth century, the conquest society that lived off tribute from indigenous producers had shifted to a colonial society that was directly involved in the production process (Keith, 1976). The central productive unit in this new colonial society was the *hacienda*, an agricultural estate producing goods that could be traded on local and international markets. With the emergence of the *hacienda*, land ownership became much more significant since the land itself formed the basis of the settlers' wealth.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the lands occupied by indigenous communities (known as *ayllus* in the Andean region) were increasingly absorbed by the *haciendas*, which were consolidating their position in the colonial economy as they expanded. Spanish settlers used a combination of coercion, negotiation and force to extend their territorial reach. As Brooke Larson (1998, p. 76) comments in the case of the Cochabamba valley (in what is now Bolivia), "Often hidden from the public eye and from royal scrutiny, a host of land transactions took place in the 1560s, amounting to a piecemeal, *de facto*, and often ostensibly peaceful territorial advance." While Spanish settlers commonly provided explanations for natives' willingness to sell their land, it is difficult to know the extent to which indigenous landowners actively chose to sell as part of an economic strategy, such as investing in pack animals (Larson, 1998, p. 76). Former communal lands also became vacant because of the disintegration and dislocation of indigenous communities due to disease and political breakdown, as well as the colonial reorganization of dispersed indigenous populations into *reducciones* (concentrated settlements) as part of the Toledan reforms that began in 1567 (Matos Mar and Mejía, 1980, p. 19).

By the eighteenth century, the dominance of the *hacienda* within Andean rural economies meant that many indigenous populations were dependent on the large landowners for their livelihood and were subjected to conditions of servitude, particularly in the traditional highland regions of Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. Despite peasant protests, this situation persisted and in some cases worsened throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The contract signed by the tenants of the Hacienda Huyro in La Convención (Cusco, Peru) in 1900 is illustrative in this regard. Among other conditions, the contract obliged the tenant to pay rent in both cash and labor; maintain his tenancy for a compulsory five years; work on the *hacienda* for one month out of every three in return for 40 cents per day in wages; consume only items produced by the *hacienda*, such as sugar and *aguardiente* (an alcoholic beverage) or face a fine; and give preference to the *hacienda* in selling goods produced on his plot of land.¹

The human cost of this highly unequal balance of power is made clear in the personal testimony of individuals such as Saturnino Huillca, a Quechua-speaking peasant who was born in the department of Cusco and endured decades of abuse at the hands of *hacendados* before becoming a prominent peasant leader. In the 1970s he recalled "they have made us work without compassion. Because they did not consider whether I had strength. Whether I was fed or not. The important thing for them was for me to work even in that situation. And they worked me like a beast" (Neira Samanez, 1975, pp. 14–15).²

WINDS OF CHANGE

By the mid-twentieth century a variety of circumstances coincided to make the status quo seem untenable. Beginning in the 1930s, peasants in Peru's southern highlands organized peasant unions to contest their labor conditions and used land occupations to force landowners to negotiate. In the early 1960s these protests grew in scale and impact. Writing in 1964 as a special correspondent for the national newspaper *Expreso*, Hugo Neira observed that the land occupations sweeping across the southern highlands were neither the result of spontaneous protests nor the work of the “usual suspects”—communist, Trotskyite agitators. “Let us not fool ourselves,” wrote Neira, “beneath the old poncho, amid an apparently traditional or routine picture, these people have learned and they have changed. [Peasant] unionism is a mutation. The spark that can ignite all of the sierra” (Neira, 2008, p.79).

In response to the growth in peasant activism, even traditionally conservative newspapers such as *La Prensa* called for greater attention to the land question and the implementation of agrarian reform. Following the occupation of Hacienda Chaupimayo in Cusco in 1962—which brought the hacienda's economic activities to a halt and made national headlines—an editorial in *La Prensa* commented:

[T]he solution has to include the immediate expropriation of the latifundio, at a just price according to the existing law, and the execution of an exemplary agrarian program that not only distributes land among the *campesinos* (peasants) but that also orientates them and helps them to free themselves from the misery and ignorance in which communism prospers.³

In the case of Bolivia, the strength of peasant activism forced the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (MNR) to make agrarian reform a central part of its government program when previously it had only been discussed in vague, general terms (Dunkerley, 1984, p. 65).

Rural inequality was also catapulted onto the political agenda by the emergence of Cuban-inspired guerrilla organizations. In 1965 three distinct political organizations (Ejército de Liberación Nacional, Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria and Frente de Izquierda Revolucionaria) attempted to initiate armed struggle against the Peruvian state using guerrilla tactics, such as attacking police posts and blowing up bridges and communications lines. Following the unexpected success of the 1959 Cuban Revolution, it was felt across Latin America that, contrary to traditional Marxist doctrine, the rural poor could form the basis of a political revolution against the capitalist state. Peru's guerrilla organizations were drawn primarily from middle-class university students who were filled with idealism but lacked practical knowledge of the *sierra* and the peasant communities that they sought to mobilize. All three organizations suffered a resounding defeat at the hands of the armed forces and were disbanded following widespread arrests and loss of life (Béjar, 1970). Nevertheless, the fact that Cuban tactics of armed struggle had been adopted within Peru was a cause of grave concern for the government and reinforced the argument that the threat of rural insurgency could only be defeated in the long term through fundamental social and economic reform.

This argument received substantial support from the U.S. government, which was keen to restrict the growth of communism and promote the development of capitalist economic systems within its immediate sphere of influence. President John F. Kennedy established a policy known as the Alliance for Progress, which provided aid to Latin American nations for the implementation of land reform, agricultural credit and the introduction of new technology. Among the aims agreed by the Alliance members was a commitment “to encourage, in accordance with the characteristics of each country, programmes of comprehensive agrarian reform” (Sklar and Hagen, 1972).

From an economic standpoint, by the early 1960s it was apparent that in most of the Andean nations the agricultural sector was in desperate need of modernization. High levels of poverty in rural areas and low levels of agricultural productivity were key factors used to explain the region’s slow progress in reaching the levels of industrialization already achieved in “the West.” In the case of Peru, agricultural production failed to keep pace with the country’s rapid demographic growth and the development occurring in other economic sectors. The annual growth rate of Peruvian agriculture fell from an average of 3.8 percent between 1950 and 1963, to just 1.9 percent between 1964 and 1968. This situation gave rise to high levels of unemployment in rural areas (in 1969 just 33.8 percent of the agricultural labor force was in permanent employment) and widespread migration from rural to urban areas. Unable to accommodate the sudden influx of people, many cities saw the rapid development of shanty towns and so-called poverty belts (*cinturones de pobreza*) (Matos Mar and Mejía, 1980, pp. 54–56). This overall picture of agricultural decline contained within it important differences between the traditional, semi-capitalist haciendas of the highlands and the modern coastal plantations, which had high levels of mechanization and served global export markets. The greater productivity levels achieved by the latter indicated that Peruvian agriculture could be improved substantially through agrarian reform and greater use of technology such as fertilizers, machinery, and pesticides.⁴

EXPERIMENTS WITH DEVELOPMENT AND AGRARIAN REFORM

Changing notions of “development”

The agrarian reform programmes that proliferated across the Andes from the mid-twentieth century onwards were driven by a desire to modernize the countryside and accelerate economic development. As Javier Ávila Molero (2009, p. 415) observes in relation to the applied anthropology projects that emerged during the same period, “these programs began by understanding development as a process of unilinear evolution valid for all the cultures and societies of the world.” From this perspective, rural development required the adoption of modern technology that was necessarily foreign in nature and a change in values and aspirations among rural populations. In short, “traditional” ways of life and cultural traditions were seen as a barrier to development that had to be overcome.

As Javier Ávila (2009, p. 417) notes, the problem with this concept of development was that it was oriented towards a series of ideals about rural life that frequently did not take into account the structural economic inequalities faced by rural communities and tended to subordinate the practices and viewpoints of those communities in favor of “western” ideas regarding social and cultural change. The parliamentary debates

that took place in Colombia in 1960 regarding the introduction of agrarian reform reveal the tendency among representatives of all political colors to view the rural population in terms of the “campesino other” who required guidance and instruction in order to modernize. The Reforma Social Agraria (Agrarian Social Reform) which was passed in December 1961 made provisions for state-backed producers’ associations or cooperatives that would provide campesinos with technical, financial, and social support. The associations were designed to intervene in all aspects of peasant life and address the perceived cultural deficiencies of the campesino. For example, Senator Velásquez Paláu argued that the cooperative would have a highly positive effect on the character of the campesino:

This will mean that a prosperous peasant population develops a human type of greater physical resistance, greater estimation of their own individual value, better awareness of their capabilities and limitations, with a broad sense of human solidarity, more patient and constant, better disciplined in the struggle for life.⁵

The central thrust of Bolivia’s 1953 agrarian reform was to provide “land for those who work it” by expropriating land from the latifundios and redistributing it as small plots for individual peasant ownership. However, comments made by President Victor Paz Estenssoro indicate that the country’s peasants were viewed as passive recipients of the development agenda, rather than active participants in the revolution. In an interview with American historian James Wilkie in 1966, Paz Estenssoro stated that although his regime had made land reform a priority, “we could not acquire, overnight, the miraculous power to bring the peasants up to the cultural level of the other social sectors.”⁶

This tutelary approach to rural development came into question across the Andean region during the 1960s and 70s because of the practical experience of implementing agrarian reform. Far from behaving as the passive populations imagined by government legislators, many rural communities challenged official narratives and policy agendas by mobilizing politically and pushing for the representation of their interests. In Peru, for example, the system of agricultural cooperatives established by the 1969 agrarian reform initially placed decision-making power in the hands of managers and technical staff. However, following trade union protests on the large sugar estates in the north of the country, the government was forced to amend the law to allow proportional representation for different categories of worker within the administrative organs of the cooperatives (Zaldívar, 1974, pp. 25–69). As will be discussed in greater detail below, the active participation of peasant and indigenous communities in processes of land reform fundamentally changed ideas about development in the Andean region (Figure 21.1).

“REVOLUTIONARY” VERSUS “TECHNICAL” AGRARIAN REFORM

While all the agrarian reform programmes implemented in the Andean region were broadly directed towards alleviating rural poverty and generating economic development, there was considerable variation in approach. There was also intense debate within countries over what agrarian reform should mean in practice. In Colombia,



Figure 21.1 “The land is for he who works it”. Poster produced by the local office of the Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (National System of Support for Social Mobilisation, SINAMOS), in Azángaro (Puno, Peru), c. 1975

Courtesy of the National Library of Peru, Special Collections.

for example, parliamentary debates between November 1960 and December 1961 on the proposed Social Agrarian Reform centered on whether major land redistribution was necessary to break up the latifundios and improve campesinos’ quality of life or whether in fact sufficient change could be achieved through the promotion of technical reforms to agriculture and the use of colonization to make more land available for agriculture (Montenegro Helfer, 2016). In the case of Bolivia, the MNR’s initial plans for land reform did not include a redistributive element. Rather, the government was increasingly pushed into expropriating land and giving it to peasant farmers and indigenous communities to appease their demands (Dunkerley, 1984, pp. 38–82). Peru’s 1969 agrarian reform was among the most radical in the region, expropriating large areas of land from the latifundios and redistributing it among peasant cooperatives at an accelerated rate. The reform was introduced by Juan Velasco Alvarado’s military government as a central plank of its revolution. In fact, the need for comprehensive agrarian reform was a key motivation for the 1968 coup in which army general Velasco Alvarado and a small circle of associates seized power and expelled the democratically elected government of Fernando Belaúnde Terry. Velasco argued that Peru’s so-called democracy was mired in corruption and vested interests, and that

meaningful social reform would only be achieved through a military-led revolution (Cant, 2015, pp. 34–38). The agrarian reform was to act as a platform for broader social change, accompanied by educational reform and greater respect for indigenous languages and culture.

Peru had already experienced two previous attempts at land reform, in 1962 under the Pérez Godoy government and again in 1964 under the Belaúnde government. Both were limited in scope and contained substantial loopholes that allowed the latifundios to evade expropriation. The 1969 Agrarian Reform Law (Legal Decree 17716, 1969) was drafted by a special commission that included the Minister of Agriculture and five advisors. As well as previous experiences of land reform, the commission drew on the growing body of research on rural issues that had emerged since the late 1950s in the fields of anthropology, sociology and economics. Both Peruvian and foreign researchers had addressed questions such as the nature of power relations in rural communities, systems of land tenure, the factors determining agricultural productivity, and the prospects for social change (Matos Mar, 1958; Bouricaud, 1967; Hobsbawm, 1969). Benjamín Samanez Concha, one of the government advisers involved in the drafting of the reform, described the guiding principles of the law as follows: “We wanted to carry out a structural agrarian reform. Not a conventional reform like that created by Law 15037 [Belaúnde’s agrarian reform] and like those which existed in other countries. An advanced law that proposed an agrarian reform that could be massive, rapid and drastic” (Del Pilar Tello, 1981, p. 8).

Unlike land reforms in Mexico and Bolivia, the Peruvian agrarian reform expropriated land according to the priorities identified by government officials, rather than responding to petitions for land. That meant it could be implemented with greater speed than previous reforms, and under conditions that were favorable to the peasantry. Local administration of the reform was undertaken by the offices established in each agrarian reform zone. Once an agrarian reform zone had been declared, all landowners within the zone were requested to present their land titles for review by government administrators. Land that exceeded the “unaffectable” limit (variable according to geography and land type⁷) was expropriated. While the expropriations were compulsory, landowners received payment for their land in the form of industrial bonds and/or cash.

Once expropriation was complete, the process of adjudication could begin. It was at this point that peasants could present their case for receiving the expropriated land, which was often the most contentious part of the reform process (Seligmann, 1995, pp. 93–104). Land claims were processed by newly established “Land Judges”, who were in turn accountable to a national Agrarian Tribunal. This new land court system was largely independent of the civil courts—which had tended to favor the landowners over the peasantry—and permitted oral hearings, including the use of Quechua (Seligmann, 1995, pp. 62–69). In receiving the land, the awardees agreed to pay for it over the course of twenty years, in what became known as the “agrarian debt.” The primary form of adjudication was to Cooperativas Agrarias de Producción (Agricultural Production Cooperatives, CAPs) and Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social (Agricultural Societies of Social Interest, SAIS). The Agrarian Reform Law also permitted adjudication to indigenous communities—which were to be renamed “peasant communities”—and groups of peasants who agreed to form a cooperative in the future.⁸ In addition, peasants could receive land on an individual basis in the

form of a family agricultural unit. However, the government preferred the associative model on the grounds that it produced economies of scale and a more rational use of resources. This is reflected in the fact that 65.3 percent of the total land adjudicated by the reform went to cooperatives, rather than to communities or individual peasants (Alvarez and Caballero, 1980, p. 25).⁹

Cooperatives of one kind or another were a common feature of agrarian reforms across the Andes: in Bolivia land was adjudicated to peasant unions (which became important vehicles of collective action); in Chile peasants were organized into Centros de Reforma Agraria (Agrarian Reform Centres, CERA), which grouped together smaller plots of land and employed all laborers on an equal basis. The Velasco government saw the cooperatives created by its agrarian reform as a means to remodel Peruvian society: members (known as *socios*) gained access to health and social services, and had the power to vote on decisions made in the general assembly. They could also vote for representatives on the cooperative's decision-making bodies, the vigilance and administrative councils. For many peasants, these cooperative elections were their first experience of voting. The reform was therefore not just about addressing land inequalities; it was designed also to promote the political inclusion of campesinos at the local and national levels through a network of cooperatives, agrarian leagues and a national body, the Confederación Nacional Agraria (National Agrarian Confederation, CNA).

However, the revolutionary credentials of the Peruvian agrarian reform were consistently challenged by leftist organizations, which accused the Velasco government of installing a pro-capitalist agrarian reform that was driven by the demands of "U.S. imperialism." For example, in a flyer bearing the headline "Let us crush the hacendados, let us expel the yankees," the political party Vanguardia Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Vanguard) claimed that the reform was designed to strengthen medium and small property owners and foster a capitalist mentality that would act as a barrier to the working class movement.¹⁰ The reform was also criticized for its policy of compensating landowners for their land (seen as unwarranted given the poverty suffered by the landless), its creation of cooperatives (perceived as supplanting existing forms of political association and promoting authoritarian control) and the marginalization of indigenous land claims in favor of the cooperative system (Cant, 2015, pp. 39–41). The actions and rhetoric of radical leftist organizations would become a major obstacle to the successful implementation of the reform, which relied considerably on grassroots support.

Similar political struggles took place in Chile during its agrarian reform process, particularly under the presidency of Salvador Allende (1970–73). In common with Peru's agrarian reform, the Chilean government expropriated land from the latifundios and redistributed it to agrarian reform centers. These centers were to act as a vehicle for achieving the "Chilean road to socialism" in the countryside, offering education and social services in addition to their role in organizing labor and agricultural production. However, the slow rate of expropriation meant that organizations such as the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) took matters into their own hands by organizing land occupations and demanding that the reform be implemented. At the other end of the political spectrum, the agrarian reform and the grassroots mobilization that it gave rise to were fiercely criticized by the country's largest landowners' association, the Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura (National Agriculture Society, SNA). It adopted a confrontational strategy towards Allende's

Popular Unity government and portrayed the peasant-led land occupations as the actions of dangerous terrorists, ultimately contributing to the right-wing backlash that allowed General Augusto Pinochet to seize power in 1973 (Robles, 2016). One of Pinochet’s first acts as president was to return over one third of expropriated land to former owners and dissolve numerous agrarian reform centers and settlements established during the agrarian reform (Tinsman, 2002, p. 289).

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF AGRARIAN REFORM

Limitations of reform

Some forty years after it was introduced, opinion remains extremely divided on the Peruvian agrarian reform. The Velasco government came to an abrupt end in 1975, following a coup led by General Morales Bermúdez, whose conservative regime (1975–80) reversed many of the Velasco government’s reforms and began to withdraw state support for the agrarian reform. Nevertheless, the reform had achieved a remarkable level of land redistribution within a short space of time. Between 1969 and 1976 the agrarian reform transferred 7 million hectares to 1,500 collective units of various types (Cleaves and Scurrah, 1980, p. 274). In total some 38.8 percent of agricultural land was affected by the reform (Alvarez and Caballero, 1980, p. 20). In effect, the agrarian reform succeeded in dismantling the hacienda system which had dominated the Peruvian countryside for centuries. Campesinos who received land from the reform, either as individuals or as cooperative members, were able to pursue alternative livelihoods and educate their children to a degree that was previously unthinkable.

However, the economic benefits of the reform were not equally distributed. According to Cynthia McClintock (1984, pp. 64–66), only about one-quarter to one-third of all farm families benefitted from the reform materially and some types of farmers benefitted a great deal more than others: the average value of the property transferred to each cooperative member was approximately 75,000 soles (about \$1,900), compared to 2,000 soles (\$50) per beneficiary among peasant communities. In many cases the best pasture lands were allocated for cooperative use while the marginal lands of lower quality were left for the use of peasant communities. This created tensions between peasant communities and cooperatives that erupted in the 1980s with a series of *tomas de tierra* in which peasant communities occupied cooperative lands. One of those involved in the land occupations in Cusco recalled:

I saw that the campesino worked, [the cooperative] told him the land is yours. But in what way was it his, the land? . . . Just like the hacendado there appeared the cooperative, the president, his directive council, and the workers were the ones who were exploited . . . So therefore absolutely nothing changed, with the cooperative.¹¹

At the macro-economic level, the cooperative model established by the Peruvian agrarian reform did not prove to be the engine of industrial growth envisioned by the Velasco government. Caballero and Alvarez (1980, pp. 83–84) found that

in 1977, cooperatives were only the majority producer for four crops: cotton, sorghum, grape vines, and sugarcane. Non-associative agricultural units of more than 5 hectares produced around half of total agricultural production and controlled more than 60 percent of products for direct consumption and around one-third of agroindustrial/export products. Moreover, they found no evidence that the agrarian reform boosted production. After the return to civilian government in 1980 many cooperatives chose to dissolve, dividing up their land as smallholdings for individual ownership. These factors have frequently been cited (particularly by conservative critics) as evidence that the Peruvian agrarian reform was a failure that did little to improve the lives of peasants. However, it is important to recognize that the agrarian reform was cut short by the change in regime. It might well have achieved greater redistribution and economic success if it had been allowed to continue. Supporters of the agrarian reform also argue that it should be judged on its own terms, as an act of social justice whose objectives centered primarily on the incorporation of the peasantry into national economic and political life, rather than agricultural productivity. In common with agrarian reforms in other Andean nations, the Peruvian agrarian reform opened up new opportunities for political participation and social movements that have in turn produced lasting political change.

INDIGENOUS AND PEASANT MOBILIZATION

Agrarian reforms provided an important focal point around which indigenous and peasant groups could mobilize. As Linda Seligmann (1995) showed in the case of Cusco, peasants who had previously been marginalized by the landowning elites were able to make themselves heard and represent their interests via the Agrarian Tribunal and the process of land adjudication. Similarly, in Bolivia, Indian communities and peasant unions consistently petitioned the president for attention to their particular land problems and were ultimately successful in changing the terms on which land could be adjudicated, to recognize communal land rights alongside other types of land claim (Soliz Urrutia, 2014).

The creation of peasant associations and representative organizations was a feature of several agrarian reforms in the region. Even in countries where land redistribution did not reach significant levels, peasant organizations gained an important political profile. In Colombia, for example, the Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos de Colombia (National Association of Peasant Smallholders, ANUC) was set up by President Carlos Lleras Restrepo in 1967 as a network through which to promote agricultural development. Although conceived in somewhat paternalistic terms, the organization developed its own political path and became a center of left-wing activism during the 1970s (Rivera Cusicanqui, 1987). In Peru, the congresses of the government-sponsored CNA (National Agrarian Confederation) and the independent Confederación de Campesinos del Perú (Peasant Confederation of Peru, CCP) encouraged the growth of peasant networks and strengthened peasants' ability to represent their own interests. Whereas critics of the agrarian reform portray the agricultural cooperatives as a model imposed from above that was rejected by the peasantry, my interviews with former cooperative members indicate that the cooperatives provided an important basis for peasant-led development. For example, even after state support

for the cooperatives had been withdrawn in the 1980s, the Cooperativa Agraria de Producción Negri Ulloa in Piura continued to develop new systems of member participation and collectivized the marketing of produce, despite opposition from the private sector (Cant, 2015, pp. 129–130).

As well as increasing the profile of peasant activism on rural issues, the Peruvian agrarian reform produced a wider shift in the citizenship rights afforded to campesinos. This was largely due to the political terms in which the reform was conceived and implemented. Government propaganda stressed the idea that the reform heralded the liberation of the campesinos from the hacienda system and the chance to participate actively in local and national politics. Within the cooperatives, peasants were encouraged to take part in general meetings and take up positions within the administrative councils. Both the 1972 education reform and government-sponsored education programs within the cooperatives aimed to increase literacy among peasants and establish a more inclusive education system. Whereas low levels of education among the peasantry had previously been used as an argument for delaying the transfer of land, the Velasco government took the view that it was necessary to proceed with fundamental structural change and fill the educational gaps as required. If one waited until the population had been educated to the required extent, major change might never happen. Alongside government-led training programs, cooperatives were encouraged to set up their own education committees and organize educational initiatives for their members (Cant, 2015, pp. 87–132).

The Peruvian government’s attention to the progress of the agrarian reform meant that rural issues consistently featured in the national media, while the government also invested in innovative projects such as peasant-led radio programs and the first Quechua language national newspaper. As debates over the implementation of the agrarian reform at the local level intensified, the government and left-wing activists competed for peasant support and viewed the peasantry as a significant political base. An important consequence of the public profile achieved by peasants during the agrarian reform was that when Peru returned to democratic rule in 1980, the country’s illiterate population—the vast majority of whom were peasants—were granted the right to vote in national elections for the first time. The political engagement demonstrated by peasants during the course of the agrarian reform made it difficult to return to the status quo ante, in which national politics were dominated by the landowning elites and peasants were denied suffrage.

The demise of agrarian reform programs and the ascendancy of neoliberalism across Latin America since the late 1970s pose new questions about the relationship between agriculture and development. Policy agendas promoted by figures such as President Alberto Fujimori in Peru (1990–2000) and President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada in Bolivia (1993–97; 2002–03) led to severe cuts in state spending and the promotion of big business as “wealth generators” across all economic sectors. As part of this trend, Peru has seen dramatic increases in the concentration of land ownership since the early 1990s. This corresponds to a combination of factors: the withdrawal of constitutional protections for land owned by peasant communities (previously defined as inalienable and nontransferable to third parties); the limited availability of credit facilities for small landowners; and, neoliberal economic policies that provide favorable conditions for large agroindustrial enterprises (lower taxes, reduced labor protections, international

trade agreements). As Fernando Eguren (2014) notes, the concentration of land ownership has been particularly marked in the productive coastal areas that were once at the centre of Velasco's agrarian reform. In 2012 some 30 percent of coastal agricultural land was directly controlled by 18 conglomerates and 20 independent companies, each of which owned more than 1,000 hectares. This figure was set to rise to 40 percent by the end of the decade (Eguren, 2014, p. 179). At the same time, the dissolution of the agricultural cooperatives and the decline of agricultural trade unions has placed small landowners in a precarious economic position, unable to compete with large agricultural enterprises and often forced to sell their produce to intermediary companies at below-market rates (Eguren, 2014, pp. 182–185). Social movements have emerged to challenge the narrative of economic growth powered by big business, highlighting the long-term environmental threats posed by industrialized agriculture and the extractive industries. However, as Eguren (2014, p. 189) comments, "The social movements, which are episodic and decentralized, although occasionally very intense, have not managed to articulate themselves nor construct an alternative discourse capable of orienting vast sectors of the population that, despite the sustained economic growth, or perhaps because of it, feel that they continue to be excluded from its benefits."

CONCLUSION

This chapter began by describing the land problem that affected the whole of the Andean region to varying degrees: huge inequalities in access to land that resulted in the latifundio/minifundio complex. A legacy of the hacienda system that grew up during the colonial era, the latifundio/minifundio complex meant that a small proportion of landowners controlled vast areas of territory and were able to dictate the terms of labor, trade, and water access for subsistence farmers and hacienda workers. By the mid-twentieth century this situation was being challenged as both socially unjust and economically backward; agrarian reforms that sought to modernize property relations and agricultural methods were given strong support by the U.S. government via the Alliance for Progress. At the same time, the growth in communist insurgency and the success of the Cuban Revolution highlighted the need to redistribute land and wealth to minimize the appeal of communism among rural communities. The agrarian reforms introduced in different Andean countries from the early 1950s onwards typically included some element of land redistribution, technical assistance for agriculturalists and the creation of cooperatives or collective bodies to represent peasants' interests. Agrarian reforms nevertheless varied considerably in the speed and manner in which they were implemented, and their political orientation. While Bolivia's Víctor Paz Estenssoro described his government's agrarian reform as a means of bringing peasants up to the same cultural level as the urban population, Peru's Juan Velasco Alvarado declared his agrarian reform was a historic moment in which peasants would throw off the legacy of centuries of oppression and take a leading role in the country's economic development.

Andean agrarian reforms often reflected a tutelary approach to development that saw peasants as passive recipients of state assistance, who needed to be modernized through education and cultural change. However, the legal processes and political contexts created as part of agrarian reform enabled peasant movements to chart their

own independent course, often challenging the assumptions that underpinned “western” development models. In the case of Peru, the option to participate in cooperative management and national peasant organizations helped propel a new generation of peasant leaders into the public sphere. They continued to shape Peruvian politics long after the collapse of the agrarian reform. While opinion remains divided on whether agrarian reform worked as a response to land inequalities, it had an undeniable impact in dismantling the hacienda system and raising the profile of rural communities within national political discourse.

The current political and economic climate presents a series of new challenges, such as the position of small agricultural producers in an increasingly globalized economy, the balance between agricultural productivity and biodiversity, and the expansion of extractive industries that promise immense wealth but which often threaten the lives and livelihoods of peasant communities. Rural populations across the Andean region are once again being forced to mobilize in order to articulate their own vision of agricultural development and defend their interests at local, national, and international levels.

NOTES

- 1 Contract signed by Benjamín de La Torre (landlord) and Francisco Micaura (tenant), 1 January 1907, reproduced in CENCIRA, 1972.
- 2 All translations from Spanish to English are the author’s own.
- 3 “La Reforma Agraria es Urgente”, *La Prensa*, 9 May 1962, p. 8.
- 4 In reality, this idea turned out to rely on a series of false assumptions about the transferability of “modern” agricultural techniques and did not give due consideration to the diversity of tenure, labour conditions and ecologies in different areas of the country. See Harding, 1974; Guillet, 1979; Scott, 1979.
- 5 Senado de la República, *Historia de las Leyes*, I:465 and 468. Cited in Montenegro Helfer, 2016, p. 41.
- 6 Wilkie, J., 1974. *Measuring Land Reform*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, University of California, p.28, cited in Soliz Urrutia, 2014, p. 87.
- 7 The limit was 200 hectares on the coast and between 5 and 50 hectares in the sierra. See Legal Decree 17716, 1969, Title 3, Chapter 1.
- 8 See Legal Decree 17716, 1969, Title 6, Art. 77 and Title X, Art. 117.
- 9 Note that this figure refers to all types of land and does not take into account degrees of irrigation etc.
- 10 “Aplastemos a los hacendados, expulsemos a los yanquis. Declaración de Vanguardia Revolucionaria.” Lima, July 7, 1969. Senate House Library, Contemporary Archive on Latin America, K 320, Pam Box 2.
- 11 Sixto Villavicencio Castillo, Comunidad de Tambo Real (Cusco). Interview conducted by the Centro Andino de Educación y Promoción José María Arguedas. Accessed on January 29, 2017 at: www.ivoox.com/audios-cholonautas_sa_f231555_p2_1.html?o=all

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

REVOLUTIONS AND VIOLENCE

—♦—
Miguel La Serna

Driver Germán Quispe Mendoza was on his way to pick up factory workers at Nissan's Lima car plant on the morning of November 18, 1987 when a uniformed policeman boarded his Roggero bus.* The policeman was accompanied by a man, woman, and 10-year-old child in civilian clothes. The policeman and his civilian companions, who turned out to be guerrilla militants, suddenly forced Quispe to the ground and took over the wheel. Moments later, 30 more guerrillas dressed in Nissan factory uniforms boarded the bus. The rebels told Quispe that he would need to take control of the wheel before they arrived at the plant, so as not to raise suspicion. He would tell the guards that he had accidentally hit the civilian couple's 10-year-old boy. The guerrillas warned Quispe not to try any funny business. His life depended on it.

Quispe did exactly as told.

"My son!" cried the plain-clothes woman to the factory guards. "They hit my son!" (República, 1987a, pp. 41-43).

The guards took the bait, opening the gate and allowing the bus to enter the plant.

Once the bus had cleared the gates, a group of rebels got off and occupied the factory. Moments later, a police patrol car cruised by, noticing the commotion inside the plant. After a trigger-happy rebel fired on the squad car, the policemen took cover and began firing on the bus. The police and guerrillas were still shooting at each other when the explosives began to detonate inside the factory, sending multiple eruptions and bursts of flames throughout the building. The explosions provided enough of a diversion for some of the rebels to escape through the back door. Others took their chances running past the patrol car, to the sounds of incoming sirens from police and emergency backup. After the battle, police swept the crime scene, finding the bodies of four insurgents, 52 bullet holes in the Roggero bus, and no less than 70 percent of the factory floor destroyed beyond repair (República, 1987a, pp. 41-43.).

Rebel attacks like the one on the Nissan plant were commonplace in 1980s Peru. At first, officials and the press attributed the Nissan incident to the relatively new guerrilla organization, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, or MRTA. After further investigation, however, authorities determined that the real perpetrators had been members of the notorious Shining Path guerrilla group (República, 1987b, pp. 2–3; República, 1987c, pp. 20–21). The initial confusion surrounding the identity of the rebels speaks to the uncertainty that prevailed in late-twentieth-century Peru. Confronted with twin guerrilla threats, a weak and increasingly authoritarian state, and an anemic economy, the nation found itself in a state of crisis with no apparent end in sight. Almost daily, Shining Path and MRTA guerrillas squared off against the military, police, paramilitaries, and civilian militias. The conflict enveloped most of the country, from the Andes to the Amazon and the coast, and spanned democratic and dictatorial regimes. According to the Peruvian Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), over 69,000 people lost their lives in the conflict (2003, p. 31). Many of the victims had never taken up arms for either side. This chapter offers a brief narrative history of the conflict that nearly brought Peru to its knees.

THE PERUVIAN CONFLICT IN CONTEXT

Peru was by no means the only Andean nation to witness the rise of armed insurgent groups in the late twentieth century. In Colombia, the FARC had been gaining ground since the mid-1960s. Like Shining Path, FARC rose from within the Communist Party and emphasized armed struggle from the countryside. In the early 1980s, both the Peruvian and Colombian guerrillas moved away from arming militias and toward building, training, and equipping proper guerrilla armies. The FARC proved far more successful in this regard. Using income raised by for-ransom kidnapping and taxing the highly lucrative cocaine trade, the FARC built up a formidable rebel army, which at its height numbered some 17,000 well-armed, uniformed soldiers and controlled large swaths of national territory. Even by the most generous estimates, Shining Path never reached more than 10,000 members, and most of these were not armed. Those who were armed had to make do with limited munitions, and most resorted instead to using knives, stones, and improvised explosive devices as weapons. Nor did Shining Path appear to have much contact with the FARC or other Latin American rebel groups. Because the Peruvian Maoists saw theirs as the only pure revolutionary path, they saw no need for dialogue with the numerous other guerrilla groups in the region.

This refusal to collaborate distinguished Shining Path from the MRTA, Peru's other major guerrilla organization. The MRTA saw itself as belonging to Latin America's rich revolutionary tradition. The Tupac Amaristas, as they were known, glorified Che Guevara and harkened back to a distinctly Andean past. These rebels also worked with insurgent groups from other Andean nations, such as Colombia's M-19 and Ecuador's Alfaro Vive Carajo. The rebel organizations went as far as to form a pan-Andean guerrilla alliance known as *Batallón América* (America Battalion), which coordinated efforts and sometimes lent combatants across national borders (MRTA, 1990, pp. 89–90). These guerrillas saw themselves as waging a kind of second war for Latin American independence to rid themselves of what they viewed as increasingly undemocratic regimes and to break the shackles of U.S. imperialism.

ABIMAE GUZMÁN AND THE SHINING PATH

Night-time in April is when the rain rolls in, torrential downpours that turn the cobblestone streets of Huamanga, Ayacucho's capital, into canals of calf-high rainwater. April 2, 1962 was one of those rainy nights, and it was also the night that rookie professor Abimael Guzmán arrived at the sleepy Andean city (Montesinos, 2009, p. 187; Guzmán and Iparraguirre, 2014, p. 32).

The bespectacled 26-year-old had recently accepted a position teaching philosophy at the Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSCH). An avowed Communist, Guzmán immediately tried to radicalize the campus community. Within a year of his arrival, he had helped establish the Guaman Poma School of Practicum, a student teaching program that would later produce some of Shining Path's first militants. A year later, Guzmán was named a delegate to the University Council. The young Communist used his influence in these organizations to ensure that radical politics had a place at UNSCH. He also held considerable sway over the students, most of whom were first-generation college students and children of Quechua-speaking peasants. In his classes, Guzmán assigned pamphlets of leftist doctrine designed to reveal the scientific truth underlying Marxist thought (Degregori, 2012). Outside of the classroom, he oversaw the Student Revolutionary Front (Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario—FER), the youth division of the Communist Party's regional committee (Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional (SIN), 1981; ca. 1981).

As Guzmán's influence over the campus community grew, so too did his commitment to leftist politics. In 1965 he joined a special envoy to Communist China, immersing himself in the People's Republic's political culture and taking courses in theory and guerrilla warfare. He returned two years later, during the Cultural Revolution, when Mao was at the height of his power. These trips had a lasting impact on Guzmán, cementing his decision to adopt Maoist ideology back home (Guzmán and Iparraguirre, 2002; Guzmán and Iparraguirre, 2014, pp. 98–100, 192–194, 211; Policía de Investigaciones del Perú (PIP), 1969).

After spending some time in Lima, Guzmán and his wife, Augusta La Torre, began making moves to form their own Communist splinter group based on a strict application of Maoist political and military theory.¹ In 1969, one year after the Peruvian military seized power in a bloodless coup, the political power-house couple mobilized a broad coalition of students, faculty, peasants, and workers to protest Decree 006, an effort to restrict free education in the nation's public universities. A series of mass protests took place in the Ayacuchan cities of Huamanga and Huenta in mid-June. Police responded by lobbing cans of tear gas into the crowd, beating down the protestors with clubs, and fatally shooting one student activist. Protestors responded with an even bigger demonstration days later that led to Guzmán's arrest (Degregori, 1990, pp. 51, 63–71; Guzmán and Iparraguirre, 2002; SIN, 1981; Guzmán and Iparraguirre, 2014, pp. 232–233).

Upon being released from jail, Guzmán formed Shining Path. The group began as a Maoist splinter group of the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP), but its members would claim that it, Shining Path, and the PCP were one and the same. For the better part of a decade, Guzmán and La Torre, together with a small collection of university and high school students, professors, school teachers, and labor leaders, began to build up their revolutionary organization. They established a political network that extended beyond

Ayacucho, into the northern reaches of the country and in the coastal capital. As with most of the founders in Ayacucho, party leaders in these zones tended to be educated, middle-class *mestizos* (mixed-race people) from the cities.

Why would people from this privileged social sector support such a radical movement predicated on liberating the peasantry? For many future Senderistas, revolution was a foregone conclusion. The Chinese and Cuban revolutions of previous decades had already demonstrated that armed insurgency could lead to meaningful political and social change. Meanwhile, the democratic socialist experiment in Chile, which ended in the death of president Salvador Allende in 1973 and the rise of one of the most repressive dictatorships in the hemisphere, had given leftists reason to doubt the viability of political revolution via the ballot box. For many young people on the left, armed insurgency appeared the only way to shake up the status quo.

Peru, many believed, could use a sturdy shake-up. For much of the early twentieth century, the landed, mestizo elite controlled the means of production in the countryside, leaving the Andean peasantry landless and penniless. Early-twentieth-century *indigenistas* (indigenists), from José Carlos Mariátegui (1971), to the novelist José María Arguedas (1986), shed light on this discrepancy through their canonical writing.² In a country where half the population lived in urban centers on the coast, however, this message typically fell on deaf ears. It wasn't until peasants began mobilizing in the mid-twentieth century that mainstream political leaders began paying attention to their demands. Displaced highlanders descended on the capital *en masse*, setting up communities overnight. In the highlands, some peasants took to invading the haciendas of the landed class. When the military seized power in 1968, it sought to redress this problem, implementing an extensive land reform the following year.

For some on the left, this was too little, too late. They believed that only a revolution from below could make Peru a truly egalitarian society. Given that Shining Path was the only organization on the left willing to turn words into action, it should come as no surprise that some of these young activists gravitated toward its Maoist call to arms. By the mid-1970s, Guzmán, La Torre, and other leaders went underground, disappearing from the usual political circles in Ayacucho and Lima (Degregori, 1990; Gorriti, 1999).

INITIATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

Shining Path resurfaced in May 1980 to launch a full-fledged guerrilla insurgency. The date coincided with Peru's return to democracy, as the military regime had finally surrendered the reins of power after 12 years of rule. For Guzmán and Shining Path, however, this was just a diversion, a desperate attempt by a fascist state to thwart the revolutionary momentum of the people. The Senderistas, as the guerrillas became known, carried out multiple attacks throughout the country to commemorate what they called the "Initiation of the Armed Struggle." In the Ayacuchan town of Chuschi, rebels burned ballot boxes on the eve of the May 18 election.³ Elsewhere, they hurled Molotov cocktails at government buildings and robbed food trucks to redistribute their contents in urban shantytowns (Iparraguirre, 2015). In the months that followed, Senderistas knocked over power lines, set off car bombs in front of tourist hotels, and shot up police stations in Ayacucho and elsewhere. In one

of their more macabre moments, the rebels strung dead dogs from lampposts with signs attached to their lifeless necks that read: “Deng Xiaoping, Son of a Bitch,”—a shot at China’s leader, who Senderistas believed had abandoned Maoist principles (Degregori, 1994, pp. 51–52).

The rebels enjoyed initial support in some peasant communities. Typically, the guerrillas would gather the townspeople in the village square and hold ad-hoc “popular trials” for enemies of the revolution. The rebels usually identified the defendants beforehand as bad seeds—cattle rustlers, wife-beaters, or corrupt officials who had abused the local populace with impunity for years. After asking the Quechua-speaking crowd if the defendant deserved to be punished, the poncho-wearing rebels would carry out the sentence, which usually involved whipping the defendant with a short-range whip called a *chicote* (La Serna, 2012, Chapter 4).

It wasn’t until later that the Senderistas began stepping up the violence against their enemies. On Christmas Eve, 1980, the guerrillas carried out a popular trial against a landlord named Benedicto Medina that ended in his execution—the first targeted assassination of its kind. By late 1982, however, popular trials ending in death had become the norm. Often, the rebels would hang placards from their victims’ necks underscoring their crime in red paint: “This is how snitches die”; “This is how cattle-rustlers die”; “This is how womanizers die.” The message often came with an explicit warning that anyone who attempted to remove the rotting corpse from the gutter would meet a similar fate.

RONDAS CAMPESINAS AND THE ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE

By the end of 1982, some of the early support that the Senderistas had enjoyed in the countryside began to fade. In the highland communities of Ayacucho’s Huanta Province, some villagers began looking for ways to defend their communities against Shining Path incursions. In the Quechua-speaking hamlet of Huaychao, peasants lured a column of eight Senderistas into their administrative building before suddenly attacking them with stones and knives. One of the Senderistas escaped into the nearby hills, but the villagers tied the remaining seven to a large stone in the village square before strangling them to death (La Serna, 2012, Chapter 5).

The Huaychao *linchamiento*, or lynching, as it became known, left a long line of skeptics back in Lima. Many urban observers, from journalists to scholars, had trouble believing that peasants would take up arms against Shining Path. Weren’t peasants the ones in whose name the Maoists fought? It just didn’t make sense to Lima’s intellectual elite. A range of conspiracy theories surfaced as to what was really going on in the Andes. Some speculated that the military had forced indigenous peasants, under threat of death, to fight the guerrillas. Others believed that soldiers had murdered the Senderistas and were trying to pass the blame onto innocent Indians. Others maintained that the so-called Senderistas killed in Huaychao were actually unarmed villagers, and that the whole story had been one big government cover-up.⁴

This skepticism prompted a group of eight journalists representing various news outlets to travel to Huaychao to get to the bottom of the story. As there were no roads leading to the remote village in the clouds, the journalists had to drive to Tambo, a town in the neighboring province, and hike the remainder of the way. When the villagers in nearby Uchuraccay spotted the camera-toting journalists, they

mistook them for Senderistas and killed them (CVR, 2003, pp. 134–136; Hosoya, 2003; Del Pino, 2017). The Uchuraccay massacre, as it became known, produced a public outcry back in Lima and no small amount of controversy for years to come. None other than Mario Vargas Llosa, Peru's future Nobel Prize winning writer, led a government-sponsored commission, the Comisión Investigadora de los Sucesos de Uchuraccay (Investigative Commission of the Uchuraccay Affair), to look into what took place there (1983).⁵

Despite the conflicting narratives about what really happened in Uchuraccay, the incident highlights the confusion and anxiety inside Ayacucho's war-torn communities. Entire villages—and entire families—were torn apart, some siding with Shining Path and others taking up arms against the guerrillas. Villagers' distrust of outsiders was understandable, as some outsiders were indeed affiliated with the rebels. Still, many communities saw the incidents in Huaychao and Uchuraccay as a model for how to deal with Shining Path's mounting totalitarianism. Before long, communities from the Andes to the Amazon had formed their own civilian counterinsurgency militias, popularly known as the *rondas campesinas* (peasant patrols). These militias worked hand-in-hand with the military in an effort to expel Shining Path from the countryside (Starn, 1997, pp. 223–249; Degregori et al., 1996; Fumerton, 2002).

The guerrillas responded to the growth of the *rondas campesinas* with vengeance. If the killings before 1983 were mostly selective, they were widespread now. The peasants in the Ayacuchan town of Lucanamarca learned firsthand just how vindictive the Senderistas could be. In April of 1983, a Shining Path column showed up in this town of mostly Quechua-speaking Indians and massacred 69 people. The fortunate ones were shot in the head or chest. The guerrillas poured boiling water over others before slitting their throats with rusty machetes and knives. Of the victims, eight were elders and 18 were children—including a 6-month-old baby. Some of the women victims were pregnant at the time. With massacres like this, Shining Path sent a clear message to its detractors. As leader Abimael Guzmán later explained, the “devastating blow” that the guerrillas dealt the villagers of Lucanamarca showed peasants that “it wasn't going to be so easy” to resist his forces, for Shining Path was “a tough bone to gnaw” (Arce Borja, 1988, pp. 19–20).

THE COUNTERINSURGENCY

Shining Path's escalation of violence coincided with an equally brutal state counterinsurgency campaign. Before 1983, the government of Fernando Belaúnde had depended on special police forces, the so-called *sinchis*, to lead the counterinsurgency. These forces left a trail of atrocity in their wake, raiding homes and detaining alleged guerrillas without due process. In late 1982, Belaúnde sent in the military to join the counterinsurgency effort. While the armed forces formed important alliances with the *rondas campesinas*, they also engaged in dirty war tactics that few outside the military could defend (Uceda, 2004). Army intelligence officers established secret detention centers to torture and execute suspected guerrillas and guerrilla sympathizers. At the Los Cabitos army headquarters in Ayacucho, soldiers built their own cremation oven, *La Hoyada*, to dispose of their victims' corpses.

It wasn't only suspected guerrillas who the military targeted. In 1985, army soldiers stormed the Ayacuchan village of Accomarca, searching for evidence that

the indigenous villagers had been supporting and harboring Shining Path rebels. Finding none, the soldiers lined up the men, women, and children and shot them one by one. Some of the villagers still lay wounded when the soldiers set fire to their bodies, burning the village to the ground. The Accomarca massacre left 71 villagers—most of them who had nothing to do with the Shining Path and roughly a third of them children—murdered (Burt and Rodríguez, 2015; Aroni Sulca, 2016).

Actions like this only strengthened the Senderistas' resolve. Abimael Guzmán, who now went by the *nom de guerre* Presidente (President) Gonzalo, enjoyed God-like reverence from his followers. He was, as the party line went, the “fourth sword” of global Communism, heir to Marx, Lenin, and Mao. Prisoners in the “Shining Trenches of Combat,” as Guzmán called the state penitentiaries, plastered guerrilla slogans and portraits of their Dear Leader on the prison walls, praising Presidente Gonzalo in disciplined unison (Rénique, 2003). To show their force, Shining Path inmates at several of Lima's maximum security prisons rose up against their captors in June of 1986, holding several guards hostage. The response by Alan García's government was swift and deadly. Military forces bombarded the prisons relentlessly, killing at least 263 inmates. Those who had not perished in the assault were killed extra-judicially after having surrendered (Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos (APRODEH), 2003; Uceda, 2004, pp. 167–175; Aguirre, 2013).

THE GUERRILLAS DOUBLE DOWN

The 1986 prison massacre prompted an outcry among armed groups on the left. The MRTA, then a little-known guerrilla group that had launched a separate insurgency only two years earlier, used the occasion to step up its attacks in Lima. MRTA rebels assaulted police posts, destroyed restaurants and factories, and redistributed stolen goods in Lima's poorest neighborhoods (Meza, 2012). Unlike the Maoist Shining Path, the MRTA took its inspiration from Latin America's home-grown revolutionary tradition. Tupac Amaru II had once led the bloodiest rebellion of the colonial period before being executed along with his wife and children in the Inca heartland of Cuzco (Walker, 2014). The modern-day Tupac Amaristas claimed to be finishing the war the Andean *kuraka*, or ethnic lord, had started two hundred years earlier. The rebels also took inspiration from other Peruvian revolutionaries, from independence leader José de San Martín to the 1960s guerrilla fighter Luis Uceda de la Puente. Led by mestizo radicals like Víctor Polay Campos, Peter Cárdenas Shulte, Alberto Gálvez Olaechea, Miguel Rincón Rincón, and Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, the Tupac Amaristas of the 1980s hoped to do for Peru what Fidel Castro and Che Guevara had done for Cuba and what Carlos Fonseca and Daniel Ortega had done for Nicaragua. It was with this in mind that the Tupac Amaristas opened a rural *foco* (guerrilla vanguard) in San Martín, a department in the Amazonian jungle, in 1987. There, Polay, Cerpa, and others made headlines sacking town after town and establishing a broad network of peasant and student support (Castro Gavelán, 1987, pp. 9–11; República, 1987d, pp. 19–22).

Meanwhile, guerrillas from both the MRTA and Shining Path continued to assault the coastal capital. The two subversive organizations never joined forces, however. Instead, they remained bitter rivals and, at times, mortal enemies throughout the war due to a combination of irreconcilable differences.⁶ Independently, however, the

guerrillas set off car bombs, burned banks and restaurants, bazooka-blasted embassy buildings, and gunned down policemen in the streets. A favorite strategy of the Senderistas was to cut down power lines at night, thrusting the capital into darkness while a large flickering symbol of the Communist sickle and hammer burned in the surrounding hills.

All the while, the location of Peru's most wanted rebel, Abimael Guzmán, remained unknown. The running assumption among the intelligence community was that the Shining Path leader had been killed in action many years earlier. Others believed he was living outside the country. Even mid-level Senderistas doubted his existence. For them, the man known as Presidente Gonzalo was a mythical figure of sorts. It was really anyone's guess, since the guerrilla kingpin hadn't surfaced since the 1970s, as to whether he even existed. He was, as one intelligence official put it, a "ghost" (Miyashiro, ca. 2000, pp. 36–37).

Guzmán had been hiding in plain sight all along. He had been moving from safe house to safe house in Lima throughout the conflict. As if to rub it in the noses of the authorities, Guzmán typically rented homes owned by military personnel. Shining Path leaders assumed, correctly, that this strategy would throw officials off the scent. Who, after all, would suspect Peru's most wanted man was hiding in the belly of the beast? Guzmán was surrounded only by his closest inner circle, usually his wife, Augusta La Torre, and a small group of women who simultaneously looked after his needs (he suffered from polycythemia, a kind of blood disorder, and skin psoriasis) and attended to party logistics. He received daily reports about the state of the insurgency and read voraciously—everything from Communist philosophy to academic studies about his own party. On occasion, Guzmán would venture outside of his home, traveling to meetings in the provinces or elsewhere in the city, taking advantage of the fact that no one really knew what he looked like (Miyashiro, ca. 2000, pp. 41–42; Caretas, 1990; Montesinos, 2009, p. 192; Jiménez Bacca, 2013).

In 1988, Guzmán convened the party's first national congress. The Peruvian Communist Party had held congresses before, but Guzmán believed those didn't count because they had taken place under a false and illegitimate party. Guzmán insisted that his would be the first "true" congress of the Peruvian Communist Party. The congress took place in various month-long sessions throughout the year, and featured about 17 members of the Central Committee—Shining Path's top command structure. The congress cemented Guzmán's status as the party's undisputed leader and laid the groundwork for the rebels' final push to seize power in Peru (Policía Nacional del Perú (PNP), 1992a). Guzmán was so proud of what he had accomplished during this congress that he gave his first-and-only interview from hiding to talk about it. The so-called "Interview of the Century," conducted by the editor of Shining Path's unofficial mouthpiece, *El Diario*, took place in Guzmán's Monterrico safe house (Arce Borja, 1988).

The 1988 Congress had not yet concluded when Augusta La Torre, Guzmán's wife and second-in-command, suddenly and mysteriously died. La Torre had been in Lima since she had left the field of combat in Ayacucho in 1982. Throughout the insurgency, she remained the only person in the party who could openly challenge Guzmán, and she did so on occasion. The circumstances of her death were unknown, as she was in her mid-40s and in relatively good health. At first, Guzmán indicated to his inner circle that his wife's death had been a suicide, but he later claimed that she had died of a heart attack. What is certain is that Guzmán kept the death a

secret from all other party members for more than a year. When one of the Central Committee members proposed to investigate the cause of death, she quickly found herself demoted. Nor was La Torre's body ever found. The dubious circumstances surrounding Augusta La Torre's sudden death have led to wide speculation, and theories—ranging from murder to assisted suicide—abound to this day (Montesinos, 2009, p. 190; Heilman, 2010; Iparraguirre, 2015). After Augusta La Torre's death, Elena Iparraguirre, the former third-in-command, emerged as both the number two in the party hierarchy and Abimael Guzmán's life partner (and later wife). A former Special Education teacher who grew up in Lima, Iparraguirre had considerable sway over party strategy in the years to come (Zapata, 2016). With Iparraguirre firmly entrenched as Guzmán's new first mate, and despite the setback regarding La Torre's death, Shining Path went into the new decade with a renewed faith in the triumph of the revolutionary cause.

The Senderistas weren't the only ones with reason to be optimistic. After suffering major setbacks that included the arrest of several of its leaders—including Víctor Polay—and a deadly army ambush that wiped out an entire rebel column in an area of Junín known as Los Molinos, the MRTA staged a daring prison escape in the waning days of the García administration. Polay and company had been locked away in the same cell block of Canto Grande, Lima's state-of-the-art maximum security prison. Using a nearby safe house as cover, Tupac Amaristas on the outside constructed an underground tunnel leading into the cell block. In June of 1990, just days before Alan García was scheduled to step down as president, Polay and his fellow prisoners snuck past the prison guards, slipped down the tunnel, and escaped without sounding the alarm or firing a single shot (Thorndike, 1991; Alegría and Flakoll, 1996). *El Túnel de Polay*, or Polay's Tunnel, as it was called, would go down as the most daring prison break in modern Latin American history. In addition to raising international attention for the struggling guerrilla group, the escape helped replenish the MRTA's depleted rebel army. More important, it renewed the guerrillas' hope to enter negotiations with Peru's newly elected president, Alberto Fujimori.

FUJISHOCK

A Japanese Peruvian, Alberto Fujimori had been the rector of La Cantuta, Lima's agricultural university, before jumping into the political waters. He ran against Peru's beloved writer, Mario Vargas Llosa, and defeated him convincingly. Once in office, Fujimori turned his sites on the economy, introducing a dramatic neoliberal shock program known as the "Fujishock" (Cameron, 1997).

The president also took a no-holds-barred approach to counterinsurgency. Just before midnight on November 3, 1991, six hitmen in ski masks stormed into the poor neighborhood of Barrios Altos and began firing submachine guns and silencers indiscriminately on local residents for two minutes straight before fleeing the scene. The massacre left 15 dead, including an eight-year-old boy. The hitmen turned out to be members of a paramilitary group known as Grupo Colina. Most of the assailants were active in police intelligence, working under the authority of Fujimori's national security advisor, Vladimiro Montesinos. The following year, Grupo Colina struck again, this time bursting into the residence hall of La Cantuta University.

After forcing the students out of their rooms at gun point and making them lie down on the ground, the paramilitaries abducted nine of them believed to be affiliated with Shining Path. They then stormed the home of a university professor and kidnapped him as well. The bodies of the kidnapped students and professor were later found in an unmarked grave bearing signs of torture. Actions such as these were part of a larger state strategy to intimidate and terrorize enemies of the regime (Burt, 2007, pp. 49, 202–203).

Not all members of the intelligence community took this scorched-earth approach to counterinsurgency. Inside the counterterrorism police, a small group of detectives in the Special Intelligence Group, or GEIN, had been operating on the assumption that painstaking detective work—as opposed to brute force—would ultimately lead to the downfall of the nation’s top guerrilla commanders. Just seven months before the Barrios Altos massacre, GEIN agents uncovered a home-made video recording of Shining Path leader Abimael Guzmán and his Central Committee drunkenly dancing to the theme song of the Anthony Quinn classic, “Zorba the Greek,” inside their Lima safe house. The video not only helped GEIN agents identify the members of Shining Path’s Central Committee, but it proved that Guzmán was in fact alive and well (Jiménez Bacca, 2000; Tipe Sánchez, 2012; Jiménez Bacca, 2013, Chapters 6, 13). The tape also served to demystify Guzmán in the eyes of the public, showing him as the overweight, bearded man that he was—a clear contrast to the portrait of the clean-cut, square-jawed philosopher-in-chief so revered in rebel propaganda. The video had the added effect of disillusioning some rebels and rebel sympathizers, who wondered how the mestizo intellectuals in Shining Path’s inner circle could engage in such carefree debauchery while their foot soldiers sacrificed life and limb on the battlefield.

By 1991, Shining Path had reached a watershed moment in the insurgency. Guzmán believed that his guerrilla organization had achieved “strategic equilibrium,” drawing even, militarily speaking, with the state counterinsurgency (Burt, 2007, p. 97). Victory, in other words, was now within reach. Still, the capture of the “Zorba the Greek” video showed that intelligence forces were hot on the trail of the guerrilla leaders. Hoping to put the state back on its heels and perhaps provoke another over-reaction that would galvanize support for the revolution during its final push, the Senderistas took dramatic action against their enemies.

One of those enemies was María Elena Moyano. An Afro-descendent activist from Villa El Salvador, Lima’s oldest shantytown, Moyano had helped organize women’s federations and other community organizations over the years. By the early 1990s, she had emerged as a voice of protest against the violence of both the state and the guerrillas, showing that grassroots mobilization still had a place in Lima’s shantytowns. With this in mind, Moyano began a fearless campaign against Shining Path, organizing marches, rallies, and giving speeches denouncing the mounting violence. The Senderistas, for their part, saw Moyano as a threat to the significant inroads they had made in Villa El Salvador over the years. On February 15, 1992, a Shining Path hit squad gunned Moyano down in front of her two children while they were attending a community barbecue. As Moyano lay there in a pool of her own blood, the hitmen placed dynamite sticks on her body, blowing her to pieces. The message was clear: the party would not tolerate dissent, no matter how peaceful (Jiménez Bacca, 2013, Chapter 7; Miloslavich, 2000; Burt, 2011).

THE FALL OF THE GUERRILLAS

President Fujimori had plans of his own. On April 5, 1992, the president took to the TV waves to announce that he was dissolving the Congress and reorganizing the court system. Congressmen initially resisted, attempting to hold session without the president's approval. In response, Fujimori ordered tanks to the Congress while soldiers sprayed senators with tear gas. Elsewhere, soldiers rounded up the president's political opponents and media critics. The *autogolpe*, or self-coup, effectively turned Peru into a police state, giving the president dictatorial powers. Fujimori and his supporters, however, argued that it was a necessary, if extreme, measure to combat the rising tide of terrorism that had enveloped the capital (Burt, 2007, Chapter 8; Rospligliosi, 1996).

Shining Path did little to assuage these concerns. On July 16, the guerrillas set off two simultaneous car bombs on Tarata, a street in the upscale district of Miraflores. By now, most Lima residents had grown accustomed to bombs going off throughout the city, as the detonation of explosives had become part and parcel of Shining Path's urban campaign. This bombing, however, was particularly destructive. The bombs, made up of some 2,000 kilograms of explosives, detonated in the evening, when most residents were in their homes. The explosion could be heard miles away, shattering windows and causing buildings to sway and crumble. Once the dust had settled, as many as 25 people had been killed and at least 155 had been injured. It was the deadliest bombing of the twelve-year guerrilla war.

The dramatic events of 1992 put increased pressure on GEIN, the special intelligence police unit, to capture Abimael Guzmán. In early September, the agents' investigations led them to an unsuspecting house in the middle-class neighborhood of Los Sauces. The agents didn't know for sure whether Guzmán was inside, but a review of the waste from the home that their undercover garbage men had collected and analyzed indicated that he had been there recently. On September 12, Benedicto Jiménez, the point person of the GEIN group, ordered his agents to raid the home. Agents found both Guzmán and his second-in-command, Elena Iparraguirre, inside along with other members of Shining Path's inner circle. Sitting on a sofa in his blazer and slacks, Guzmán chose not to resist, instead pointing to his head and declaring: "You can kill a man, but you can never kill this" (Jiménez Bacca, 2000, Chapter 5; Tipe Sánchez, 2012; Jiménez Bacca, 2013, p. 13).

The agents had no intention of killing Guzmán. Instead, authorities placed him and the other captured Senderistas in black and white striped prison jumpsuits—an image straight out of a 1930s gangster film—and then imprisoned the guerrilla mastermind inside an iron cage. After inviting the press to witness the capture, authorities unveiled their prisoner by pulling the tarp off of the cage and exposing the bearded militant to the world. Guzmán strutted back and forth like a lion, declaring that this was "only a block in the road." The revolution, he vowed, would continue. In that sense, he was right. Shining Path, however, would never be the same (PNP, 1992b).

By 1995, most Shining Path leaders were behind bars and the insurgency was only a shadow of what it once was. Leaderless, the guerrillas would remain divided for decades to come between the hard-liners who sought to continue the armed struggle and those who endeavored to enter the legal political sphere. Twenty-five years later, Guzmán remained in prison and neither the militant nor the political faction had succeeded in their goals.

There was still the issue of the MRTA. By 1996, most of the MRTA leaders had been captured or recaptured. Only Néstor Cerpa remained at large. Cerpa and his depleted guerrilla army planned a last-ditch effort to negotiate the release of their imprisoned comrades and safe passage out of the country. The action took place on Christmas Eve of 1996, when Cerpa and 13 other rebels stormed into the Lima residence of the Japanese ambassador during a birthday celebration for the Japanese emperor. The guerrillas quickly released most of the 400 guests—including President Fujimori's own mother—keeping 72 high-profile men as hostages. The hostages remained with their armed captors inside the residence for nearly five months, cut off from running water and electricity. Cerpa held regular press conferences on the steps of the residence reiterating the MRTA's commitment to guaranteeing his hostages the rights set out by the Geneva Conventions (Comercio, 1997; Giampietri, 2007).

President Fujimori made broad overtures to the guerrillas, pretending to entertain their demands and involving a colorful cast of characters ranging from the future Cardinal Juan Luis Cipriani to Cuban leader Fidel Castro. In reality, the president had no intention of negotiating with the rebels. While he talked and gave interviews, Fujimori secretly planned to send in a Special Forces military squad to rescue the hostages and take out the Tupac Amaristas. The operation took place on April 22, 1997, when the commandos burst through their own underground tunnel into the residence while Cerpa and his comrades were playing soccer downstairs. The commandos succeeded in rescuing each of the hostages, although one would die later due to complications from a leg wound. None of the Tupac Amaristas survived the attack (Giampietri, 2007).

THE FALL OF FUJIMORI AND THE MOVEMENT FOR JUSTICE

Alberto Fujimori's popularity soared after Operation Chavín de Huántar, as the embassy rescue operation became known. The president took credit for singlehandedly crushing Shining Path and the MRTA and began making moves for an unconstitutional third term in office. He won the 2000 elections narrowly, despite claims of a rigged election. Still, Fujimori was on top of the world (Degregori, 2015).

His fall came almost as suddenly as his rise. Just months after Fujimori began his third term, a seemingly endless stream of video tapes showing his national security advisor, Vladimiro Montesinos, bribing everyone from military commanders to media moguls with large stacks of cash, hit the news media. The so-called Vladivideos caused a public outcry, with thousands of Peruvians taking to the streets to demand the president's resignation and imprisonment. Fujimori tried to distance himself from Montesinos, proclaiming to be just as shocked by the revelation as anyone. The beleaguered president launched a manhunt against Montesinos, who fled the country before finally being captured. The damage, however, had already been done, and civil society demanded that Fujimori, too, be brought to justice (Degregori, 2015.).

Finally, on November 20, Fujimori tendered his resignation via fax from Japan. Peruvians of all walks of life celebrated Fujimori's downfall as a victory for democracy and justice. It was in this setting that the movement toward a Truth and Reconciliation Commission was born. The interim president, Valentín Paniagua, constituted a government-sponsored Truth Commission in 2001. The Commission published its nine-volume, 10,000-page report two years later. Among other things, the Commission

found that some 69,000 people had died during Peru's civil war, a number far exceeding the most liberal estimates of the time. For some, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission closed the book on the political violence. For many others, it opened a new chapter in which memory and justice would become central themes as the nation emerged from its darkest hour (Degregori, 2015).

NOTES

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- 1 For more on the role of Augusta La Torre in the formation of Shining Path, see Heilman, 2010.
 - 2 *Indigenismo* is the name given to the intellectual movement that emphasized a greater inclusion of indigenous peoples and lifeways into national society, polity, and economy.
 - 3 For more on the war in Chuschi, see Gorriti, 1999, Chapter 2; Isbell, 1994; Sánchez Villagómez, 2007; La Serna, 2012.
 - 4 For a sampling of this attitude, see the articles reprinted in Cristóbal, 2003.
 - 5 Vargas Llosa would receive heavy criticism for what many saw as a culturally ignorant and even racist depiction of Huanta's indigenous highlanders. See, for example, Mayer, 1991.
 - 6 Shining Path saw itself as a Maoist political party engaged in a protracted people's war from the countryside to the city. Members believed that only the strictest adherence to leader Abimael Guzmán's doctrine would lead to the rise of a Communist state. MRTA, on the other hand, was originally conceived of as a social movement inspired by Peru and Latin America's homegrown revolutionary tradition. Members saw themselves as involved in a struggle for social justice and democracy.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

EXTREME VIOLENCE IN MUSEUMS OF MEMORY

The place of memory in Peru



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INTRODUCTION

In 2008, when the idea arose for a museum to commemorate Peru's victims of violence, which took place between the 1980 and 2000,² reactions varied widely. While some praised its collective pedagogical value, others called it an obstacle to "reconciliation," thereby aligning themselves with the mainstream position of the government.³ It would not be the first memory museum in Peru, but it would be the first in the capital and the first to demand recognition from the government.⁴

Contention over recent history is a constant in Latin American countries that have experienced dictatorships and civil wars. The past is hotly contested ground, which explains the high stakes of controlling its representation, particularly with respect to how histories of the past should be recounted and contextualized in the present. What we encounter are experiences that are not restricted to the past in the strict sense of the historical. Rather, the past inhabits people's memories and has impacts on their capacity to live with one another.

How can Peru's violence be represented? How can that representation come from a state, whose responsibility for that history goes without saying, but that includes members of the elite, not all of whom accept responsibility for that history? These questions shape the context in which the LUM (Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia, y la Inclusión Social, Place of Memory, Tolerance, and Social Inclusion) was created and color people's expectations for how this history might be remembered in a public place of memory. What kinds of characteristics and perspectives would be appropriate to curation of this past? And which experiences of the Andean and Amazonian populations—those most affected by the violence—should be remembered? LUM's museological strategy was to narrate the violence from other than a post-conflict perspective. The latter would have restricted this period of time to an episode of a static past, bounded by the post-conflict transition. Instead, LUM made the decision to address violence in light of the broader trajectory of struggles for justice, rights, and recognition. For the victims, the human dimension of recognition was the most deeply rooted of their grievances, of the pain, loss, and memory that lacerate and give meaning to their lives. But we are speaking of memory that, in reintroducing the

past in all of its density, makes visible a more encompassing historical agenda, motivated by exclusion, inequality, and injustice, the persistence of which reminds us of the Republic's massive debt to its Andean and Amazonian populations. That is why, even when the exhibit seeks to reflect the extreme violence of the 1980s, it clearly articulates this position in the present, in memory understood as the conscience of time (Wieviorka, 2015), a fulcrum between past and present. This perspective frames the visual schema of the exhibit, which highlights the past as a continuously evolving presence, and emphasizes the capacity of victims to act as subjects.

LUM: TOWARD AN ARTICULATION OF PUBLIC MEMORY

Much like Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter CVR, 2001–2003), the LUM was not the outgrowth of an organic process of social struggle for memory and human rights. Its origins, instead, date to a grant from the German government and was thus linked to a specific initiative rather than to a political agenda that mobilized a wide base. What emerged in the public sphere, as a consequence, was an uncritical condemnation of the actions of Sendero Luminoso (hereafter SL) rather than a reflection on them.

In contrast, the leadership of the LUM decided to undertake a consultative process and wrestle with the challenges of organizing a participatory process among actors with very different visions. Rather than negate the multiplicity of memories and tensions among interpretations, we took this complexity as the point of departure in order to affirm democracy (Payne, 2008) and to privilege dialogue and collaboration as ways to accept and work with these conflicts.

Discussion of the proposal for the museum took place with directly interested parties, such as victims' groups and human rights organizations, as well as with groups that represented families of police victims, representatives from the armed forces and police, government authorities and functionaries, journalists, and artists. We held 14 meetings in three regions intensely affected by the violence: Ayacucho, Lima, and Junín.⁵ Based on the information received, we elaborated the conceptual foundation of the LUM which, together with the framework of the High Commission (*Comisión de Alto Nivel*),⁶ became central to the design of the permanent exhibition of the LUM.

This design was the basis of a second round of meetings in Lima, which included members of the leadership of ANFASEP⁷ and authorities from Uchuraccay and Putis, both Andean communities intensely affected by the violence. At this stage we solicited specific feedback about the content and objects of memory that should be displayed.

Consultative and collaborative processes of curatorial endeavors are increasingly foregrounded in critical considerations of curatorial authority, particularly when the subject matter being "curated" is sensitive and complex (Lind, 2005; Andermann and Arnold-de Simine, 2012). This kind of effort is generally directed towards marginalized indigenous groups, as was the case in the organization of the National Museum of the American Indian.⁸ In contrast, consultative processes about traumatic historical events are few in number. In the best of cases, only victims are viewed as legitimate interlocutors. Even more rarely do museums pay attention to the plurality of memories and conflicts surrounding the representation of that past. This is partly because the past is assumed as something done, even when the complexity of how to engage it is

recognized, and partly because of how upsetting the histories are (Lehrer, Milton, and Patterson, 2011).

A core question underlying the curatorial conversation was how to arrive at proposals that would neither silence debate nor exclude differing perspectives (Pastoriza, 2005). Ludmila da Silva asks if these sites should attempt to regulate the memory of the past or rather be open to multiple sentiments, meanings, doubts, and reflections (da Silva, 2014, pp. 17–18; see also Conley-Zilkic, 2014). We had to decide what we hoped to foster among visitors to the museum and what the ideal strategies to achieve it. These questions led us to a discussion of the scale of images. Rather than shocking spectators with the immediate experiences of a “reality” largely unfamiliar to them, we try to offer them a range of *stimuli* that will lead them to think about the origins, characteristics, and consequences of this reality.⁹ This active engagement with visitors appeals to their curiosity and analytical capacity rather than to a momentary identification which dissipates rapidly, devolves into mere sympathy with victims, gets bogged down in guilt and blame, or leads to a refusal to know more because of the impact of the images they view.¹⁰

In addition, we considered the historical moment in which we were designing the LUM museum exhibit. The photo exhibit, *Yuyanapaq, para recordar* (“Yuyanapaq, to remember/record”), inaugurated in 2003 and installed in the permanent exhibit of the National Museum, had already drawn attention to the horror of the violence of Peru’s civil war and brought it into the public sphere. It had powerfully shown Peruvians the violence that had transpired at a time when it was necessary to substantiate and condemn it without any nuances. We thought that, at this point in time, the LUM, in contrast, should offer itself as a space to foster dialogue and collective reflection on Peru’s lived experiences.

CURATORIAL PRINCIPLES

How best to approach Peru’s history of violence, taking into account its complexity, its diverse actors, and historical conditions? Rather than try to narrate all that people lived through during this period, we sought a strategy that would allow people to engage with themes that emerged from the life histories of witnesses who spoke about them in the present. This decision began with the idea of narrating history as proof of what was experienced, a concern that had been evident in many meetings, especially those of victim organizations in Ayacucho. For them, violence is not something abstract: it is rather a concrete reality, embodied in persons and villages with specific pasts, and it condenses their experiences of loss, pain, and suffering in the depths of their being. It is a rupture of the world that marks and defines their life paths. However, this evidence of violence has more than one meaning. It demands not only that we provide “proof” of events that have transpired, but also that it be an act that authorizes a sense of people’s struggles for affirmation of their citizenship and defense of their experiences and their identities. It means taking a position against denial and indifference.

Given these goals, we worked to curate local histories. For the hall, *Un pueblo, muchos pueblos* (“One Village/Many Villages”), we chose four communities in order to portray the social and ethnic geography of the violence. This local focus permitted us to give depth to the historical record, and to demonstrate, as the CVR showed

with statistics, that the violence was experienced in highly differentiated ways, and that Andean and Amazonian communities were most affected by it. Three quarters of all the victims spoke Quechua as their maternal language, and 40 percent of them came from Ayacucho, the region hardest hit by the violence.

In *Una persona, todas las personas* (“Someone, Everyone”), there are 18 video testimonies from people affected by the violence who hailed from different places and social conditions, with various political affiliations, and whose modes of expression reflect the cultural diversity of the nation. They include: Luz Yangali, daughter of a local Mayor in Huanta, Ayacucho assassinated by SL; Pascual Romaina, a soldier from Iquitos who lost a leg in an MRTA ambush in San Martín; José Carlos Agüero, son of SL parents who were extrajudicially assassinated in Lima in the 1980s; María González, widow of an Army official killed in combat in the Ene Valley; Giorgina Gamboa, raped at age 15 by police in Vilcashuaman, Ayacucho; Angélica Mendoza (*mamá Angélica*), whose son was kidnapped and disappeared by the Army and who founded ANFASEP; José Antonio García Belaúnde, son of the president of the National Council on Elections who was a victim of SL in Lima; Mariano Gagnon, of New Hampshire, U.S., who founded the Cutivireni mission in the 1960s and remained with the Asháninkas during the worst period of SL repression.

Each testimony contributes to our consideration of the complexity of violence from diverse memories and viewpoints. Tensions thus emerge, challenging totalizing juridical and moral categories, as well as the dualistic categories of victim and perpetrator with which we have been accustomed to viewing the past and that distance us from history. The LUM seeks to be a symbolic meeting point, a space for listening, building bridges among differences, of opening ourselves up to an empathetic disposition for the understanding of the other. To this end we prefer life stories, interested in knowing the characteristics that make a person unique, and how everyone was affected by the violence. During and after the war, each person, immersed in their personal and collective struggles, had to (re)define the course of their lives. These are neither epic stories nor stories of innocent victims. They are human stories, simple and complex, of battles and searches, of suffering and the effort to reconstitute a life.

Another important curatorial decision was to emphasize the force of the present in the representation of the past. After meeting with authorities from Putis and Uchuraccay it became clear that the exhibit should not solely limit itself to showing the emotional impact of the war. For example, in the case of Putis, we considered covering the December 1984 massacre through images of the exhumations from the mass grave, a display of garments, and the burial, as a closure to this history of horror. While the authorities thought this content was relevant, they found it insufficient that their history was limited to this episode. They believed that it should also reflect everyday life that preceded the massacre, the reconstruction that took place after people returned to the community, as well as their ongoing struggles in the present. Therefore, we decided to take account of a temporal horizon that would establish a continual relationship between past and present.

This perspective has great relevance since we are face to face with populations that have been harshly affected by the violence. It is clear that they are not trying to escape the past, whether by denial, a presentism marked by emergencies, or by a “cruel optimism” that is part and parcel of the logic of standardized progress

(Macón, 2016). On the contrary, they speak of the horrors, losses, suffering caused by the war that lacerate their current memories, and stress demands for justice, just reparations, improvements in the quality of education, the need for development projects, and the creation of districts as forms of recognition for all the losses they suffered during those years. The comments of Gerardo Fernández, the communal authority of Putis, exactly conveys these sentiments at the end of the video of his community “Now we have a dream, of the possibility of symbolic reparation for so much loss: the establishment of Putis as a district.”¹¹

Uchuraccay became a district in 2014. It was a political form of reparation that enabled, among other things, its access to funds from the national treasury. Thus, struggles for memory make visible the traumatic past of war, but also a more encompassing agenda focused on human and citizen recognition and development. This is one of the values of this active form of remembering: connecting the past with the present can show us the political and ethical potential of memory.

By showing the relationship between past and present, we were also able to demonstrate victims’ capacity for action. Making visible this other side of history not only repositions victims’ place in this narrative but also re-inscribes the dignity of their struggles, iconically exemplified by the women of ANFASEP. The image of these women, bravely and doggedly confronting power, is seductive. But it is more than that. It is a history of their struggles—which have not ceased since they began mobilizing—in demanding the return of their disappeared loved ones. Pain, poverty, and abandonment continue to be the painful reality of exclusion for many of them. Yet, the paths of their struggles which dignify their place in history are superimposed on that image and they are thereby able to create distance from a representation of themselves as grieving, passive, and entrapped in the past. The focus on such images of victimization, and the idea of seeking compassion in empathy, frequently reproduces old stereotypes that are deeply rooted in our own modes of valorizing Andean peoples.

REPRESENTING VIOLENCE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE COMMUNITIES

A common critique of memory museums is that they uproot events from their historical context. In Peru, the “origins of the violence” happened in a specific place and time: Chuschi, May 17, 1980. In the first hall there is a timeline, infographics about the armed groups, and images of SL’s and MRTA’s attacks. But “the violence” is understood in a broader historical context than just through these armed attacks. Accordingly, the hall that opens the exhibit takes visitors through a small corridor where we see images that introduce them to a historical background that explores Peru’s social and educational conditions. A description of this and the other halls follows.

Social and educational conditions

The opening wall of the “Education at the Crossroads” exhibit displays a photo of the campus of the National University of San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Ayacucho, followed by two photos of a group of professors from that institution, including, most

notably, Abimael Guzmán, founder and leader of SL. The insurgency is augured by the covers of two books, the work of professors who would also become SL leaders: *Hunger and Hope* (1969), by Antonio Díaz Martínez, and *The Illegitimates* (1980), by Hildebrando Pérez Huanrancca. In subsequent panels the visitor sees images reflecting the impoverished state of Peru's public education system, such as a classroom roofed and walled in thatch.

The expansion of public education in the 1960s without a corresponding increase in the state budget exacerbated a systemic crisis that coincided with political radicalization in Peru, as well as in other parts of the world. It is no coincidence that SL arose from an intellectual project which had germinated in the halls of the university and expanded through the administrative networks of rural education. Alongside these panels, the visitor sees a clip from the documentary “Lucanamarca” by Carlos Cárdenas and Héctor Gálvez (2009), in which Honorario Curitumay speaks about his brother Olegario, a young militant with SL. He was, from an early age, very restless. He paid close attention to radio news, was always interested in learning, and eager to help his family and village rise out of poverty. The video brings us closer to these lives in the countryside by showing how a kid who dreamed of building boats and planes could end up in SL, and what made it possible for these children and teens to consider the SL as a possible life choice. If anything in this testimony should disturb us, it is knowing that this Other, exorcized from official memory, was a typical teen, nurtured on dreams of change and progress.



Figure 23.1 Digital traces that form part of the official document that Uchuraccay community members sent to the Huanta Subprefect on January 1, 1983

Photo credit: Eliana Otta.

Across from the Wall of Education, in the entryway to “One Village/Many Villages” and alongside images that introduce us to the Andean landscape, a floor-to-ceiling reproduction of a piece of paper stands, covered with 68 fingerprints and only one signature, that of Constantino Soto. Each fingerprint is ringed by a person’s name, which covers the print to keep it from becoming detached and losing its identity. These fingerprints speak to widespread rural illiteracy as an expression of state neglect. Nevertheless, that does not necessarily lead to an embrace of revolution. On the contrary, the page on display forms part of a four-page petition, sent by the authorities and community members of Uchuraccay to the subprefect of the province of Huanta on January 1, 1983, declaring the community assembly’s decision to fight against SL. It is one of the few documents showing the early positions taken by these populations with respect to the war. This agency, which the document both enacts and testifies to, was smothered and never recognized after the high-profile massacre of journalists that occurred on January 26, three weeks later (see Figure 23.1).

Violence in the communities

The four communities selected for this exhibit—Uchuraccay, Putis, Puerto Ocopa, and Puerto Bermúdez—offer a variety of trajectories during the war. Uchuraccay achieved notoriety for the massacre of eight journalists in 1983, an event that caused both national and international scandal. The media attention Uchuraccay received contrasts with the unreal situation lived by the community of Putis, where one of the Army’s largest massacres went undiscovered for two decades. On the other hand, in Puerto Ocopa, Satipo province, SL openly exercised totalitarian authority against the Asháninka people. Hundreds of families lived in captivity, a reality that for some continues to the present. In Puerto Bermúdez, in contrast, the Asháninka’s organizational and military traditions enabled them to form their own armed forces and stage a successful resistance against the forces of the MRTA. In this section, the Asháninka narrate their epic version of history, without eliding their own crimes.

Uchuraccay

In the Uchuraccay section, we reproduced a famous series of photographs by journalist Willy Retto, which he took right before his death. The massacre of the journalists in Uchuraccay was one of the decisive moments in the lead-up to the war, and its media impact was far-reaching. The degree to which it was remembered contrasts dramatically with the minimal attention given to the 135 civilians assassinated subsequently by SL and the Army in Uchuraccay. Survivors speak about this little-known reality, recounting not only how the war arrived and how they fled for their lives (living in the mountains, exposed to the elements), but also how they returned and rebuilt their communities a decade later.

The cultural divide pointed to so often as the trigger for the assassination of the journalists, which at its core boiled down to the different languages used by the parties that were implicated, is demonstrated in the audio clip of the town hall meeting that took place between the Uchuraccainos and the Investigatory Commission led by Mario Vargas Llosa. The public can directly access a recording of this historic event, translated into Quechua and Spanish, for the first time ever in this exhibit area.

Next to the video of Uchuraccay survivors we show the testimony of Mario Vargas Llosa, in which he highlights the importance of the case 30 years later as a metaphor for Peru's fundamental problems—a country divided by inadequate communication and misunderstandings. This audio recording has received a cold reception, perhaps exemplifying the very problem to which it refers.

The final panels in the display show contemporary life in Uchuraccay: a goalie blocking a shot and two young Uchuraccainos getting married. After decades of being perceived tragically in the local imagination, it is possible to view the modern-day reality of the community as a space marked by the daily push to grow and reconstitute social bonds that were debilitated by the national conflict. Alongside these examples of a community actively engaged in revitalizing and projecting itself into the future, hangs a document recording Uchuraccay's recent certification as a district. Amidst struggles for recognition and access to adequate public services, successes like achieving the status of a district offer evidence of the agency of communities that have not only survived but also rebuilt themselves, largely on their own.

Putis

A display of garments exhumed from Putis is installed near the panel dedicated to present-day Uchuraccay. What happened in Putis is emblematic of the high number of cases that have remained largely hidden and silenced. In December 1984, members of the Army organized the villagers to dig a trench, supposedly for a fish farm. The Army assassinated the villagers, including women and children, and turned the trench they had dug into a mass grave. Buffeted by alternating offensives by the Army and SL, Putis entered a period of protracted tension; a mass exodus ensued to caves and outlying areas.

A small *chullo* (traditional earflapped knitted cap) and a baby's t-shirt, fragile and withered, greet the visitor at the entrance to this section. Both garments were lent to the museum by community leaders. These vestiges of lives absurdly extinguished constitute a disturbing testimony, a symbol of a truth hidden from view in our country for decades. In a similar fashion, the visitor is drawn to a photo of the exhumation, which is guarded by young soldiers and which the families of the assassinated are looking at intently. We see two rows of bodies obviously distinguished by their clothing—two apparently irreconcilable groups that nevertheless have much in common.

For this exhibit, we acquired a variety of objects provided by the affected parties. Along with the testimonies of the survivors, the exhumers, and those responsible for the mass grave itself, there is a pictorial narrative drawn by Gonzalo Fernández Condoray, the survivor of a family that lost almost 60 members. In a synthesized and forceful manner, the history narrates the incursion of the soldiers, the massacre shown in a jumble of bright red, and the lives of those who fled to live in caves.¹² Another survivor, Sergio Condoray, today a leader of the organization of those affected by the Putis atrocities, provided photographs of the places that were used for refuge during that period and we see him in one photo, keeping dry during a rainstorm under a rock. A boulder pockmarked with deep cavities, a cave wallpapered with lichen and moss, and a high-altitude flower known only to those who flee desperately to the highest terrain in the Republic remind the visitor of just how much Peru's landscape and geography testify to what its people have experienced: a territory populated by

histories waiting to be heard and shared, like the many graves yet to be exhumed in Putis. These other graves, mapped out by Gonzalo Condoray on commission from the curatorial team, graphically represent the work yet to be done by a state that is only now slowly turning to the task.

The exhibit also includes a book of proceedings put together by people who returned to Putis under the leadership of then-mayor Gerardo Fernández. This *Libro de Actas* is an exceptional document that speaks to the stalwartness and commitment of a community dedicated to the search for truth and justice. In it, we find exhaustive inventories written in longhand of the names of all those assassinated and disappeared during this period, detailed information about who is responsible for their deaths, the number of widows and orphans who remain, and the diverse kinds of property loss, such as businesses damaged, animals killed or stolen, and fields poached or torched. These materials from Putis are representative examples of the work of memory assumed collectively and carried into the present.

Here again we chose to end with images of the present and a document that testifies to Putis' struggle to achieve jurisdictional autonomy. The latter is one of many bureaucratic processes moving forward in parallel fashion in an effort to obtain hoped-for reparations. In a context of prolonged forgetting and negation, every sealed paper, every acknowledged petition, every signature on an official document, is a small victory fueling the long struggle for access to true citizenship.

Puerto Ocopa and Puerto Bermúdez

Continuing the tour, the visitor encounters a garment very different in fabric and meaning from those seen earlier. If the painful vestige of clothing of an exhumed child in Putis is incontrovertible evidence of the horror that the Peruvian state tried to hide, here we have instead a well-preserved victory trophy. The *cushma* (tunic) donated by Alcides Quinchuya, Asháninka leader of Puerto Bermúdez, constitutes a reminder of how those who defended their families and lands from a brutal scorched-earth policy adopted by both SL and MRTA in the Amazonian jungle region did so by drawing on their cultural heritage of combat strategies, botanical chemical weaponry, war paint, and dress. Across from this tunic hang some of the weapons the so-called Asháninka Army used to combat and expel the MRTA from its territories after their leader Alejandro Calderón was assassinated.

In this area are two videos. The first, filmed in Puerto Bermúdez, opens as a full moon gradually appears in the dark sky. As it rises, a woman dressed in black and illuminated from within the shadows, tells how she knew war was imminent when she heard a cock's crow in a dream. She recounts how everyone armed themselves with bows and arrows, including women, who had a special weapon all their own called the "cariba." Other testimonies are presented about the recruitment, preparations, and battle with the MRTA. One combatant who shares his experiences is Quinchuya. He speaks with great pride in his native language about the reasons the MRTA came into the area and were resisted, about battle strategies, which included the use of plants to make their combatants more powerful and to make the enemy sleep, and of the knowledge that permitted them to survive the situation. He reproduces some of the nonverbal aural codes for the camera that permitted his people to prevail by communicating undetected in the jungle. The video ends with the song of

an ex-combatant, whose voice carries over the nocturnal landscape dominated by a wide river: “I’ve been able to defeat the greatest foes that came to kill us . . . with our power we defeated them.”

In the second film, the testimonies from Puerto Ocopa offer a different perspective. While the Puerto Bermúdez video affirms a cultural identity based in shared victory, the Puerto Ocopa one reminds us of an ongoing conflict that has not yet ended. Héctor Pachacamac’s testimony is a grim example of how SL kidnapped children to increase its numbers. After having survived many years in captivity, Héctor today dedicates himself to caring for his family and helping the police rescue others who are still in captivity. Rosa shared her story only months after being liberated from a camp where she witnessed her husband’s murder. The urgency of her entreaties are palpable in this video as she pleads for the rescue of her daughters, still prisoners of SL.

While Rosa had her family and name snatched away (they changed her name to Josefina), Héctor was trained to sing and kill in the ranks of the SL. Both accepted the offer to testify, like all the people we interviewed for the exhibition. These first-hand expressions of lived experience on the part of the most brutalized sectors of the population, delivered in a wide range of languages and media, allow the visitor to see not only victims but also agents of diverse struggles for truth and justice, as well as processes of change and reconstruction. We see self-directed and collective experiences of cultural affirmation, a dynamic proliferation of ambitious and expansive life-projects. Rather than being discouraged by the sluggish and mediocre responses of the state, they continue to make repeated and increasingly energetic demands on the state to comply with its obligations.

IMAGES OF WOMEN: STRUGGLES FOR RIGHTS AND RECOGNITION AS CITIZENS

At the entrance to the display a woman from the countryside walks in front of a façade of the District Government of Chuschi, where SL perpetrated its first armed attack by burning the ballot boxes of the May 1980 presidential elections, which took place after 12 years of military dictatorship. In the largest photograph in the hall, another woman submits her vote under the watchful eye of a young soldier. The image—discolored and simple in framing and composition—represents the sabotaged electoral process, which for the first time included illiterate populations, approximately 70 percent of whom were women.¹³ The woman holds a bag in her left hand while she puts her vote in the ballot box with her right. She wears a wide-brimmed hat, a sweater, a skirt, and bears a sturdy carrying cloth on her back. Her figure, which occupies almost completely the photo, is emblematic of an emergent process of inclusion that has eventually resulted in the greater presence of women (and of diverse sectors that had previously been excluded) in the country’s power struggles.¹⁴

The next important image of Andean women can be seen from the ramp leading up to the second floor. If the first floor shows the horrors through which the country passed, presented at the scale of communities and individuals, the second floor focuses on collective responses, highlighting the capacity of individuals to organize in order to decisively combat violence and its effects on their daily lives.

The image that introduces us is that of a group of Ayacucho women who, faced with the powerlessness of not being able to find their loved ones, decided to organize

and form ANFASEP in 1983. One of its founders, Angélica Mendoza, became an emblematic figure of resistance amidst terror and orphanhood. The photo has been enlarged to 3 m. by 2.8 m, and shows the organization's march, which was inspired by the visit of 1980 Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Pérez Esquivel.

The women of ANFASEP have generally been represented as passively "awaiting" justice: seated, somber-faced, holding photos of their disappeared family members. For this exhibit we strove to communicate the density of their hope, suffused by their demands: desire for the return of the disappeared; the appearance and identification of a body; the accusation of the guilty; probationary sentencing; non-humiliating reparations; and social recognition to dignify and give meaning to efforts to rebuild their country. We chose to emphasize the active dimension of these women's actions and how the emotions embodied in these women mobilized subsequent responses from civil society to confront the abuses of power and violence at a time when the country had not yet come to understand the full dimensions of the conflict.

In the photo, marching women hold up signs that demand the return of their disappeared family members in the middle of the Plaza of Huamanga which, at the time, was the epicenter of the conflict. At the request of the current leadership of ANFASEP, the visitor hears a recording of the association's anthem, "How long will you remain silent?" (*Hasta cuándo tu silencio?*). Our goal was to contest the usual conventions for representing victims by prioritizing their own voices. We also sought to weaken the monopoly of the visual that prevails in historical reconstruction by appealing to alternate modes of memory. The voices that occupy the expository space echo the initial eruption of ANFASEP into the public space of Huamanga and remind us of the countless testimonies of those who, in different contexts, have "found their voices," joining them to those of others who have lived the same experiences. Although the role of the voice (the scream, the slogan, the song) as political mobilizer is insufficiently theorized, we argue that "in showing something hidden in the personality of an individual, the public declaration of a hidden discourse can help recuperate humanity and self-esteem" (Scott, 2007, p. 247).

These voices highlight the demand for dignity and recognition in a Spanish typical of speakers for whom it is not their mother tongue. In this way, the surprise with which the non-Quechua-speaking visitor receives the phrase "Don't continue even prisoned, don't continue even tortured" ("*No sigas ni prisionado no sigas ni torturado*") introduces one of the exhibition's short circuits that reminds us of the varied ways we can make connections with the cultures and languages that constitute Peru. In this way, we might also consider the immense efforts taken by those who try to make their experiences understood (learning foreign languages, codes, and conventions) in comparison to the infinitely more modest efforts that those of us who have grown up with a judicial system and an education shaped by a western and Spanish-speaking hegemonic cultural matrix make (or do not make) to understand these different realities.

We also requested the loan of a banner from the COFADER (National Committee for Family Members of the Detained, Disappeared, and Refugees, *Comité Nacional de Familiares Detenidos, Desaparecidos, y Refugiados*), made up of 40 cloth panels embroidered by hand by 40 different women with mementos of their lost loved ones. The inclusion of this banner was also a rupture with the visual rhetoric of photo-journalism as a dominant mode of representation and reinforced our decision to

use elements made by those who were directly affected by the violence. We used the banner because it was a special carrier of history (it had accompanied the members of COFADER in many actions in public space). This manual labor of love immediately connects us to an intimate dimension of the struggle thus giving the object a unique aura as a repository of memories, evocations, desires, warmth, and care, which would be difficult to transmit by other means.

The embroidered panels, all elaborated with painstaking detail, show scenes ranging from detentions and assassinations to those of life prior to the conflict. They are complex articulations of the past (family life, work in the fields, homes that were abandoned, crimes suffered), the present (struggles for truth and justice), and the future (the hopes expressed by the banner's materiality: "until we meet again"). Each panel gives form to memories without being framed by an all-encompassing memory or structured by particular guidelines. The multiplicity of visual codes used to communicate so many different meanings speaks to us of an inclusive universe that authorizes its members to freely express their experiences according to their capacities and desires (see Figure 23.2).

The characteristics of this piece recall those of the "Hope Shawl" (*Chalina de la Esperanza*), another collective work on a larger scale, with panels made by hand by a diverse set of women, also intended to publicize the experiences of victims of the conflict, and which is part of the permanent exhibition.¹⁵ Both pieces demonstrate how stitching (or sewing) is readily practiced by Andean women (those most affected



Figure 23.2 Banner made by COFADER (the National Committee of Family Members of the Detained, Disappeared, and Refugees)

Photo credit: Eliana Otta.

by the violence of the period) who recognize it as an intimate and socially cohesive activity. The work of stitching can be accomplished in tune with the rhythms of daily rural or small-town life, with modest resources and offers great versatility to the creators to make the styles and forms they desire. In this case, the COFADER banner is emblematic of the actions undertaken by women in the most precarious of conditions who collectively organized to intervene in public life demanding rights and justice. Since 1980, they have had to largely abandon their working lives to devote their hands and bodies to traveling to the country's detention centers and centers of power, carrying letters, documents, banners, and crosses, at times yelling, crying, singing, or screaming, but learning together to make their presence felt and in these ways steadily conquering their declared enemy, impunity.

CONCLUSION

The LUM exhibition was inaugurated for the purpose of creating an active process of interpretation and meaning-making among the public. This has changed and evolved over time and in each viewing both the reception and the intentions of the creators remain equally important. The relationship between people and their monuments, as well as the consequences of that relationship within each historical moment, are of central interest in this process (Young, 1993, p.13).

If Young's attention is focused on the fluid relationship between a monument and its public, in the case of the LUM this relationship is the basis of a curatorial endeavor and defines one of its principal characteristics: the temporal fluidity between past and present, which fluidity keeps the exhibit from circumscribing the violence to the period between 1980 and 2000, situating it instead in a longer trajectory of events and within the present of ongoing struggles and demands. This dynamic relationship, between past and present, facilitates an appreciation for the capacity for action among affected populations and to grasp that their immediate demands are situated in struggles for inclusion and recognition of much greater duration. A wide range of local forms and efforts to elaborate these struggles, with alternative forms of remembering and commemorating it, can be seen in the exhibit. They are plainly heard in the testimonies of surviving Andean and Amazonian community members and the villagers displaced to Lima, in the songs of the women of ANFASEP, and in the different musical expressions of the 1980s. They can be read in the proceedings of the Putis meetings and in the graphic history of Condoray. They can be touched in the Hope Shawl or the COFADER banner, which embody a trajectory of life and struggle, condensing interpretations and memories into collages of color and texture. Each voice, object, image, and history is the expression of a major effort to make visible a vital experience in which art, culture, memory and politics fuse creatively to occupy their place in public life.

NOTES

- 1 Both authors served as curators of the Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social (LUM).
- 2 The Maoist Shining Path movement started a guerrilla war against the state in the highland communities of Ayacucho in 1980, resulting in at least 69,000 dead and disappeared (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), 2003, p.31).

- 3 For an overview of these varied positions, see Portugal, 2015.
- 4 Peru's three memory museums prior to the LUM are all in regions more affected by the war than Lima: *Para que no se repita* ("That it not be repeated") established by ANFASEP in Ayacucho in 2004–2005, *La casa de la memoria* ("The House of Memory") established by the local government of the city of Huancavelica in 2010, and the *Walpana Wasi* established by the regional government of Junín in 2013–2014. In addition to these dedicated museums, multiple public memorials have also been established throughout the country, one of the most well-known being *El Ojo que Lloras*, ("The eye That Weeps"), built in Lima in 2006. These initiatives responded to the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to symbolically repay to the victims.
- 5 The 14 meetings between September 2013 and March 2014, and the proceedings form part of a book documenting the conceptual foundations of the LUM (Del Pino and Agüero, 2014).
- 6 This was a team appointed by the president and charged with taking forward the LUM.
- 7 Asociación Nacional de Familiares de Secuestrados, Detenidos y Desaparecidos del Perú ("National Association of the Families of the Kidnapped, Detained, and Disappeared of Peru"). For an overview of their work, see the Fetzer Institute's (2017) documentary online.
- 8 The museum, which originally opened in 1916 in New York City, was turned over to the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C. where it opened on September 2004.
- 9 Roger Simon elaborates precisely this pedagogical strategy in exhibitions about traumatic pasts which strive to provoke "sustained attention, concern, and corrective action rather than a few days' sensation that is soon forgotten" (Simon, 2011, p. 206).
- 10 Along similar lines to this theory of an active and reflexive visitor (Andermann and Arnold-de Simine, 2012), there are also notions of a "visitor centered" experience (Conley-Zilkic, 2014), of the eminently interpretive effort of the viewer (Moser, 2010), and of the authority of the individual who models the significance of the museum's texts and experiences (Silverman, 1995).
- 11 Currently, the village is part of Santillana district in Huanta province.
- 12 This comic strip was initially published by the Yuyarisun Collective in the first art contest held—of drawings, paintings, songs, histories, and poetry, which was promoted in Ayacucho as part of the work of the CVR: "*Rescate por la memoria*," 2004, p. 89–91. The original drawings are in the SER (Personal communication, Cynthia Milton).
- 13 67 percent according to Cecilia Bustamante in "The Peruvian Woman in the 1980 elections," (*La mujer peruana ante las elecciones de 1980*), *El País*, 20/01/08. Web, https://elpais.com/diario/1980/01/20/internacional/317170804_850215.html, [accessed August 20, 2017].
- 14 This image and action contrast markedly with the almost total absence of representation of women as agents in public life. Deborah Poole, for instance, points out the near-total absence of women in published photos of public and government functions in Cusco (1997, p. 252).
- 15 This initiative was started in 2010, organized by the Desvela collective to call attention to the 15,000 disappeared still unaccounted for in Peru. It was made with the help of organizations of families of the disappeared, exhibited in the Municipality of San Isidro (where it was censored), in Lima, and in the Geneva headquarters of the Red Cross. Currently it resides at the LUM.

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PART VIII

IDENTITIES





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CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

“INDIAN” IDENTITY AND INDIGENOUS REVITALIZATION MOVEMENTS



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INTRODUCTION

Until recently, Andean Indians did not define themselves as members of an ethnic entity. In Peru and Bolivia, a distinction has sometimes been made between Quechuas and Aymaras, but seeing these two categories as ethnicities is an unfounded intellectual exercise: people within them see themselves, above all, as members of a particular community or *ayllu*. This identity on the scale of the local group continues to confound “ethnic” demarcations, as depicted in maps in *National Geographic* or in anthropology textbooks. Even so, we cannot ignore the changing usages of the term *indio*, which, because the vicissitudes of history, has come to designate populations subjected to the Spanish and Portuguese empires since the time of the conquest.¹ Today, the term denotes variable cultural traits, depending on where it is used. In Andean countries, the word *indio* is insulting and evokes the *indiada*, signifying something like “horde of Indians.” Even today, most indigenous Andeans designate themselves as *runa* (humans, in Quechua), as opposed to the *mistis* outsiders, that is, mestizos and whites (Robin, 2008). When the *indio* emigrates to the city and climbs a few rungs on the social ladder, he becomes a *cholo*, a word that is still pejorative, but with less animalistic connotations. Educated terminology designates people living in the mountainous highlands as *indígenas*, and those living in the Amazonian lowlands as *naturales*.

THE INDIGENOUS ANDEAN

This survey will trace the general contours of what “indigenous” means in the contemporary Andes, offer a few examples of national variants of this definition in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, and finally outline some recent neo-Indian inventions that may shape future configurations of Andean cultures.

The term *indio* originates from the division of colonial society into republics of Indians, Spaniards, and blacks (Estenssoro, 2003). During the colonial period, Indians were essentially defined by the rights they did *not* enjoy, as well as by the obligation to pay tribute and to partake in forced labor. The term in itself indicated

the subordination of the person it designated until the rise of the Bolivarian republics, which dismantled the colonial communities. The indigenous Andean, stigmatized as archaic, servile, and illiterate (Mayer, 1970; Degregori, 2002; Pajuelo, 2007), often sought to present himself as a *campesino*, that is, as a simple peasant, thereby hiding his identity. Whatever criteria one uses, it is generally impossible today to give an objective definition of the indigenous Andean, since, depending on the source, this population represents between 17 percent and 40 percent of the total population of Latin America (Peyser and Chackiel, 1994; Lavaud, 2001). Censuses have contributed to abusive classifications and the development of prejudice (Lavaud and Lestage, 2009). The definition of the Andean Indian in effect depends on local power relations among categories of the population. Moreover, this definition has necessarily been affected by the Andean region's opening to the outside world, and, especially, by the consequences of globalization.

Massive migration to cities during the middle of the last century was the first factor to upend the status of indigenous Andeans. Since then, these migrants have tended to blend into a proletariat, which tends to abolish ethnic classifications by gradually translating them into social classes. Thus, the profile of the cholo materialized little by little: the urban Indian who, through a "process of *cholificación*" (Quijano, 1980) produced an identity at the intersection of an indigenous rural world and a racially mixed urban world. In the latter case, ethnic labels have tended to dissolve without disappearing completely. The cholo is a transitional category and is perpetually redefined as it follows the social dynamics of Andean populations through successive inclusions and exclusions (Sulmont, 2011). But we should also note that his status varies with national context, as does the status of the *indígena*.

The second, more recent, factor that has affected the evolution of Andean identities is without doubt the increased recognition of "native peoples" throughout both American continents. This trend originated in peasants' demands for land ownership rights in the 1970s, to which the Bolivian agrarian reform movement of the 1950s served as prelude. Moreover, this return to autochthony certainly corresponds to a "demand for Indians" in the West, particularly among NGOs, which foster and commercialize the causes of indigenous peoples (Favre, 2009). A determining moment came in 1989, when the International Labour Organization adopted Convention 169, recognizing the right of "indigenous and tribal peoples" to self-determination. In 2007, the General Assembly of the UN approved the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The defense of Indians thus took on a global character. The "indigenous movement" became an essential factor for international development agencies and national policies, which, within the framework of neoliberal capitalism, would instrumentalize the "ethnic question" in order to avoid structural changes (Bretón Solo de Zaldivar, 2009; Favre, 2009). As we shall see, we are currently witnessing a generalized ethnicization of conflicts in the Andes. But first, we must remember that "being indigenous" does not quite signify the same thing in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru.

NATIONAL VARIATIONS ON THE ETHNIC THEME

The revival of indigenous identities holds an important place in the politics of all Andean nations. However, it manifests itself differently in each country.

Bolivia

On December 18, 2005, Evo Morales was elected president of Bolivia, and immediately, the press proclaimed: “There is no doubt, the President is indigenous” (*La Razón*, January 22, 2006). This headline seems to contradict the ethnic prejudices identified above. In fact, the rise of an Indian to the highest office of an Andean state drew its legitimacy from the specifically Aymara identity of the majority of the Bolivian population, as well as from the Aymarization of political discourse in Bolivia. Having been denigrated for many generations, in particular because of the biological discourse of nineteenth-century racial anthropology² (Demèlas, 1980), the *indigenistas* or indigenists of the 1930s discovered in the Aymara Indian the possibility of a national narrative: from then on, the construction of the Bolivian nation was “Aymarocentric.” The archaeological site of Tiwanaku assumed a symbolic value and the Collas (the inhabitants of this part of Inca Empire) were elevated into civilizing ancestors, which enabled the symbolic marginalization of sociological Aymaras. Intellectuals, especially foreign anthropologists, played a decisive role in this awareness of “Aymara pride” (Alvizuri, 2009).

The movement of ethnic claims that spread between 1960 and 1980 across the entire continent gave a new dimension to the politicization of the Aymara identity. First, there was the rise of “Indianism,” which used the country’s ethnic differences to fight discrimination. “Katarism” (named after Tupac Katari, hero of an anticolonial uprising of 1781) led an Indian leader, Victor Hugo Cárdenas, to the vice presidency of Bolivia in 1993, incarnating the emancipation of the indigenous peasantry (Albó, 1994). Cárdenas promised to enshrine the country’s “pluricultural and multiethnic” character in the first article of the Bolivian constitution, and to adopt an official policy of bilingual interculturalism. Up to the present, the Bolivian Indianist movement has oscillated between politicized labor struggles and ethnic demands, a fact which is illustrated by the divergent paths taken by the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Katari and the Movimiento Indio Tupac Katari. Migration from the Andean plateau toward tropical areas created a movement for the defense of coca cultivation, against the authority of the United States. Evo Morales used this to launch his rise to power. A “*cocalera* identity” was thus formed, combining union Katarism and, more generally, a movement for the liberation of indigenous peoples, in defense of the “sacred leaf” (Poupeau, 2014, p. 55).

Since Morales’s reelection in 2009, he has governed on an agenda of returning rights to “original peoples” and nationalizing natural resources, whose ownership is guaranteed by the constitution to Pachamama, the earth goddess. In Bolivia, ethnic identity—not just the president’s own Aymara identity, but that of “original” peoples in general, including the inhabitants of the Amazonian lowlands—is politicized within the framework of an anti-imperialist alter-globalism combined with neoliberal multiculturalism.

Ecuador

Some of the dynamics described for Bolivia can also be found in Ecuador. There, the agrarian reform begun in 1964 and extended in 1973 allowed the development of a powerful ethnic movement that led to the creation of the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador* (CONAIE) in 1986. By bringing together the country’s various indigenous peoples, notably those of the Andes, this organization became a model for groups who channel their demands with respect to their rights as

indigenous people. One of the specificities of the Ecuadorian Indian movement is the role played in its development by the Third-Worldist branch of the Catholic Church, inspired by the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), which prescribed that pastoral action be adapted to individual cultures. The Liberation Theology applied a Marxist reading to the Gospels and established an indigenous church, in particular through the action of Leonidas Proaño, a national figure of a church dedicated to liberating the poor. The enculturation resulting from the “indigenous pastoral ministry” created an Indianized church adapted to Andean beliefs (Ben Dridi, 2016). This Church is going to play a fundamental role in the valorization of the pre-Hispanic ancestors, in the reformulation of a proper history, and in the construction of a “struggling native people.” As a consequence of the special role of Liberation Theology, the Ecuadorian ethnic movement took on another unique trait: its leadership was comprised of an educated indigenous elite trained by a leftist church.

The CONAIE launched a nationwide Indian mobilization in 1990. It allied itself with other oppositional organizations, notably the Pachacutik Movement, which would become the country’s third political force. In 1998, the Ecuadorian constitution recognized plurilingualism, pluriethnicity, and “indigenous peoples who define themselves as nationalities with ancestral roots” (article 83). As in Bolivia, this plurinational character of the Ecuadorian state was reaffirmed by article 1 of the Constitution of 2008. This document contained another new aspect that would mark Ecuadorian ethnic movements: it recognized nature as having rights of its own that must be respected.

An ontological link was thus made between the rights of indigenous peoples and those of nature, deified under the name of Pachamama and inscribed for the first time in a constitution as a rights-bearing subject. In this constitution, Indianness and nature are associated with the notion of *sumak kawsay* (“living well” in Quechua, of which the Aymara equivalent in the Bolivian constitution is *suma qamaña*). This supposes the essentialist definition of a “native ecologist” (Ulloa, 2004), founded not on some pre-Hispanic notion which at any rate never existed, but on a Western fantasy of animism whose political function is to distract attention from the necessity of structural reforms in indigenous society, and especially to avoid the redistribution of land (Bretón Solo de Zaldívar, 2013; Sánchez-Parga, 2013). We will see the important consequences of this “ethnicization of ecological discourse” below (Salazar-Soler, 2009). An ethnoecology linked to the valorization of ancestry and Indianness would further enable the political instrumentalization of identity movements.

Peru

The Andean part of Peru has, for its part, a unique trait noted by observers of Latin America’s ethnic awakening. Despite a large population of Quechua origin, one cannot speak here of an indigenous movement comparable to the Aymarocentrism of Bolivian politics or to the “identitarian pride” of Ecuador (Ben Dridi, 2016). In Peru, no one claims to be “indigenous.” This Peruvian exception, this apparent absence of an ethnic question, has provoked much discussion and inquiry (see Salazar-Soler, 2014). Unlike Bolivia and Ecuador, a massive “de-Indianization” followed the modernization of the country (Pajuelo, 2007). In the 1960s, during the agricultural reform of Velasco Alvarado’s government, the term *campesino* (peasant) came to replace that of “Indian” in the legal statuses of rural communities. Indigenous migrants have been blending for

decades into the urban masses, where they can hide their shameful Indianness. It is true that Lima seems to be much more remote and more foreign as a capital in the minds of many indigenous people than does La Paz or Quito (Albó, 2009).

Furthermore, one does not find educated indigenous elites in Peru as in Ecuador (Montoya, 1992); in Peru, higher education tends to de-ethnicize the indigenous person pursuing upward mobility. Attempts to create indigenous organizations have always failed in the face of internal divisions. We must remember the devastation of Indian communities during the civil war of the Shining Path; according to the *Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación*, 75 percent of the victims were of Quechua origin. And yet we must also note certain signs of ethnicization of conflict in Peru (Salazar-Soler, 2009, 2014), such as the struggles catalyzed by Aymara ethnic demands in the Altiplano in 2005, and the opposition of Amazonian “natives” to mining and oil-producing companies in Bagua in 2007. The *Confederación Nacional de Comunidades Campesinas Afectadas por la Minería* (CONACAMI), created in 1999 through union networks to fight the privatization of mining companies prescribed by neoliberal policies, has followed a process of re-Indianization of conflicts since 2004, with a strategy of politically instrumentalizing ethnicity (Salazar-Soler, 2009). It maintains links with Ecuadorian and Bolivian organizations through the *Coordinación Andina de las Organizaciones Indígenas* (CAOI) which seeks the respect of the environment, sanctified “in harmony with Mother Earth/Pachamama/Nuke Mapu,” and the promotion of “plurinational states” and “intercultural societies” (Salazar-Soler, 2009, 2014). Plans to confiscate Indian lands for the benefit of a fetishized Nature and the dismantling of national states, divided up into ethnicities, obviously serves neoliberal capitalist interest in the Andes. Thus, a plan has recently appeared to bring about a “political reconstitution of peoples and nationalities of the Tahuantinsuyu” based on the model of the ayllu or pre-Hispanic lineage. This reference to the Inca empire and pre-Hispanic society reveals another dimension of the Andean ethnic awakening: the figure of the neo-Indian. While it is not advantageous in Peru to be seen as indigenous, it is somehow increasingly valuable to consider oneself a descendent of the Incas.

NEO-INDIANS

For several decades we have been observing a process of globalization of Andean identity, alongside many other cultures. It is illuminating to examine this process more closely in a specific case: although the sociological *indígena* is denigrated in Peru, the historical identity of the Incas has, conversely, become the object of an identitarian reimagination, with a national and even worldwide value, springing from roots in traditional Andean messianism.

Andean messianism

According to an Andean tradition, Inkarrí, the Inca king (*Inca-rey*), who was beheaded by foreign invaders, will return one day to create a new empire.³ From his head, buried in an unknown spot, his body is said to be growing back little by little; when it is complete, Inkarrí will rise again and take power in order to restore the Inca empire. This Andean messianism has taken on political forms, particularly in the

revolts against the colonizers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, incarnating a utopian hope in the restoration of the Inca empire and the return of its sovereign. That period saw a kind of Inca nationalism whose protagonists had imperial ambitions (Rowe 1954, pp.17–47). The most famous of these, Tupac Amaru II, led an anticolonial movement in the middle of the eighteenth century, which suggested an identification with the Inca empire.⁴ This kind of messianism increased in intensity with the independence of Peru and during the first decades of the twentieth century.

The invention of a nation presupposes a collective memory shared by the “imagined” community that composes it (Anderson, 1983). In particular, it requires designating an autochthonous group that bears specific and superior values. Then, a presentable ancestor can be found; national values can be exalted through appropriate aspects of history; and anything contradicting them can be eliminated. From independence onwards, it was urgent to define the “native” whose liberation was being celebrated in Peru. It is clear that this role should have belonged to Indians. But this obvious solution contradicted the Indians’ inferior racial status in the minds of creole elites. Moreover, the populations called upon to form the nations in question were extremely heterogeneous, a fact which threw into doubt the unity that they were supposed to share: Indians, American-born creoles, descendants of the Spanish, people of African origin whose ancestors were imported as slaves; that is, a stunning mixed range of identities. How could one ignore this spectrum in order to elevate a single image of a superior civilization? Because it was impossible to find a respectable “native” identity, it was necessary to make one up. Throughout the nineteenth century, the figure of the imperial Indian took shape, that is, the Inca ancestor who built a powerful state: the myth of the empire-building native. From then on, the Inca was instituted as autochthonous. It gave a quasi-religious, nostalgic, foundational dimension to the memory of its empire.

Leftist Peruvian intellectuals of the 1920s reinvented this myth of perfect government. The myth took on a political aspect, in particular thanks to José Carlos Mariátegui (1928), the founder of the Peruvian Socialist Party, who would attribute a national and revolutionary character to the religious nostalgia for the Inca empire, whereas Luis Valcárcel (1927) celebrated the rocky majesty of the Andean landscape. In both of these men’s eyes, the Incas were seen to have created socialism, and the imperative of returning to that great era appeared both as a nationalist doctrine and as the indispensable condition for the advent of a Workers’ International. For these Peruvian thinkers, the Inca empire was a socialist state before its time.

As this analysis shows, the foundations of national representations are built upon a double move, both symmetrical and inverse, of politicizing myth and making myth of the political. On the one hand, the myth of the perfect Inca empire is politicized, and on the other, the political unity of the nation is made into a myth, and the promoters of the project gain from it a claim to autochthony. Meanwhile, the nation’s people are, of course, profoundly divided, both socially and culturally. We can see here a prime example of how the magical treatment of history produces a myth on which national identity can be built.

Neo-Incaism

In Peru, since the 1990s, the fascination for the Inca empire has taken on new and exacerbated forms, especially in the ancient imperial city of Cusco (Galinier

and Molinié, 2013). It would seem that the prophecy of Inkarrí’s return is being fulfilled in the capital city of the Inca empire. The city’s recent architecture recalls the gargantuan buildings of the pre-Hispanic ancestors. Monuments have been erected to the memory of mythical sovereigns. It is true that Incaism has always haunted Cusco’s residents (Nieto Degregori, 1995). But today this fascination is being expressed with a previously unknown creativity, confidence, and exuberance. Indeed, the imperial city seems to be preparing and even provoking the return of the Inca empire. In 1990, it took on the new name of Qosqo, following a spelling that is claimed to be authentic Quechua.⁵ It also now has a flag honoring the rainbow (Kuychi), an important divinity of the Inca pantheon, and an anthem, serving as a veritable ode to Incaness, with national strains. The *Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua* prescribes an imperial Quechua which is supposed to correspond to the language of the Incas. This “re-Incaized” language seeks to distinguish itself from the Quechua of the Indians, which suffers, according to the Academy, from the blight of dilution (Itier, 2009).

In addition, neo-Inca ceremonies are sprouting and multiplying. Offerings are made to Pachamama, the Andean earth goddess, in banks and grocery stores, whereas these practices were condemned as “Indian” only a few years ago. At the University of Cusco, a sacrifice of llamas, celebrated by the rector, has been offered regularly for years. Luxury hotels advertise services for divination with coca leaves, as practiced in Indian communities, alongside services for hairstyling and massage. Today, shamans prepare offerings to Pachamama and the mountain gods not only for the hotels of Cusco, but, as we shall see, for New Age mystics.

This effervescence of neo-Inca rituals finds its models in indigenous practices. New formulations of ancient rites are created through a quasi-ethnographic “capturing” of the traditional practices. Inca ceremonies, as described in archival documents, are added to current indigenous celebrations, such as the sacrifice of llamas. This construction of ritual proceeds as if it were always necessary to purify contemporary Indian practices through those of imperial Indians of old. It is important to note that neo-shamans who have declared themselves ministers of the new rites refer constantly to the Incas, and never to the Andean Indians who provide them with their most immediate examples. Historical and ethnological texts embellish the indigenous rites and bestow on them a legitimacy that mere Indian origins could never bring. Scholarly works are thus recycled into unexpected creations. Authenticity has no value for these creators of ritual, and the anthropologist finds him- or herself in the position of expert, unintentionally inspiring uncontrollable products. Often, neo-shamans cobble together diverse, even contradictory, customs and beliefs. Their practice of incoherent copy-and-pasting endows them with an astonishing creativity. Such fecundity of the ritual is accompanied by the reinvention of great, supposedly Inca ceremonies, like the *Inti Raymi*, which are instrumentalized for political ends (Galinier and Molinié, 2013).

The authentic Inca and the cult of the sun

The neo-cult of the sun celebrated at the summer solstice attracts crowds of people who are convinced that they are attending an authentic ceremony of pre-Hispanic ancestors. In reality *Inti Raymi*, the ceremony, was conceived in 1943 by indigenist

intellectuals, and based on the seventeenth-century chronicle of Garcilaso de La Vega (1960 [1609]). It is an example of a fantastic “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). For decades, the role of the royal Inca in the ceremony was performed by an actor. However, in the 1990s, this Inca was no longer an actor but an “authentic” descendent of a royal lineage. Alfredo Inca Roca, professor at the agricultural University of Cusco, says that he is not performing a role, but exercising his ministry during the sun worship ceremony.⁶ He possesses archival documents proving his Inca descent and has created a Tawantinsuyu council which is seeking official recognition from the Peruvian state. Alfredo Inca Roca has created a project to reconstitute the Quechua nation under the aegis of the ILO’s convention on indigenous peoples. During the actual sun worship ceremony on the Plaza de Armas in Cusco, the royal Inca dialogues in public with the mayor of the imperial city and proffers advice to him. The myth of Inkarrí thus slips into history (See Figure 24.1).

Today the descendants of Inca nobility are multiplying in Cusco. They find their own genealogists and celebrate the rituals of their princely lineages. One family is even preparing to claim ownership of Machu Picchu in the name of its Inca ancestors. It is ever more valuable to be an Inca descendent in Cusco rather than a contemporary Indian. The neo-Inca movement mobilizes international organizations that are sensitive to the Tawantinsuyu project. Without doubt, the movement has political consequences.



Figure 24.1 The Inca of the Solar Cult greets the crowd at Inti Raymi at the archaeological site of Sacsahuaman, Cusco, June 2011

Photo credit: Linda J. Seligmann.

The President as Inca

It would seem that the prophecy of the return of the Inca empire is being fulfilled not merely in Cusco, but on the scale of the entire Peruvian nation. In many regards, President Alejandro Toledo, in power from 2001 to 2006, presented himself as a claimant to the Inca throne. This was especially explicit on the occasion of his inauguration, set in the majestic ruins of Machu Picchu, the temple of Incaness *par excellence*.

Several regional shamans celebrated Toledo's inauguration ceremony. One of them was the rector of the University of Cusco, the same man who conducted annual llama sacrifices. Considered a high-ranking specialist, he practiced a very creative neo-shamanism inspired by traditional rites which he knew well through his profession as anthropologist. The other two celebrants were traditional shamans. They legitimized the authenticity of the liturgy invented for the occasion.

The link between this ritual and the revalorization of indigenous identities was expressed by the Inca/President in a “Declaration of Machu Picchu on Democracy, the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and the Fight against Poverty,” as well as in a promise to promote an “American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.”⁷ The inauguration ceremony exuded a pan-Andean aura worthy of the emperor of Tawantinsuyu. Indeed, next to President Toledo stood the presidents of several other South American countries, as well as Shimon Peres, then Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the crown prince of Spain. In a fascinating way, this ritual telescoped, on the one hand, a local religious dimension through the presence of neo-shamans from indigenous communities, and, on the other hand, a global political dimension via the presence of foreign heads of state, as well as the pan-Andean declaration of Machu Picchu. Thanks to this declaration, neo-Incaism joined forces with the continent-wide Indianist movement, fusing “indigenous people” with “pre-Hispanic nobility,” and, indeed, causing the latter to eclipse the former.

A few years later, in December 2005, the president of Bolivia, Evo Morales, participated in a comparable ceremony at the ruins of Tiahuanaco, though in a very different political context. In northern Peru, neo-Moches now celebrate the Lord of Sipán during a ritual organized near the museum/pantheon honoring his tomb.

Machu Picchu, with the telluric force conferred upon it by the reinvented Inca saga and its national instrumentalization, has thus become a political site. Even more so, it is a globalized religious site, invested with a mystique that reaches far beyond the Peruvian political sphere: Machu Picchu has become the cathedral of New Age spirituality. Believers come to stock up on “positive energy,” with the help of “traditional” shamans who make offerings to the gods on their behalf. The Andean pantheon has entered a process of globalization.

“INCA INTERNATIONAL” AND THE INVENTION OF THE ANDEAN NEW AGE

Many New Age prophecies predict that the advent of the Age of Aquarius will be accompanied by the profound disruptions described in the Book of Revelation. A cataclysm will bring about a “Great King” whose rise to power will signify the return of Christ and initiate a new golden age. The parallels are clear between this New Age

belief and that of the return of the Inca empire, which will “overthrow the world” in order to restore the Tawantinsuyu—the four quarters of the Inca Empire—seen as paradise. The two visions of history, Andean and New Age, are comparable. In effect, for Andean Indians, worldly time is made up of different *pacha* or eras, separated by cataclysmic *pachacuti* (revolutionary transformations of space-time). This conception is clearly parallels the cyclical New Age sense of time.⁸

The most widespread rite in Andean Indian communities is the offering to the gods, called *despacho* or *paqu*. Following a very precise code, different ingredients are placed within a ritual space delineated by a consecrated cloth (*mesa*). A specialist (*paqu*) oversees the despacho and offers it to the mountain or earth gods, who are implored to provide good harvests. Over the last ten years or so, this rite has gained an astonishing popularity among the mestizo and white populations of Cusco, who, until very recently, disdained such idolatrous manipulations as much as their Indian practitioners. Today, the despacho has been taken up and reinvented by neo-shamans who sell it to New Age mystics in the stores of Cusco and in the mystics’ home countries, especially in Europe and the United States.

Whereas the Indian *paqu* burns the despacho as a divine offering, among New Agers the neo-shaman places it on the patient’s head or abdomen, causing the patient to feel “the energy penetrating from head to foot” (Figure 24.2). Thus, two factors distinguish the New Age despacho from the Andean original. Whereas the paqu burns the carefully prepared offering for the gods, New Age mystics turn it into an “energy”-containing packet adapted to the patient. While the former offers the despacho to the mountain or earth gods, the Children of Aquarius capture “energy” for their own use. In the Andean tradition of exchange, the gathered objects are supposed to nourish the gods: the despacho is a sacrifice. In the New Age version, the packet is charged with “energy” captured from the “master” and millions of Indians who participate in rites of the “Inca tradition”: it becomes predation.

New Agers consider these rites more effective when they are practiced either in pre-Hispanic ruins where the “energy” of the Incas is preserved, or on the occasion of great Indian ceremonies, which produce “good vibrations.” Thus, an anthropologist, formerly professor at the University of Cusco, has created a “rite of passage” in the ancient capital in which participants search for the next Inca empire and the reestablishment of the Tawantinsuyu. The mystical circuit takes about a week to perform. It begins at the cathedral of Cusco and ends at Machu Picchu, the cathedral of the New Age. Rituals are mostly held on Inca sites. They represent the steps of the revelation of the future Inca empire of the era to come. Between pilgrimage and initiation ceremony, this mystical journey exemplifies the fusion of New Age messianism and the Andean myth of Inca return. It also showcases the role played by anthropology in local New Age recreations.

Spiritual tourism has thus become very lucrative for Cusco’s tourist agencies (Pílares Villa, 1992; Flores Ochoa, 1996). It has been legitimized by international spiritual meetings and officially certified by the national tourism agency (PromPeru) as well as the National Institute of Culture. After serving as the political site for the inauguration of an Inca president, Machu Picchu became a “planetary chakra” where New Agers from the whole world gather. A new commodity acquired a definite value: the “energy” which emanates from the craggy landscape of the Andes, itself imbued with the “good vibrations” of the Indians, who find themselves in the role of battery-rechargers via their traditional rites.



Figure 24.2 A *pago* ritual carried out by a neo-shaman for the benefit of a New Age mystic on the archeological site of Pisaq, Cusco, June 2002

Photo credit: Antoinette Molinié.

From Indian Pachamama to political “Pachamamism”

Today, offerings to Pachamama are celebrated in the United States, Italy, Scandinavia, and Spain by “masters” from Cusco accompanied by indigenous specialists serving as “traditional shamans.” Rarely mentioned in documents from the colonial era, Pachamama, the earth goddess, is represented in indigenous communities as an entity that is both very localized and multiple, and above all ambivalent, whose actions depend on the ritual offerings that are made to her. She appears to indigenous people as devouring, ravenous for sacrifice. Widely theorized by anthropologists, today she has become a global and generous divinity, the equivalent of Mother Earth honored by the “New Age International.” With the same grandiloquence as the indigenists of the 1930s, the Children of Aquarius now celebrate the goddess’s generosity, ignoring the cruelty of the indigenous deity. Numerous contemporary Indianist movements have taken up this maternal representation of the earth spirit, both from the indigenists and more recently from the New Agers, spreading it among Indians themselves, who now inform ethnologists about a benevolent Pachamama who can be accurately qualified as *made in the USA*.

In a parallel way, we can observe a political instrumentalization of the Mother Earth-ified Pachamama. We have already seen how far removed this globalized version is from the indigenous goddess of fertility. The new Pachamama, the product of neo-Indian imagination and New Age influence, has become a powerful political instrument. Whereas indigenists in the 1920s and guerrilla movement members in the 1960s invoked her to reclaim “the land for those who work on it” (in the spirit of “*Tierra o muerte venceremos*”—“land or death we will overcome”), today what Pachamama demands is not so much land rights as “respect,” as stated in the Ecuadorian constitution of 2008.

At his election, Bolivian President Evo Morales thanked Pachamama for his victory. In 2010, at an international meeting of ecological and alter-globalist organizations, he cried, “Pachamama or death!”; yet his intent was not to reclaim lands for Indians, but to call for respect for nature in the name of an indigeneity cast as “naturally ecological.” The connection is evident between the Bolivian president’s “Pachamamism” and his inauguration in pre-Hispanic-style at the archeological site of Tiwanaku: both are complementary facets of an instrumentalized neo-Indian culture. During a speech in defense of indigenous peoples on April 20, 2010, David Choquehuanca, Bolivia’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared, “Most important are the rivers, the air, the mountains, the stars, the ants, the butterflies . . . Man comes last.” Today such Pachamamism is used by international development organizations, especially NGOs (Lambert, 2011). One no longer hears about coca being used to make cocaine, but about Mama Coca, the sacred leaf. Pachamamization has invaded political discourses and actions. It is accompanied by the invented ideology of *sumak kawsay* or “living well,” which, though presented as an Indian ideal of happily balanced consumption of the fruits of sacred Nature, is nothing but political subterfuge (Bretón Solo de Zaldívar, 2013; Sánchez-Parga, 2013).

In Peru, this trend tends to ethnicize conflicts that have broken out on mining facilities managed by foreign companies as well as to short-circuit labor unions and leftist parties. We are observing the spread of an ethnoecology in which essentialized natives and their divinized environment are all seen as the same thing (Salazar-Soler, 2009) to the detriment of an equitable redistribution of the means of production. A new mystique of “deep ecology” has appeared, and its political instrumentalization is becoming increasingly visible—both by indigenous people to draw attention to their condition, and by neoliberal capitalism to ignore the exploitation of these people in the name of “wounded Nature.” The image of the Indian moves permanently from one utopia to another. On the one hand, it is nationalized as the Inca empire repurposed for building a national identity, and on the other, it is essentialized as the natural ecologist who is always respectful of nature. We return, therefore, to the Rousseauian origins of the construct of the mythic native: the noble savage was an empire-building Indian who could have become dangerous for conglomerates, businesses, and NGOs, so he was transformed into a harmless, nature-loving worshiper of Pachamama. The profound continuity between this evolution and the development of spiritual tourism is legible within the framework of a neoliberal order that uses the revalorization of “Indian pride” (Salazar-Soler, 2009), its myths, and its rites as a social painkiller against growing inequalities (Bretón Solo de Zaldívar, 2009). It is increasingly clear that the trend toward recognizing Andean identities serves merely as a neoliberal substitute for the structural reforms that the poverty of Andean Indians demands.

CONCLUSION

The New Age “Inca International,” along with the mystique of Pachamamism, inevitably evokes the Workers’ International imagined by indigenists of yore: their fascination with the craggy majesty of the Andean landscape, their sense of exaltation before the virile Inca monuments, their political utopianism, their faith in a glowing future, their ignorance of the Indians whose interests they claimed to defend . . . Just as the indigenists invented the neo-cult of the sun, the New Agers seek the next Inca empire through invented rites in Inca ruins, while governments and NGOs use Pachamamism as a political façade. Meanwhile, having been dispossessed of their lands by colonialism, and deprived of their history in favor of a national Indian fabricated by indigenists, the indigenous people at the origin of Inca messianism are now called upon to supply New Age mystics with “good vibrations.”

The nationalization of tradition has followed up on the imperialization of tradition: the empire-building Indian served as a figure of autochthony for a nation whose champions massacred its own indigenous peoples. Thanks to the Andean New Age, the resurrection of the Inca empire, a belief that was essentially local and Indian at its origin, has taken on a global dimension. After the “indigenist International,” the Inca International seized this tradition, as reimagined by the neo-Incas of Cusco and nationalized by the political apparatus, and projected it into the global market. Andean culture has thereby entered a process of globalization, which is completing its trajectory from the community to the global village. Originally very local, indigenous, and quasi-religious, Inca messianism has undergone spectacular transformations: the indigenists imperialized the tradition; the neo-Incas nationalized it; the New Age neo-Indians are globalizing it; and Pachamamists are instrumentalizing it as a vector of neoliberalism.

At a moment when the magnetic center is said to be moving from the Himalayas to the Andes, the resurrection of the Inca empire is finally finding its cosmic dimension, attributed by conquered and colonized Indians to Inkarrí. They have already given their tribute, their land, their ore, and their labor, but now they have been called upon to give their energy to New Age mystics. This energy, like financial securities, is a virtual good. We might therefore reflect on the cohesion between the value of such goods, that is, between the energy captured by New Agers and the international finance that governs all of us. It is well known that financial capitalism progressively transforms all values into commodities. The messianic imaginary, indigenous in its origin, has become commodified as captured energy and politically instrumentalized as Pachamamism. It would seem that both of these dimensions fit well within the neoliberal order.

NOTES

- 1 The ethnonym *indio* appeared for the first time as an entry in a bilingual dictionary in 1600, in a manuscript entitled *Viridarium Linguae Latinae* (Reissner, 1983).
- 2 Foreign missions such as those of G. de Créqui Montford and E. de Sénéchal de la Grange were not the only ones to evaluate Indians’ “faculties.” The “scientist” Nicomede Antelo diagnosed the Indian brain, which supposedly weighed between 5.7 and 10 ounces less than a racially pure white brain, with an inability to conceive of republican liberty (Demèlas, 1980, p. 14).
- 3 Regarding the myth of Inkarrí and Andean messianism see Arguedas (1968); Nuñez del Prado, (1973); Ortiz Rescaniere (1973); Ossio (1973); Flores Galindo (1986); Burga (1988);

- Valderrama and Escalante (1995). It is well known that Atahualpa, the last Inca, was strangled, not beheaded, by the Spanish.
- 4 Regarding the Tupac Amaru movement, see O'Phelan Godoy, 1995.
 - 5 It is often said that *qosqo* means “navel” in Quechua. In reality, however, the etymology of this word is not of Quechua origin (Itier, 1997).
 - 6 I would like to thank Alfredo Inca Roca for his collaboration in this research.
 - 7 “Declaración de Machu Picchu sobre la Democracia, los Derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas y la Lucha contra la Pobreza,” *El Peruano*, July 30 2001, “Especial” section.
 - 8 For an overview on the New Age, see Ferguson (1980). For data on the New Age in Peru, see Parisi Wilcox and Jenkins (1996), Jenkins (1997), Cumes and Lizárraga (1999), Nuñez del Prado (1998), Sullivan (1997). For the invention of the Andean New Age, see Molinié (2012 and 2016).

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CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

THE MULTICULTURAL TURN, THE NEW LATIN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM, AND BLACK SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE ANDEAN SUB-REGION



Jean Muteba Rahier

INTRODUCTION

In an excellent article mostly based on a direct engagement with Central American realities, Charles Hale (2014) proposed to divide the last few decades of Latin American history into: 1) the revolutionary period (1970–1990), 2) the “two decades of neoliberal multiculturalism” (1990–2010), and 3) the contemporary period (unfolding since 2010). In this chapter, with the Andean sub-region in mind, I first discuss the particular significance of what authors have called “the Latin American multicultural turn” as it relates to Andean ideologies of national identity, and Afro-Andean lives and political strategies. I then examine the new Latin American constitutionalism by focusing on specific articles of Andean constitutions that deal with collective rights and legal protections against racial and other discriminations. I conclude by providing critical reflections on the lack of uniformity in the Andean region, and on the concomitant diversity of Afro-Andean political strategies as they both respond to and continue to achieve constitutionally-based and other rights in the Andean sub region.

I have preferred to label the period directly preceding multiculturalism the “period of monocultural *mestizaje*,”¹ during which national elites produced and reproduced—differently in different national contexts—an ideology of national identity that imagined a mestizo identity as the prototypical national identity which would have corresponded to a single national culture, constructed as genuinely shared by all “true” citizens. That single national culture was itself seen as the product of a particular history of cultural hybridity between, mostly, Spain and Native America, and which commonly excluded African contributions. Thus, during that period Afro-Andeans were not “an ingredient” in what I call “the ideological biology of national identity”—an ideological creation and manipulation of popular and common-sensical, biologically-based notions to provide a fundamental justification for the definition of national insides and outsides. Afro-Andeans have been left off to one side, unlike (some) indigenous peoples who were to some extent incorporated in imaginations of national identity even if it was only to serve as an ingredient in need of transformation or whitening (*blanqueamiento*). In most Andean national contexts, *mestizaje* and *mestizo(a)s* refer to only one specific form of racial mixing

that includes Europeans or Spaniards, on the one hand, and indigenous peoples, on the other, with the exclusion of Afrodescendants (see Stutzman 1981; Silva, 1988, 1995; Wade, 1993; Whitten, 2007; Greene, 2006, 2007a). Other “categories” of racial mixing have been labeled differently: see for example *mulataje* and *mulato(a)s*, which refer to black and white mixing, and *zambaje* and *zambo(a)s*, which refer to black and indigenous mixing (see Whitten, 2003a, 2003b; Rahier 2014, pp. 65–88).

When Afrodescendants’ presence is acknowledged in the history and the geography of Andean countries, it has usually been as communities living in spatial and temporal margins within national geographies and histories (see Wade, 1993; Rahier, 2014; Busdiecker, 2009). Afro-Andeans have been constructed as “ultimate Others,” evoking and illustrating the existence of a multiplicity of degrees of difference on the scale of alterity. Racialization as an indigenous person is not the same as racialization as an Afrodescendant. More so even than indigenous people, Afro-Andeans are often considered “out-of-place” when outside of their ascribed locations within national territory or racial-spatial orders (see Rahier, 2014). The imagined national “we” that white-mestizos feel at ease to occupy and use in daily conversations and performances of self provides privileged sites in which to examine the way they envisage their connection to indigenous people, while keeping blackness at bay (Rahier, 2014, pp. 175–198).

During monocultural mestizaje, “invisibilized” Afrodescendants were subjected to blatant forms of anti-black racism, which they resisted in multiple ways by organizing politically to struggle against invisibilization and for national-historical and national-cultural recognition (see Rahier 2014, pp. 105–120). The expression “monocultural mestizaje” captures well the intention of that period’s Andean ideologies of national identity, which imagined and constructed homogeneous national identities and cultures in a move that reified mestizaje within the general context of white supremacy, and that attempted to negate the existence of racism.

THE “MULTICULTURAL TURN”

The shift away from an ideological narrative of homogeneous national identity that emulates mestizaje and hides differences to a narration of the nation (Bhabha, 1990) that instead “celebrates” cultural diversity and presents the state as constitutionally “embracing” and recognizing differences in a logic of state corporatism/co-optation (see Rahier, 2012) emerges in the sub-region at the very beginning of the 1990s. It actually does so through a Latin American wave of constitutional reforms and adoption of new constitutions (Hale, 2014) that began with the promulgation of the 1988 Brazilian constitution (Bercovici, 2015), which was soon followed by the adoption of the 1991 Colombian constitution (Wade, 1995). A multitude of such reforms in virtually all Latin American national contexts soon followed. These new or reformed constitutions, unlike their monocultural mestizaje predecessors, acknowledged the racial and ethnic plurality of national populations in their key opening articles. Latin Americanist legal scholars have called this period of constitutional renewal a “new Latin American constitutionalism.”

Multiculturalism emerged in Latin America following the adoption of “multicultural” policies specifically targeting Indigenous and African diasporic populations by international development and global governance institutions (the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the Central American Integration System, the International Development Bank, etc.) (Hale, 2004, 2006, 2014; Fontaine, 2012). These policies led

to the growth of a “new” multiculturalist vocabulary imposed upon Latin American state agents such as state employees, congressmen, and congresswomen. Indigenous and Afrodescendant organizations were also prompted to master this new discourse in their respective political activism (de la Torre, 2006; Farfán-Santos 2015) in order to make a better case for the plight of their peoples in national and international arenas. As William Roseberry underscored, when discussing “hegemony and the language of contention” (1994, p. 361): “What hegemony constructs [. . .] is not a shared ideology, but a common material and meaningful framework for living through, talking about, and acting upon social orders characterized by domination.” The advent of multiculturalism also resulted from the political activism of Indigenous and African diasporic communities (de la Torre, 2006; Rahier, 2014, pp. 105–120).

With multiculturalism, *mestizaje*—as an ideological technology of the state and a project of Andean elites—has not disappeared from the political landscape but instead continues to do its work both within and around multiculturalism (see Rahier, 2014, pp. 175–198). Thus, for Afro-Andeans, the shift of the official or national stance from monocultural *mestizaje* to multiculturalism has not been accompanied by the transformations that the change of vocabulary might suggest. Instead, multiculturalism has re-inscribed the prevalent racial order in its new narration of the nation. Multiculturalism in the Andes constructs society as being composed of a growing and dominant homogeneous majority (white-mestizos) as well as a number of small resilient minorities who often occupy the margins of national territory, and are organized in distinct communities with their own cultures. These “small” minorities must be “understood, accepted and basically left alone since their differences are compatible with the hegemonic culture in order for society to have harmonious relations” (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992, p. 158). Since the 1990s, however, in some of the Andean countries, these “small minorities”—mostly Indigenous and Afrodescendant communities—have become important and visible political agents. The current situation is one of multicultural state corporatism that seeks to “integrate” black artists and political leaders within the machinery of the state in positions of responsibility. This was facilitated during a positive economic period that saw the rise of black middle classes. The *modus operandi* of the state and its agencies during multiculturalism is definitely not the same as it was during monocultural *mestizaje*, even if both have been at the service of more or less the same elites. However, stating that nothing has changed between monocultural *mestizaje* and multiculturalism, as some do, might not be quite right.

Charles Hale prefers the expression “neoliberal multiculturalism” because it is grounded in the application of two elementary principles: 1) Modern democracies acknowledge the cultural diversity of their societies and protect the disadvantaged by awarding them rights; and 2) the concession of strategically conceived cultural rights, far from being a subversion of, and a risk to, the integrity of the state, strengthens its capacity to govern (Hale, 2014).

For Hale, Latin American multiculturalism has been neoliberal because it coincided with the beginning of a period of neoliberal economic policies across the region, which revealed multiculturalist policies for what they have been: non-threatening to the fundamental socio-political and economic order of things despite the granting of cultural rights and the defense of minority groups against prejudice and segregation (Hale and Millaman, 2006; Hale, 2014). Multiculturalism opened up vast spaces for cultural recognition, as long as

these never implied a material redistribution that would imperil the interests of national and transnational capital. Such cultural recognition produced an “ethno-normativity” that has strongly contributed to a process of neoliberal subject formation embedded in a strong distinction between those who have specific rights and those who don’t.

THE NEW LATIN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

What is—for Latin Americanist legal scholars—“new” in the contemporary Latin American constitutionalism that is so closely associated with multiculturalism? For Carlos Gaviria Díaz, present-day Latin American constitutionalism is new because it is utopian, transformationalist, and rigid. It is utopian and transformationalist, as opposed to “conservative,” because it doesn’t aim to preserve a current state of affairs considered good and desirable, as do typical democratic liberal constitutions (Gaviria Díaz, 2015, pp. 22). Instead, the new Latin American constitutionalism seeks to contribute to the establishment of a state of affairs, which it describes, that has not come to existence yet but that is considered to be ideal, necessary, and beneficial. “What is not and has not been in existence yet, and that we consider urgent to reach: a truly democratic society” (Gaviria Díaz, 2015, p. 23). Legal scholars call “flexible constitutions” those constitutions that can be modified or replaced by a relatively straightforward legislative process based on simple majority vote, while they call “rigid constitutions” constitutions that can only be modified following a much more complex process than the one used to elaborate, modify or derogate an ordinary law.

The new Latin American constitutions have a symbolic dimension in that they are inscribed in a desired democratic rupture with the immediate societal and constitutional past (Nolte and Schilling-Vacaflor 2012). They are imbued with the hope that their application in all identified aspects of life will contribute to bringing about justice and happiness. They are innovative and their scope is vast as is—when compared with previous constitutions—the number of their articles. Their most striking characteristic is certainly the extended catalogues of rights they recognize for identified vulnerable groups (women, children and youth, the physically impaired, the elderly, etc.) and historically marginalized minorities (Indigenous groups and communities of Afrodescendants, mostly) (see Nolte and Schilling-Vacaflor, 2012; Pastor and Martínez Dalmau, 2015).

In his work on Brazil’s 1988 constitution, Gilberto Bercovici (2015) shows how fundamental and important Latin American constitutions—all mostly “directivist” (*dirigiste*) constitutions—have been in the processes leading to social change. He links the transformationalist ambitions of the constitutions of the new Latin American constitutionalism to constitutions with similar orientations toward change that have emerged in postcolonial regions elsewhere in the Global South.

THE QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE OF AFRODESCENDANTS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN ANDEAN SOCIETIES

The new Latin American constitutionalism or “multiculturalist constitutionalism” and its related special laws are important for Afrodescendants and Indigenous peoples in the sub-region for two fundamental reasons: 1) in very specific circumstances

it justifies the award of collective rights to Indigenous peoples and sometimes also to Afrodescendants; and 2) it provides legal protection against racism and prejudice.

Many have underlined the actual qualitative difference between Afrodescendants and Indigenous peoples in Latin American ideologies of national identity (Hooker, 2005; Greene, 2007b; Ng'weno, 2007a, 2007b). They point to the more institutionalized relationship between Indigenous populations and either the colonial administration or the independent state in contrast to the historically less incorporated relationship between Afrodescendants and the state. This explains why to be successful in their demands for collective rights, black communities in Colombia, for example, have had to “Indianize” their claims; that is, they have had to present their demands to the state as if they were an Indigenous people, making sure that the representation of their situation approximated as much as possible what was taken to be the case for Indigenous people. The result has been that the 1991 Colombian Constitution, and particularly the Colombian Law 70, adopted in 1993 with input from Afro-Colombians, have only recognized communities of the Pacific coast, which are looked upon by the general population and by the state as more Indigenous-like, as *comunidades negras* (“black communities”) with special collective rights over land (*territorio*), in contrast to communities of black people living in other regions of the country.

Bettina Ng'weno has shown how global discourses of indigeneity relate to Afro-Colombian claims to land (Ng'weno, 2007a, 2007b). A “traditional relationship” to land, she writes, contributes a great deal to definitions of “Indigenous communities” in Colombia and elsewhere in Latin America, and it is this claim that gives an ethno-cultural (quasi-Indigenous) status to Afro-Colombian communities of the Pacific coast (see also, for Ecuador, Walsh, 2002, Antón Sánchez, 2007a, 2007b). The perceived lack of such a relationship to land would also explain why Afro-Colombians living on the Caribbean Coast and in urban areas of the interior are not recognized as “comunidades negras” (see also Restrepo, 2013).

Juliet Hooker (2005) has compared the common understanding Latin American elites in different national contexts have of Indigenous people as “ethno-cultural” Others and of black people as “racial” Others. To provide justice to them—they seem to think—the former need collective rights while the latter need protection against racial discrimination. Understanding these processes helps to reveal what is often a rather unequal relation of Indigenous and black communities, respectively, to the state. Ted Gordon has made a similar point when writing about Nicaragua (Gordon, 1998; see also Greene, 2007b). The fundamental positional difference of Afrodescendants with Indigenous people helps to explain why, in the Andes at least, these two groups do not collaborate more politically as well as why Afrodescendants cannot easily reach the same status of “people” that is almost automatically assigned to all indigenous communities (see Greene, 2007a).

THE “MULTICULTURAL TURN” IN NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONS AND SPECIAL LAWS IN THE ANDEAN REGION²

To better illustrate the legal dimensions of the multicultural turn in the Andean sub-region, I briefly and systematically review the relevant articles—dealing with special collective rights and legal protection against racial and other discriminations—of the

new constitutions, constitutional reforms, and special laws in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

Colombia

Colombia has been recognized as the first country in the sub-region to adopt multiculturalism in its 1991 Constitution (amended up until 2005) and subsequent special laws.

Several articles of the Constitution clearly acknowledge the existence of Afro-Colombian populations. Article 13 indicates that any discrimination, including racial discrimination, must be avoided and is illegal; article 341 recognizes the existence of special circumscriptions for the black population “in these regions where there exists a black population with an identity process legally recognized”; and transitory article 55 calls for a commission appointed by the national government to draft special legislation in the two years following the adoption of the 1991 Constitution, to:

grant to black communities that have been occupying uncultivated land in rural areas adjoining the rivers of the Pacific Basin, according to traditional production practices, the right to collective ownership of the areas to be demarcated by such law.

Elected representatives of the communities involved are expected to participate in the special commission. The same law will also establish mechanisms for protecting the cultural identity and the rights of these communities, and promote economic and social development.

The law referred to and called for in the constitution’s article 55 has been called Law 70 of 1993. It was passed on August 27, 1993 and published in the *Diario Oficial* on August 31, 1993.³ The very first article of that law, in its first chapter entitled “Object and Definitions,” states:

This law is intended to recognize the black communities which have been occupying uncultivated land in rural areas adjoining the rivers of the Pacific Basin, according to traditional production practices, the right to collective ownership, in accordance with the provisions of the following articles. It also aims to establish mechanisms for the protection of cultural identity and the rights of black communities in Colombia as an ethnic group, and the promotion of economic and social development, in order to ensure that these communities have genuine conditions of equal opportunity in comparison to the rest of Colombian society.

Law 70 has six chapters that deal with issues ranging from the recognition of black communities’ rights to collective property, land use and protection of natural resources and environment, mining resources in black communities’ land, and mechanisms for the protection and development of black communities’ rights and cultural identity.

Other Colombian legislation includes a number of decrees issued by the Presidency of the Republic or by one of its ministries, and laws adopted by the Congress which have a variety of objectives: to regulate the Chapter III of Law 70 of 1993; to praise

the life and work of three Afro-Colombian poets and to provide for the construction of monuments in their honor, as well as for their inclusion in publications of Colombian literature anthologies; to make May 21 of each year the National Day of Afro-Colombianism (*Día Nacional de la Afrocolombianidad*); to establish proceedings for the election of representatives of peasant, Indigenous, and Afro-Colombian organizations and of the agriculture and animal industry associations to the Board of the Colombian Institute of Rural Development (INCODER).

Ecuador

Ecuador has already had two Constitutions with a multiculturalist orientation. The first was adopted in 1998, and the second in 2008. A number of special laws and decrees have also been adopted since the end of the 1990s and contributed to the establishment of multicultural policies. A careful reading of the 1998 political constitution of the Ecuador illustrates well how its multiculturalist orientation reinscribed the differences established during the colonial period and that continued during monocultural mestizaje between Afro-Ecuadorian and Indigenous communities vis-à-vis the Ecuadorian nation-state. Chapter Five on Collective Rights, in its Article 83 reads: “Indigenous peoples, who self-identify as nationalities of ancestral roots, and black or Afro-Ecuadorian peoples are part of the Ecuadorian state, unique and indivisible.” This is the very first Ecuadorian constitutional article to recognize the actual existence of Afro-Ecuadorian peoples and their possible access to collective rights. Article 84 reads: “The State will recognize and guarantee to Indigenous peoples the respect for public order and human rights, and the following collective rights, in conformity with this Constitution and the law.” The article then goes on to list 15 collective rights, among which are the right to retain their communal land; the right to use, administer, and conserve the natural resources found on their land; and the right to preserve and promote traditional practices relevant to the use of their land’s biodiversity. There is no mention of Afro-Ecuadorians in Article 84. Article 85, however, which might have been added after a first round of discussions during the Constitutional Assembly’s deliberations, indicates that “The State will recognize and guarantee to black or Afro-Ecuadorian peoples the rights listed in the previous article, in all instances that they are applicable [to their specific situation(s)].” Obviously, the very fact that collective rights of blacks or Afro-Ecuadorians were not initially dealt with in Article 84 reflects the belief shared at the time by most Ecuadorian whites, white-mestizos, and Indigenous peoples that Afro-Ecuadorians did not fit the notion of indigeneity that informs the Latin American “multicultural turn” in most national contexts.

The Constitutional Assembly that led to the 1998 Constitution was overwhelmingly composed of white and white mestizo representatives (see Rahier, 2014, pp. 105–120). As a sign of the vitality of the Afro-Ecuadorian urban movement, the Law of Collective Rights of Black or Afro-Ecuadorian Peoples (*Ley de Derechos Colectivos de los Pueblos Negros o Afroecuatorianos*) was published in the *Registro Oficial* n° 275 of May 22, 2006. It brought a remedy to this situation and recognized the specific collective rights of Afro-Ecuadorians. Later, thanks to the activism of the Federación de Organizaciones y Grupos Negros de Pichincha (FOGNEP) presided over by Juan Ocles, on July 5, 2007, the Metropolitan Council of Quito approved

a municipal ordinance *para la inclusión social con enfoque étnico cultural* (“for social inclusion with an ethno-cultural focus”) whose objective was to protect Afro-Ecuadorians against anti-black racism (El Comercio, 2007a, 2007b). Despite the use of the expression “ethno-cultural focus,” the language of the ordinance is clearly about Afro-Ecuadorians as racial Others or as people who suffer from racism more than from the denial of special “cultural rights.”

Ecuador adopted a second multiculturalist Constitution in 2008. It makes reference to Afro-Ecuadorian collective rights mostly in Chapter Four, “Rights of Communities, Peoples, and Nationalities.” Article 56 indicates that “The Indigenous communities, peoples, and nationalities, the Afro-Ecuadorian people, the Montubio people and the communes form part of the Ecuadorian State, unique and indivisible.” Up to this point, there is nothing new when compared to the 1998 Constitution’s article 83, except for the inclusion of the Montubios (a rural mestizo population from the southern coastal area of the country) and of the “communes” (see below). Article 57 adds: “It will be acknowledged and guaranteed to Indigenous communes, communities, peoples and nationalities, in conformity with the Constitution and with pacts, agreements, declarations and other international instruments of human rights, the following collective rights.” The article goes on to list 21 collective rights that are not very different from the 15 rights listed in the 1998 Constitution. Again, as was true of article 84 of the 1998 Constitution, there is no mention of Afro-Ecuadorians in article 57. It is not until article 58 that we learn that: “To strengthen its identity, culture, traditions and rights, the collective rights established in the Constitution, law and pacts, agreements, declarations and other international instruments of human rights law will be recognized for Afro Ecuadorian people.”

The relationship between articles 57 and 58 evokes the relationship between articles 83 and 84 of the 1998 Constitution in that it reproduces the distinction established between Indigenous peoples and Afro-Ecuadorians discussed above. Most of the *asambleistas* involved clearly intended to list the specific collective rights of Indigenous peoples in a separate article. Article 60 of the 2008 Constitution, however, introduces some novelty: “The ancestral Indigenous, Afro-Ecuadorian and Montubio people may constitute territorial entities to preserve their cultures. The law will regulate their conformation. Collective land tenure of communes will be recognized as a form of ancestral territorial organization.” The wording of that additional article adds a definitive and unambiguous character to the collective rights of Afro-Ecuadorians over their cultural traditions and their lands. Indeed, the use of the word *comuna(s)* (“commune[s]”) makes direct reference to the Afro-Ecuadorian communes of the northern sector of the Province of Esmeraldas, on the banks of the Santiago and Onzole rivers.

The assembly member Alexandra Ocles (who later became Minister in Rafael Correa’s government [see Rahier with Prosper, 2012] and who is now Secretary of Risk Management in Lenin Moreno’s government) kept a short diary of the progress made during the various debates that led to the adoption of the text of articles 56, 57, 58, and 60. It is instructive to read in her report that although Afro-Ecuadorians close to the process did not successfully prevent the kind of distinction that continues to be established between the collective rights of Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian peoples (see articles 57 and 58), they were nevertheless able to convince the assembly members charged with discussing these articles on collective rights to do two things.

First, they persuaded them to include unambiguous wording that clearly recognized Afro-Ecuadorians as a “people” or *pueblo*. In addition, they convinced the assembly members to ban the use of the term *negro(s)* from the Constitution and to replace it with *afroecuatoriano(s)*. They argued that “negro” re-inscribed the existing repertoire of racial terms and resonated with the colonial past, whereas “afroecuatoriano” introduced the ethnic and cultural dimensions of their identity and contributed to presenting them as a *pueblo* (see Ocles, 2008).

Peru

Peru has remained somewhat removed from the Latin American multicultural turn (see Greene, 2012). Its current Constitution, adopted in 1993, does not mention Afro-Peruvians at all, although it recognizes the existence of citizens of various racial backgrounds, as in Article 2, which states that everyone has the right to: 1) Life, their identity, their moral integrity, mental and physical health and free development and welfare. [. . .]; and 2) Equality before the law. No one should be discriminated against on grounds of origin, race, sex, language, religion, opinion, economic or other purposes.

Peru also adopted a number of relevant laws. In 2005, the National Institute of Development of Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvians (Instituto nacional de desarrollo de pueblos andinos, amazonicos, y afroperuanos), was created within the Vice-Ministry of Interculturalidad (part of the Ministry of Culture) as the lead agency responsible for proposing and overseeing the implementation of national policies. It was also supposed to coordinate with regional governments regarding the execution of projects and programs aimed at the promotion, advocacy, research, and affirmation of the rights and “development with identity” (*desarrollo con identidad*) of Andean, Amazonian, and Afro-Peruvian peoples (see www.indepa.gob.pe/).

In 2006, a law was passed to establish that June 4 would henceforth be observed as the Day of Afro-Peruvian Culture. And in 2009, a law presented an apology, in the name of the Republic, to Peruvian citizens of African origin for centuries of “abuse, exclusion, and discrimination.”

Bolivia

The 2009 Bolivian Constitution mentions Afro-Bolivians in ways that parallel many aspects of the 1998 and 2008 Ecuadorian Constitutions. It declares in Article 3 that “The Bolivian nation is made up of all Bolivians, nations and peasant Indigenous peoples, and intercultural and Afro-Bolivian communities that together constitute the Bolivian people.”

After declaring that “everyone has legal personality and capacity in accordance with the laws to enjoy the rights recognized by this Constitution, without distinction,” article 14 outlaws discrimination:

The State prohibits and punishes all forms of discrimination based on sex, color, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, origin, culture, nationality, citizenship, language, religious belief, ideology, political or philosophical affiliation, marital status, economic or social condition, type of occupation,

level of education, disability, pregnancy, or that have the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on equal terms, of the rights of everyone.

The constitution's article 32 re-introduces the same kind of distinction between Indigenous and Afrodescendants for collective rights found in Colombia's and Ecuador's Constitutions. It declares that "The Afro-Bolivian people enjoys *in all that applies* (my emphasis), the same economic, social, political and cultural rights enshrined in the Constitution for nations and peasant Indigenous peoples (*las naciones y pueblos indígena originario campesinos*)."

The final mention of Afro-Bolivians takes place in article 395, which states that:

Lands shall be endowed to native Indigenous, intercultural communities, Afro-Bolivians and rural communities that do not possess or do not have enough land, according to a state policy that addresses the ecological and geographical realities and the social, cultural and economic needs of the population. The allocation will be in accordance with the policies of sustainable rural development and women's rights of access to, distribution to, and redistribution of, land without discrimination on the basis of marital or conjugal union.

(Constitución Política del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia)

BY WAY OF A CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that what has been called the multicultural turn in Latin America has taken shape differently in different national contexts and with more or less intensity. A quick review of Andean national constitutions and related special laws reveals and contrasts national particularities. For example, the lighter legal traces left by the Peruvian multicultural turn in constitutional texts contrast with the multiple and comparatively detailed references to Indigenous nations and Afrodescendant communities and their rights in the Colombian, Ecuadorian, and Bolivian Constitutions and relevant special laws. In any case, what is certain is that the constitutional landscape has changed throughout the sub-region by ending Afrodescendant "invisibility." The new Latin American constitutions now make references to ethnic and racial diversity within the national population in their opening articles. That notable change has obviously not transformed the structure of power, or the racial-spatial orders, despite the emergence of black middle classes in the region. The end of black invisibility should not be mistaken for the beginning of full black empowerment and equal justice. Multiculturalism does not constitute the end of the road for political activism of communities of peoples who have been historically marginalized and exploited.

Afrodescendant political activists across Latin America have engaged in adjusting their political strategies to the new political situations they live in, all of which are characterized by the advent of new narrations of the nation and their attendant vocabularies and discourse, which attempt to paper over the continued reproduction of conceptualizations, inequalities, and hegemonies that first took shape prior to and during monocultural mestizaje, and that are still inspired by white supremacist logics

that have yet to disappear. Multiculturalism and its accompanying state corporatism/cooptation of Afro-descendants' social movements and their leaders has made the political work of Afrodescendants more complex (see Rahier, 2012; Hall, 2000). We must therefore put together conceptual toolkits designed to make sense of these new situations. Recent scholarship has been inspiring in this regard. Here, one recent work that comes to mind is Ruethe-Orihuela and Caballero-Arias's (2017) explanation of the concept of "institutional maroonage" (*cimarronaje institucional*). They show how activists of the Afro-Venezuelan movement do not outright reject state corporatism as a mechanism aiming to dilute their demands, but instead strategically and willingly participate "in the institutional apparatus of the Bolivarian state in order to promote agendas against racial discrimination and in favor of ethnic recognition" (2017, p. 321). That is a strategy that black organizations have adopted in other Latin American national contexts as well (see Rahier, 2012).

Second, although they have shared comparable processes of subalternization, Indigenous groups and Afrodescendant communities have otherwise not shared a similar position in Andean societies and their ideological landscapes. This has been true both during monocultural mestizaje and in the new narrations of the nation that multiculturalism offers. This different consideration of the two groups in relation to collective rights and national recognition is edifying in the entire Andean sub-region, whereby Indigenous groups are seen as deserving collective rights far more than Afrodescendants who are viewed instead as needing protections against anti-black racism. This is the case in a great many Latin American contexts, not just in the Andean region. This qualitatively different positioning on the scale of alterity by Afrodescendants and Indigenous peoples has been under-theorized in relevant scholarship as many tend to erase that qualitative difference in order to favor and not prevent—as they fear doing—potential formations of political coalitions.

The field of "settler colonial studies" as it pertains to Latin America provides a case in point. Its theorizing of the very nature of the settler colonial state to simply reproduce itself overcoming internal contradictions between "settlers" and "colonized," always for the benefit of the former, has obvious relevance here since, as Lorenzo Veracini argues, the distance between colonizers and colonized is not permanent in settler colonies (2011). That said, the grounding of settler colonial studies on the foundational dichotomy of "colonial settlers versus Indigenous colonized" unfortunately comes at the price of completely ignoring the existence of African diasporas and their different positioning in relation to that of Indigenous peoples. Hence, settler colonial studies, as is true of so many other scholarly discourses, never really deals with the qualitative difference between Indigenous peoples and Afrodescendants, despite multiple references to Frantz Fanon's work here and there (1961, 1967). As previously discussed, the historical trajectory of communities of the African diaspora in the Americas does not fit well with current understandings of American (the Americas in general) indigeneities. Most Afrodescendants in Latin America (with very few exceptions, such as the Garinagu or Garifuna of Central America) self-identify in a way that clearly distinguishes them from Indigenous peoples. In the Andean sub-region, Indigenous peoples are also attached to this separation between Indigenous peoples' and Afrodescendants' self-identifications and interpellations. As this chapter has shown, Afrodescendants have not been interpellated by the state the same way as Indigenous peoples. The state's actions and conceptualizations are based on this fundamental distinction.

Third, we must emphasize that constitutions and other legal texts are nothing but the expression of the preoccupations and intents of political actors at a given moment in time. They are aimed at eventually influencing daily realities. They shouldn't be taken, however, as a direct reflection of contemporary realities. Indeed, one can wonder how often, in the diverse Andean national contexts referred to in this chapter, these constitutions and special laws have actually been used to correct a wrong, to punish racism, or to protect Afrodescendants' collective rights. This kind of comparative research should be conducted at the regional level as well. Tanya Hernández (2013) has attempted to do this using the concept of "customary law," which she opposes to the new multicultural legal dispositions to indicate that, in fact, in the field of everyday life, not much has changed as one might think, despite the end of black invisibility and the advent of multiculturalism.

NOTES

- 1 As I see it, that period extends from the turn of the twentieth century to 1990 (see Rahier 2014).
- 2 This section summarizes information presented more extensively in Rahier and Prosper, 2014.
- 3 See www.secretariassenado.gov.co/senado/basedoc/ley/1993/ley_0070_1993.html, consulted on July 5, 2013.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN THE ANDES



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INTRODUCTION

In the Andean region, as elsewhere, gender and sexuality refer to identities, social relations, meanings, and practices that take many forms and have undergone significant change over the centuries. Far from being immutable aspects of the human experience, gender and sexuality are shaped by culture, history, and power. In this chapter, I give brief attention to pre-Hispanic and colonial expressions of gender and sexuality and then turn to scholarship on the contemporary period. I range from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia, with greatest emphasis on Peru, where I have carried out long-term research in the Central Andes. We will discover the diversity and fluidity of gender and sexuality in the Andean region and the disparate views regarding their interpretation. It will be particularly important to move beyond singular, often Eurocentric, notions of what is “natural” in these areas of human life, and to develop a “decolonized” approach to understanding gender and sexual relations in settings that may be unfamiliar to many readers. We should come to recognize the pivotal role that gender and sexuality play in societies everywhere, whether in everyday life, cultural expression, or political mobilization, and around issues of importance concerning sexually different as well as heteronormative Andeans.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN PRE-HISPANIC AND COLONIAL TIMES

Analysts often disagree over whether there have been societies, particularly before the advent of colonialism, in which women and men lived harmoniously and in balance without the deep-seated inequalities that we commonly associate with the modern world. Some Andeanists maintain that among indigenous peoples prior to the Spanish Conquest there were near-egalitarian gender relations, while others dispute that claim and instead see gender differences in traditional cultures as signaling power imbalances favoring males. A majority, however, find themselves somewhere on the continuum between these poles and weigh the evidence supporting interpretations that tilt either toward “gender complementarity” of gender roles based on a recognition of

value in both men's and women's activities, or toward more widespread disparities in social participation and valorization that empower males over females.

In her influential work, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*, Irene Silverblatt (1987) examined the parallel descent and cosmology of women and men during Inca times and the disruption to gender complementarity that came about with the arrival of the Spanish. She demonstrated the harsh impact of the new gender ideologies that were introduced, based on European assumptions regarding the natural basis for women's subordination across societies. While the colonizers were impressed by the achievements of the Inca empire, they sought to impose new forms of religious belief and to uproot social practices they deemed non-normative and threatening to their own worldview. As Silverblatt shows, Spanish efforts to undermine Andean practices of shared authority by men and women were often met with resistance.

Ward Stavig's historical research (1995) considered the collision of Andean and colonial worlds through the eighteenth century. Based on early legal records that he understood to represent the perspectives of Spaniards on gender, heterosexuality, and marriage, he discussed the criminalization of indigenous persons for such normative Andean practices as premarital sex and trial marriage, a period when couples determined whether a marriage would thrive. He shed light on the colonialist views that trial marriage was not only sinful but "diabolical," "noxious," and "pernicious," (pp. 606–607) and that gender complementarity in the form of balanced male–female participation in household formation and the division of labor was an aberration. He found that during the colonial era European intervention and the impact of Christian proselytizing led to a "syncretic intertwining" of cultural practices and beliefs, and yet Andeans resisted the challenge to their long-established definitions of marriage, family, and household relations. There was a notable and selective appropriation of those European ideas that might fit into their systems of thought and ways of life. Evidence of resistance and limited adoption of European norms is found from colonial to contemporary Peru, even in the face of the "civilizing missions" undertaken after the arrival of Europeans and of generational changes in the Andean region.

In a recent feminist analysis of the trial and confession of Micaela Bastidas, wife of Tupac Amaru II and his collaborator in the last major indigenous rebellion against Spanish rule in Andean Peru in 1780, Ella Schmidt (2016) similarly argues that we must recognize the complex negotiations of the indigenous and colonial worlds of that period. Bastidas was widely known as a forceful leader in the uprising, called at her trial "a savage, indigenous woman" (p. 41), yet she presented herself as a subordinated and innocent wife who remained ignorant of her husband's objectives. Her "confession" as submissive wife appears to have been her only hope for avoiding the death penalty, yet she was unsuccessful, as she and many other women were subjected to torture and horrible deaths. It was also, Schmidt contends, a strategic response to colonial norms, as indigenous women were hardly credited with independent action and decision-making authority in the colonial era. She shows that Bastidas, who was located between the indigenous and mestiza social worlds, was defending the terms of Andean gender complementarity whereby households could be viewed as two-headed, with male-female couples sharing power and responsibility.

Others have turned critical attention to the impact of the historical encounter of Spanish and indigenous worlds on sexual lives, practices, and identities,

and discovered wide latitude in the expression of pre-Columbian same-sex sexuality—reined in during the colonial period, but not without opposition. Michael J. Horswell (2005, p. ix) found a surprising number of “references to transvested ‘sodomites’ in the colonial chronicles and histories,” which led him to research evidence of erotic same-sex practices and a “third-gender” that had both male and female aspects. Horswell (pp. 4–5) suggests that it was Spaniards’ anxieties over their own masculinity that drove them to intervene in the gender and sexual cultures of Andean men and women. His work serves to decolonize the gender and sexual binaries that (in Spanish, if not indigenous hands) served to limit human expression. In this way, he further complicates and enriches the discussion of gender complementarity in the Andes.

CONTINUING MANIFESTATIONS OF GENDER AND SEXUAL DIFFERENCE

Without falling back on essentialist ideas about the persistence of Andean ways, we can consider what has endured over time in spite of colonial legacies in the region. On the one hand, we find evidence of rural, “traditional” gender complementarity, with a heterosexual gender division of labor, ideologies of balanced gender differences, and trial marriage and sexual freedom preceding formation of permanent households and families; and on the other hand, we observe the effects of centuries of change and of the influence of more hierarchical and gender-asymmetrical power relations emanating from “modern” urban areas. Since the 1970s, with the emergence of feminism at the transnational level, scholars and activists have undertaken to examine gender and sexual relations as a potent force in both past and present in the Andean region (Figure 26.1).



Figure 26.1 Women and men in rural Peru celebrate a wedding

Photo credit: Florence E. Babb.

In 1982, Lima, Peru played host to a landmark Congress on Research on Women in the Andean Region, an international gathering of over 120 invited participants presenting research papers on a host of subjects, including women's work in the rural sector, their strategies for carrying out domestic responsibilities, their labor as migrants in the urban informal and formal sectors, and their organizations and social movements. The idea of a conference on Andean women to be held in and drawing many scholars from the region had powerful appeal as it would promote Andean women's studies and "repatriate" research to its "legitimate owners" (Anderson, 1983, p. 8, my translation). A number of important objectives were achieved, including the opening of feminist theoretical debates on Andean women to a diverse group of interlocutors, the recuperation of research that was made available in Spanish for the first time, and the formulation of an agenda for future research priorities.

The divergent poles of pioneering research on Andean women can be summarized as follows: analyses that emphasized "complementarity" and viewed gender inequality as the result of externally-imposed ideas and practices, whether from colonialism or contemporary urban culture, and analyses that, in contrast, held that patriarchal relations were rooted in "traditional" rural communities and would be altered only with "modernization" (Bourque and Warren, 1981; Babb, 1985 [1976]; Isbell, 1985 [1978]). By the 1980s, symbolic approaches that relied on "Andean continuities" were giving way to historically-grounded approaches to gender and cultural difference; some scholarship shifted toward women's productive and reproductive activities as household workers and market women in commercial centers in the Andes. (Bunster and Chaney, 1985; Silverblatt, 1987; Seligmann, 1989; Babb, 1998 [1989]). In another scholarly turn, during the first decade of the new millennium attention turned to the workings of gender and power in representations of cultural tradition as the region showed economic growth and rising cultural cachet as a world of archaeological treasures, culinary delights, and diverse peoples. Nonetheless, social inequalities remained deeply entrenched and a number of feminists turned toward postcolonial concerns over inclusion, exclusion, and the gendered nature of citizenship participation (Ruiz Bravo, 1996; de la Cadena, 2000; Barrig, 2001, 2006; Fuller, 2004; García, 2005; Mendoza, 2008; Ewig, 2010; Rousseau, 2009; Babb, 2011).

In what follows, I discuss some key areas of research on Andean women and gender: economic development; family and household relations; gender and ethnic differences; health, education, and environment; social movements and political change. Finally, I return to sexuality, which is beginning to receive wider notice in Andean studies.

GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Susan Bourque and Kay Warren (1981), in their early work *Women of the Andes*, favored a "gender and development" approach to examining an agricultural community and a commercial town in the Central Peruvian highlands. They considered women's status in relation to the gender division of labor and to opportunities for becoming more integrated in the modernizing economy and society. They may have overemphasized the benefits of such integration in the dependent capitalist economy, but their work had the significant value of recognizing women as change agents in various contexts in Peru. My own archival research on women in the community of

Vicos, Peru (Babb, 1985 [1976]) was concerned with questions of development set in a broad historical context, but argued that closer integration into the dominant national economy had generally meant increasing inequalities for women and other vulnerable groups in the community.

An analytical focus on production and reproduction in society enabled scholars to use the lens of political economy to examine the critical part played by women in reproducing not only families and households but societies through their socially reproductive labor. Scholars like Carmen Diana Deere (1982) and June Nash (1993 [1979]) elevated the standing of household economics in Andean studies by transforming our understanding of the close intertwining of gender and class inequality and the substantial yet often unrecognized and unremunerated work of women in the household, agricultural production, mining centers, and beyond. Others extended these new interpretations to the contributions of women in marketplace trade, often regarded as a simple extension of domestic work yet contributing importantly to both household and regional economies (Babb, 1998 [1989]; Seligmann, 2004).

For Andean women migrants to urban centers, opportunities for employment have long been highly concentrated in two areas: domestic work, and street vending and marketing. The collaborative work of Ximena Bunster and Elsa Chaney (1985) on migrant women in domestic service and marketing in Lima focused on women's management of childcare and family needs around the demands of their paid work. While these areas of employment were known to provide marginal earnings, they did offer women some prospect of independence. In some cases, sellers participated actively in market unions and street vendor associations and, despite their social isolation, household workers also began organizing to improve their livelihood in various parts of Latin America, including the Andes (Chaney and García Castro, 1989).

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS

Accounts of family life in the Andes have often emphasized the activities carried out by men, women, and children in rural communities that are characterized by reliance on agricultural production and herding of animals, traditions such as weaving of homespun clothing, and celebration of fiestas and other ritual events. Against this idyllic image of Andean family and community life is the reality of coercive economic and political relations instituted with colonialism that persisted until the late twentieth century, notably exploitation under the hacienda system of large landholdings by owners who overworked rural laborers in exchange for the use of small land parcels. Even before the eradication of such feudal systems of production in the past half century, many families had members working for wages in nearby towns or selling produce in regional markets to augment household subsistence economies. As more children, including an increasing number of girls, were sent to school, the need for school supplies and manufactured clothing meant new demands on their parents for participation in the wider economy and society.

Recent research has addressed the social relations internal to communities (and extending outside of them), and families and households as key units of analysis. If the community is understood as a microcosm of core social dynamics and cultural values, households are judged to manifest salient differences of age and gender. Kinship has been a focus of anthropological interest since the beginnings of the discipline, but

there has been a recent turn toward “new kinship studies” that are more attentive to gender differences and power, as well as to the diverse ways in which family members support one another, provide for children’s development, and build external relationships when kin cannot take on needed responsibilities.

When Krista Van Vleet (2008) undertook field research in a community in highland Bolivia, she found that such social practices as food sharing and cooperation in work produce a sense of “relatedness,” or ties of belonging, among kin. By examining the stories people told about these practices, she learned much about Andean gender relations as well. Significantly, the dynamics of gender are negotiated and not fixed, and may be influenced by such factors as one’s social standing beyond gender; for example, a young woman who has migrated to work in the city as a domestic, where she has adopted western dress and speaks fluent Spanish, may wish to return home to seek a husband, and to once again wear Andean dress. Van Vleet found that gender is negotiated not only in relations between women and men, but also among women and among men. Episodes of violence can arise not only between a husband and wife, but between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law. Women may conform to or depart from ideals of Andean womanhood, which are themselves constantly under construction; likewise, men may be measured by and respond to shifting notions of rural and urban masculinity. Most importantly, Andean women’s and men’s identities are performed and reiterated over time in order to constitute relationships.

Children are generally desired in the Andes both for the meaningful and intimate relationships they forge in the family and also for the practical help they can offer their parents. However, Van Vleet (2008, p. 64) discovered that about 10 percent of the families in the community where she lived in Bolivia had either given a child to another household to raise, or were raising a child who was not their own kin. This is a fairly common practice in the Andes and may benefit families without sufficient resources to provide for another child, or childless or elderly couples who have resources but need the assistance that a child may offer. These children became kin through performances of belonging, and these are gendered practices, since girls and boys, women and men, provide different services to their families.

Jessaca Leinaweaver (2008) devoted extensive research in the southern Peruvian Andes to the practice of child circulation, which became increasingly common during protracted political conflict and violence in Peru between 1980 and 2000. She closely documented the difficult decision-making Andean families must sometimes face, in response to political and demographic forces, and to a new market for global adoption. Recent research by Mary Elena Wilhoit (2017) in the same region found another practice, whereby in a number of instances two single mothers might join forces and live together for a period of time in order to share responsibility for raising their children while carrying out other work necessary to the household. These examples point to the need to expand our understanding of diverse Andean families and households and the gendered forms they take.

Gender differences experienced in families and households in the migration process have been examined by Cristina Alcalde (2010) in her study of domestic violence directed toward Andean women in Lima at the hands of their own men. She traces the complex dynamic whereby Andean men devalue and mistreat their partners and wives based on the sort of sexism and racism prevalent in the dominant society. Another researcher, Jason Pribilsky (2007), examined gender,

migration, and family relations as Ecuadorian men left wives and children behind and sought work in New York City. As economic need drove these men to travel afar for employment, they became part of the growing phenomenon of transnational families whose loved ones counted on receiving remittances so that they could experience better life conditions. More research is needed on the gendered implications of migration in and from the Andes.

GENDER AND ETHNICITY

Until fairly recently, much research in the Andes closely examined gender and class, but race and ethnicity were frequently overlooked as salient vectors of experience and inequality, or were collapsed into social class. Andeanist anthropologists Linda Seligmann (1989) and Mary Weismantel (2001) were among a small number who offered more subtle attention to Andean culture and racial politics, including the status of *cholas* (urbanized indigenous women who often retain the use of traditional dress and language) as women “in-between.” And Marisol de la Cadena (1991) famously wrote that rural women living in the Cuzco area were viewed as “más indias,” indexing their stigmatized racial status as well as their subordinated gender status. The work has had considerable impact, reflecting a feminist view of the double or even triple jeopardy of impoverished, subordinated women.

Although Andean women experience multiple forms of discrimination, there has been increasing awareness of the ways in which women actively navigate ethnic and racial difference and sometimes pass from one identity category to another. This can be seen among some women transitioning from rural to urban life, and over the course of generations of women within a single family, daughters often attend school and speak more Spanish than their mothers, allowing them greater social and economic opportunities. The most visible markers of ethnicity are dress and language spoken, with women’s braids and full skirts, along with their use of Quechua, Aymara, or another indigenous language, signaling their cultural identity and social standing. Other aspects of indigenous lives may be as important, including geographic location where they live, work performed, and types of food eaten. Yet for many women who have acquired Spanish and who travel between rural and urban settings, a simple change of dress can produce shifts in how they are perceived and how they perceive themselves.

Based on research in Bolivia, Susan Paulson (2002, p. 140) perceptively notes that in some contexts a woman’s identity can shift over the course of a single day. As an Andean woman she was interviewing explained: “When a woman is hoeing potatoes in her field she is a campesina, but when she goes to the city to sell her potatoes she is a chola.” The woman went on to say that she would change from her “indigenous” working dress of a worn sweater and dark skirt to her best market clothes of a bright-colored *pollera* (skirt) and lacey blouse, braiding her hair with tassels and adding earrings and plastic pearls, so that she would be viewed as a more savvy chola trader. With urban mestizo customers, she might capitalize on her rural origins to sell potatoes of an area known for its desirable product, even while demonstrating her familiarity with the urban setting. As Paulson showed, we must move beyond static identity categories and discover the fluidity of cultural and ethnic differences as they are negotiated in diverse contexts.

Discussions of the interconnections of gender, class, race, and ethnicity in the Andes among both scholars and activists have often been fraught as individuals and political organizations tend to prioritize one over the other and may fail to see their mutual imbrication. A feminist emphasis on gender is often read as too individualist for indigenous societies where cultural and ethnic differences are viewed as most salient, yet research on class, race, and ethnicity has often overlooked significant gender differences. More attention to the intersections of gender, class, and ethnicity will bring greater clarity to understanding Andean women's and men's lives.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND ENVIRONMENT

Like other areas of Andean human experience that are deeply gendered, so too are health, education, and environment, or political ecology. Health and well-being are fundamental to human life and they often have gender-specific aspects, notably women's reproductive health. Developmentalist thinking has sometimes led to an exaggerated sense of alarm regarding high birth rates in the Andes and a consequent emphasis on family planning. During some periods, coercive practices of introducing sterilization without women's informed consent have become the subject of deep concern. Charges of forced sterilization amounting to genocide during the 1960s in the Bolivian Andes, particularly after the 1969 release of the Bolivian film "Blood of the Condor," led to widespread protest, and in Peru during the 1990s President Alberto Fujimori became infamous for implementing family planning as a "poverty-alleviation" policy that took a coercive form (Ewig 2010). Under Fujimori's government, countless poor, indigenous women were sterilized, often under pressure to have the procedure. As Christina Ewig's (2010) research on neoliberal health sector reform during that period showed, increased stratification by gender, race, and class was a consequence of Fujimori's policy orientation, presented as "pro-woman," but calling on deep-seated gendered and racialized prejudices in the name of "modernity." This period overlapped with the devastating violence perpetrated in Peru by forces of the military and the extremist movement Sendero Luminoso. Sexual violence directed largely at women was one of the most terrible outcomes of that protracted time of political conflict (Theidon, 2004; Bueno-Hansen, 2015).

If Andean women's bodies have at times been a battleground, whether because of domestic violence, conflict-related violence, or state-sponsored sterilization abuse, their minds have also been a fraught area of negotiation. In decades past, in rural families in which boys were sent to school, girls were often kept home to help their mothers and younger siblings; it was felt that at school they would only be "taught to write love letters," which is to say that educating daughters was viewed as risky and unnecessary. More recently, however, mothers with no schooling are seeing that their daughters receive a basic level of education. Increasingly, the younger generation is expected to be prepared to seek work in urban settings, especially when family landholdings can only be parceled out so far. This is in part a response to national-level pressure to conform to expectations of an educated citizenry. As María Elena García (2005, p. 63) has shown in the case of Peru, education is "one of the principal mechanisms through which 'Indians' were to be transformed into citizens." As a nation-building project, it was first anticipated that males would be educated

while women would remain the keepers of the hearth and the guardians of tradition, but today the gender gap is lessening. Under new regimes of neoliberal development mothers are expected to raise acculturated young citizens, even if gender inequalities in education remain an aspect of everyday life, particularly where race and class inequalities compound intersecting forms of discrimination.

Throughout the Andean region in recent decades there has been increasing concern about the interface of nature and culture, specifically the devastating impact on the environment of climate change as well as other human-produced consequences of extractive industries such as mining and oil production. Those segments of the population regarded as most vulnerable, including the indigenous, poor, and women, are identified as at risk for potentially life-threatening conditions in the near future if action is not taken. To address these urgent matters, Ecuador and Bolivia have been pro-active in supporting new legislation to protect the rights of nature, including land, water, and subterranean resources. The concept of *Buen Vivir* (Living Well), introduced in Ecuador's and Bolivia's constitutions, articulates safeguards on rampant exploitation of irreplaceable natural resources, which in many cases hold symbolic meaning and sacred status for indigenous Andeans (Fine-Dare, 2014). In places where agriculture and climate have already been affected, food production is at risk and women as both biological and social reproducers suffer distinct disadvantages. In places where extractive industries have not only displaced native peoples but recruited men over women, long-established social practices and family lives can be thrown off balance with women experiencing declining social status and lower self-esteem (Figure 26.2).

In Peru, as elsewhere in the Andes, a Law on Prior Consultation was introduced in 2011 that recognized the right of indigenous communities to participate in discussion of projects that would affect them and their lands; this mobilized communities to assert their indigenous identity, though the communities rarely can prevent unwanted extraction from occurring when their own national governments hold contradictory positions on development initiatives. As the next section will show, indigenous Andeans have not sat by idly but have expressed themselves through broad social protests and mobilizations, and women have played an active part. (Rousseau and Morales, 2017).

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL CHANGE

The election of Evo Morales in 2005 as the first indigenous-identified president of Bolivia signaled a sea change in that country and also in the Andean region. Not only did President Morales introduce new policy favorable to Aymara and other indigenous peoples but he also brought a number of indigenous women into prominent political offices. Indeed, the 2009 Constitution requires that 50 percent of all government positions be held by women. Now it is commonplace to find women in traditional braids and polleras holding official posts at all levels, from local councils to national ministries. Nonetheless, the challenges these women face are enormous as many of them have husbands resistant to their time-consuming political activity and then discover that once in office they must struggle to carry out effective change. Colonial legacies of women's second-class education, healthcare, and political participation have yet to be overcome despite the decolonizing objectives of the current government.



Figure 26.2 Members of the Yurac Yacu women's cooperative in Andean Peru knit items for sale

Photo credit: Florence E. Babb.

In her writing on indigenous women's leadership in the Ecuadorian Andes, Emma Cervone (2002, p. 179) quotes from the words of a leader she calls Juana: "We women also want to achieve those positions that our male companions achieve, so we can at least sit in good chairs and also move forward, even though we are women, even though we are indigenous." A strong indigenous movement that emerged in the 1990s also birthed women's growing consciousness of their right to have rights, alongside men. Cervone traces how they came out of the shadows and gained local and national visibility by making their own claims for social justice known. To gain agency and be empowered required that these women challenge both racial and gender prejudices. Significantly, they needed to reclaim the value of complementary gender roles and of the domestic sphere of activity where they were most active, as it had been devalued by white-mestizo colonialist thinking concerning women's "natural" and unequal roles in relation to men. In addition, they needed to challenge indigenous male activists in so prominent a social movement as CONAIE when men romanticized women as the heart of their cultural heritage and yet stood in the way of women's engagement as activists themselves.

Sarah Radcliffe (2015) examines Ecuadorian indigenous women's social and political participation from a postcolonial feminist perspective with attention to the intersectionality of gender, race, and class. She presents counter narratives of

development as rural women push back against “civilizing narratives” (held by middle-class whites, including feminists) whereby indigenous women are thought to be primitive and lacking “progress.” She shows these women to be thoughtfully discerning alternatives for attaining dignity and wellbeing (p. 36). Radcliffe recognizes indigenous women as knowledge producers and underscores their commitment to social critique and protest. As she demonstrates, these women’s insights into the failures of neoliberal development have empowered them to raise their voices and organize politically.

Although Ecuador and Bolivia are better known than Peru for their recent political activism among indigenous peoples, it was in Peru that one rural woman, Máxima Acuña, attained fame for her outspoken opposition to mining development in the Cajamarca region. Her resolute and principled position in defense of remaining peacefully on her own land received international attention and she was awarded the 2016 Goldman Environmental Prize for South and Central America. Her activism has brought needed attention to the draining of lakes and contamination of water sources that mining has engendered.

In a hopeful sign for the future, the first Continental Summit of Indigenous Women was hosted in Puno, Peru in 2009. The 6,000 women who met discussed a far-reaching agenda that called for: establishing collective indigenous rights and the human rights of indigenous women; reasserting principles of gender complementarity and equilibrium; eliminating machismo and racism; bringing women into greater political participation; questioning globalization’s effects on women, territory, biodiversity, and food sovereignty; and ending violence against women. There can be no doubt that these women were full-fledged knowledge producers and social protagonists who were sending a signal to indigenous men, to indigenous women yet to be organized, and to national governments, expressing their readiness to take an active part in addressing some of the most urgent issues throughout the continent (Rousseau and Morales, 2017).

SEXUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY ANDEAN CONTEXTS

Sexuality, and especially same-sex sexuality, has not received as much attention as gender in Andean studies to date, but some scholars have offered significant insights that should inspire more research in the future. There is strong agreement that sexuality, like other forms of difference, must be understood as it intertwines with gender, race, and social class (Weismantel, 2001; Canessa, 2012; Rahier, 2014). As Andrew Canessa (p. 245) notes, “since the conquest, native Americans have been conceptualized as female.” That is, indigenous men have been considered “effeminate” in relation to a European male standard, and indigenous women have been diminished both as native and as women, rendering them objectified “others” to Western ideals. Racial and sexual differences are at the core of foundational fictions of *mestizaje*, or racial mixture, informing narratives of contemporary national character and identity and undergirding inequality today.

Mary Weismantel (2001) has explored the ways that cholas have been sexualized in mestizo-dominated Andean societies, allowing for their further exploitation. This may take the form of sexual abuse of domestic workers or verbal abuse of sellers in marketplaces, which are naturalized in contexts where sex, race, and class are

subject to all manner of abuses of power. As Weismantel shows, cultural distaste for what is deemed Indian is offset by underlying desires and fears where liminal cholas are concerned, as they fall between rural and urban. The stigma of being “dirty Indians” from the rural sector endures over and against erotic desires for the “other,” despite recent declarations of Andean nations as “multicultural” and “plurinational” (Postero, 2007). Beauty contests in Andean countries have been a productive site for work by Canessa (2012) in Bolivia, and by Jean Muteba Rahier (2014), whose long-term research in Ecuador has closely examined the often-overlooked experience of Afrodescendant peoples (coastal minorities, but also found in some Andean locations). Whereas Canessa finds that contestants in beauty pageants in Bolivia are invariably from among the small white population, who sometimes flaunt their “national indigenous cultural heritage,” Rahier discovers some Afro-Ecuadorian pageant winners, even if they are exceptions to the general rule of celebrating European ideals as standards of feminine beauty. Rahier shows how the hypersexualization of Afro-descendant women has served to marginalize and exploit them.

With sexualized global media images in circulation throughout the Andes, new consumer and affective desires stir rural and urban imaginations. Young women in the countryside may be influenced by changing styles in fashion, whether shorter polleras and bright-colored barrettes for their hair, or the adoption of jeans worn by youth seemingly everywhere—along with new expectations for personal life and intimacy. Young indigenous men in some cities such as Cuzco, are known as *bricheros*, referring to their new cultural capital as they court a *gringa* clientele (Babb, 2011). Bolivia’s president Evo Morales has embraced a masculine and overtly sexual persona as a way to legitimize his leadership, even as he calls on his indigenous identity as a way to gain “authenticity” and grassroots support. As Canessa, Rahier, and others have demonstrated, for the general populace as well as for political figures, sexuality is an important way in which claims to citizenship are made.

Amy Lind’s research brings together strands that are not often in the same conversation: sexuality, economic development, and citizenship. She made an important early intervention in studies of gender and development by calling attention to heteronormative assumptions underlying scholarly discussions of families, households, and development initiatives. She showed that such thinking often serves to conceal family forms and intimate relationships that do not conform to expectations of gender complementarity and the sexual division of labor—or to dominant expressions of love and desire (Figure 26.3). Moreover, mainstream development thinking has often viewed women mainly in terms of their reproductive capacity and not in terms of their full humanity and sexuality. Her recent work has argued that discussions of such current political forms as Ecuador’s “Citizen Revolution” must be deepened by calling attention to how far new constitutional practices go in offering full citizenship rights to sexual minorities (Lind, 2010).

While there has been some consideration of LGBT issues in the social movement literature of NGOs, feminist organizations, and other mainly urban-based entities, we are just beginning to see the sort of discussion advanced by Lind in relation to present-day transgender Andeans. Giuseppe Campuzano (2008) finds aspects of a “pre-Hispanic gender continuum” among today’s *travestis*, or male cross-dressers, in Peru. He contends that such gender transgressors are usually viewed in relation to their sexuality, but should rather be understood in terms of their fundamental desire to escape normative gender expectations. In that sense they may be seen in relation to



Figure 26.3 Men perform as women during Carnival in Andean Peru

Photo credit: Florence E. Babb.

precolonial “third gender” practices, as much as to the LGBT formulation of global sexual identities. Campuzano notes that travestis typically experience some of the harshest forms of discrimination in society and he concludes that “the demand for travesti rights is inextricably bound up with the aims of the feminist movement to emancipate women, of all kinds, everywhere” (p. 143).

An impressive scholarship on Andean gender and sexuality has developed over recent decades, and future research is sure to deepen the findings and perspectives discussed in this chapter. The Andean region has proven to be fertile ground on which to advance thinking on these critical subjects, which, as we have seen, articulate closely with other aspects of human experience. Whether we are concerned about Andean history, culture, or politics, examining gender and sexuality is critical if we are to give nuance to our understanding. Moreover, we need to recognize the salience of gender and sexuality in diverse forms as compelling subjects in their own right if we are to address the multiplicity of ways in which social inequality and injustice persist in the region.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

LABELING AND LINGUISTIC DISCRIMINATION



Margarita Huayhua

The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog/
The rain in Spain falls mostly on the plain.

Tim Hernández, Texas

*Después de las clases me quedaba
para practicar las vocales.*
After classes, I had to stay longer
to practice Spanish vowels.

Nilo Willka, Cuzco

The first quote was given to Mr. Hernández as a regular drill to make him produce English nasalized sounds in a speech class. At that time, Hernández was a third grader. As a child he was told that his spoken English had too much of a Spanish “accent.” Tim remembered the enforcement to speak “proper” English with a kind of veiled irony: “I think the teachers have done a pretty good job.” The perception that the spoken English of Spanish/English bilinguals or of Spanish-dominant speakers lack English sounding properties goes hand in hand with the subordination of Spanish as the language of “brown” immigrants who disrupt the assumed monolingual English society of the U.S. (Silverstein, 1996; Zentella, 1997). Those who use mock Spanish as a social emblem show contempt towards Spanish-dominant speakers (Hill, 2008), or strengthen racial segregation (Barrett, 2006).

How does the picture change if we move our reflective lens to the geopolitical “boundaries” of Latin America, a place where Spanish is the dominant language? What kinds of challenges would face those who speak Spanish that does not sound Spanish enough? How many situations like Hernández’s will we find in places where Spanish is the measure? When we shift our attention to the relationship between Spanish and an indigenous language such as Quechua, we find that Hernández and Willka were disciplined in a similar way. If Mr. Willka “fails” to sound Spanish enough, he will be labeled as *motoso* (“dull”).

We come from different histories and stories in which differences, real or imagined, are frequently punished or decried. Let us turn our senses to stories and practices of social domination in the Andes, specifically to the southern Peruvian village of Uqhupata. Uqhupata is a Quechua-speaking village near the city of Cuzco. In this chapter, I discuss: a) social labeling; b) ideologies of the Quechua language; and c) the use of articulatory or speaking style as the basis of a qualitative, rather than gradient, ascription of identity, as well as the basis for discrimination.

CHALLENGING LABELING

In the village of Uqhupata, when I asked villagers if it is fair to be labeled as peasants, Lucio answered quickly,

*Chakrata llank'aqtiykuya
kampisinu niwanku, kampisinu
kayku.*

Because we work on the farm, they [non-villagers] call us peasants. We are “peasants”, sure.

The answer sheds light on the awareness of villagers about being named on the basis of the economic activity they carry out as part of their livelihood. The category of *campesino* (peasant) would not be used by villagers to identify themselves as a group, although Lucio ends by saying “we are peasants” in a low voice, resigning himself to a categorization that reduces his life to an economic activity. However, to be labeled with the category of peasants would be more appealing to villagers than other, more stigmatizing labels such as *motoso*. In fact, there are many villagers that claim the label “peasant” in order to override more insulting labels such as *indio*, and *cholo*, among others. These labels index villagers, including those who no longer live in a village but have a Quechua linguistic background.

Depending on the circumstances of an encounter, *cholo* is used to demean a person's character; it is a codeword for the insult *indio*. The word *indio* portrays a person as a stench, an inferior in need of being lifted up to humanity. Since to say *indio* is politically incorrect, *cholo* is the substitute, a codeword that functions as a slur for those who have access to Spanish as a second language with different levels of fluency. These labels disclose “subjective perceptions of how [individuals] . . . fit . . . in the social order and of the terms in which society should engage with them in varying contexts and at different points in time” (Moncrieffe, 2007, p. 2).

Therefore, these labels—including peasant—disclose the ways in which villagers and all those having a Quechua language background are regarded, and the terms by which other Peruvians understand them. Framing villagers as racial inferiors affects their attempts to interact on equal terms, or as Goffman said (1981), *on the same floor* as other parties in an interaction. It reduces villagers to a stereotyped image, framed as unaccountable socially and treated with condescension.

Although some villagers resign themselves to the label “peasants,” others reject it and instead style themselves as producers:

*Prudukturmi kayku, kampsinu
nispaa marhinawashanchisma.*

We are producers; by calling us “peasant”
they [non-villagers] are marginalizing us.

For these villagers to be categorized as “peasants” is a way of marginalizing and ostracizing them from the rest of society. Instead, *producer* is chosen by villagers to highlight their ability to produce products such as the highly regarded native potatoes. With the label ‘producers,’ villagers can avoid patronizing relationships of the sort that can occur with peasant. Peasant is usually used by politicians, media broadcasters, and well-intentioned individuals, as in the phrase “*hermano campesino*” (“peasant brother”) used in public speeches. It is perceived by “producers” as condescending. Despite its positive aspect, there are others who do not want to be identified as *producers*—they prefer to identify themselves as *agriculturalists*: *Agrikulturya kayku* (“we are agriculturalist/farmers”). Agriculturalist is chosen to highlight the expertise and skills to cultivate successfully, as well as the ownership of the means of production. To own the land implies freedom to decide on the allocation of time and labor for cultivating it. Freedom based on ownership of a fundamental resource such a land means freedom to shape their lives as they will.

The labels “producers” and “agriculturalist” might be satisfactory and rewarding to some villagers, but some assert that how they are labeled depends on whom they are interacting with. Here is Kasiku’s account,

K: *Hawawanta hamuqkunaya
kampsinu niwanku. Manaya
kampsinuchu kayku,
Qusqumanta hamunku riki?*

M: *Aha.*

H: *Paykunaya chhaynata
suti yawanku. Runa kaymantaqa
runaya kashayku.*

M: *Imaynata suti yakunkichisri?*

H: *Mana imatapas
suti yakuykuchu, mana
suti yakuspachu puriyku,
millaycha kanman.*

K: Those who come from outside of the
village call us peasants. We are not
peasants. You know those who come
from Cuzco, right?

M: Yes.

H: They have named us like that. Of
course, we are *runa*¹ [like any other
human being].

M: How do you name yourselves?

H: We do not call ourselves anything.
We do not relate to each other putting
labels on people. To do so would be
disgusting.

Kasiku challenges the very idea of labeling. On the one hand, Kasiku is challenging the label “peasant,” and indeed all labels, as they objectify villagers as objects of other people’s knowledge. On the other hand, labeling can be considered a cultural critique; a form of mockery. Mockery for villagers suggests a lack of social accountability; if people are addressed as unaccountable by a label imposed upon them, they may challenge or elude it. “Peasant” is a pejorative term unsuitable for villagers like Kasiku who consider each villager a unique person.

To lump all villagers under a single label is an insult and demonstrates a lack of respect within a Quechua frame of understanding and relationship building, as Kariku reminded me: *Mana uy agrikultur! nispachu puriyku* (“we do not interact telling each other, hey agriculturalist! [Come on]”).

Villagers' refusal to be categorized under any label is a claim to be treated on equal footing by other members of Peruvian society, and by the world. It is a denial of being objectified through categories that fix them in an atemporal frame. Villagers' reflections underscore how categorizations, from the outside and from within, are understood by villagers. Contrary to stereotypes, they are aware of how other members of the society frame them, and want to make sure that their sharp comments are understood *by* others in their interaction *with* others, as Nazario Turpo pointed out when a translator failed to convey what he was saying (Krebs, 2003, p. 8).

Labeling and framing people as peasant, producer, or agriculturalist is neither neutral nor innocent. These labels create processes of appropriation, stigmatization, misunderstanding, and contestation. The labels might seem innocuous, but they hide the historical processes and social contexts in which Quechua-speaking people have been interacting with other members of Peruvian society, mainly Spanish-speaking settlers, since the European invasion. Labels dilute and utterly overlook the essential and dynamic power relationships underpinning peoples' conditions (Moncrieffe, 2007). Labels emerge from specific social frames and influence the shape and form of the frames.² These frames give us only partial, restricted, and sometimes mistaken views of a social reality; never a whole truth, always a partial truth. If researchers intend to use these labels, they must be aware of this partiality. This is essential if labels are to be used as analytical categories to explain any social phenomenon; local ways of labeling and framing should not be taken for granted.

Framing is problematic because it leads to different views of the world and creates multiple social realities. . . scholars working in different disciplines, and individuals in different contexts of everyday life have different frames that led them to see different things, [and] make different interpretations of the way things are.

(Rein and Schon 1993, p. 147 [quoted in Moncrieffe, 2007, p. 8])

The discussion of labels by villagers of Uqhupata shows that they would adhere to *any* label to identify themselves in a context-free, identitarian way. *Campesino, producer, agricultor* frame villagers as a mass erasing their uniqueness and relationships by tying them to a single economic position and occupation and reinforcing their positioning in the teleology of modernity as rural, traditional, and backward.

QUECHUA AND ITS MULTIPLE FUNCTIONS

In this section, I examine ideologies about Quechua and the effects of these ideologies on Quechua-speaking individuals. Language ideologies deal with “the situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language” (Errington, 1999, p. 115), they are charged with political interests, are socially positioned (Hill and Mannheim, 1992, p. 382), and they function as unspoken presuppositions, contestable and contested (Woolard, 1992).

“Our” language

El quechua es nuestro idioma materno, nuestra lengua madre.

Quechua is our mother tongue, our mother language.

To hear this assertion made by passengers on my trips from Cuzco to Uqhupata, and back and forth during my 2009 fieldwork was not unusual. It may be interpreted as passengers' pride in speaking Quechua as their primary language, or as an index of Quechua identity. However, its reiteration as "Quechua is our mother tongue," "it is our ancestors' language," and "it is the Inka language, our ancestors" in public events and on radio and TV leads to a different picture. That is, Quechua is the "mother language" of all of those who *are* heirs of the mighty Inkas. Such a claim is usually made by elites: former estate owners and their descendants who may speak Quechua as a second language. The statement "Quechua is our mother tongue" works as an identifier of *cusqueño* elites, as an weak gesture to legitimate the elites alleged Inka heritage.

The trope of "Quechua is our mother tongue" and its variants are forcefully iterated even in conversation in coffee shops by elites and would-be elites to distinguish themselves from, and preclude any confusion with "*campesinos*" (or "*indios*" or "*cholos*") who are understood to be spatially and temporally separated from the Inka. Such iterations become an icon of Cusqueño elite claims to Inka-ness. Quechua as an icon of Inka heritage reflects creoles' exaltation of the Inka past to distinguish their "nation" from other Andean republics during the nineteenth century, and to legitimize the right to govern the natives even though they themselves were settlers, descendants of Spaniards. The use of Quechua as an icon of Inka-ness today alienates contemporary native Quechua speakers from their historical past and erases them from Inka history. Quechua language becomes a medium to maintain elite power and legitimize claims to govern those who the elite dismiss as "dirty" Indians.

Expressive and sweet Quechua

It is common to hear that Quechua *es dulce* ("Quechua is a sweet language"), or that it is *muy expresivo* ("it is a very expressive language") in conversations among elites, academics, and employees of urban institutions in Cuzco, as well as in the neighboring cities of Abancay, Puno, and Arequipa. Quechua as "sweet" and "expressive" was used by estate owners (*gamonales*) to promote their particular variety of Quechua spoken and written within the framework of Spanish. Their Quechua is reorganized according to Spanish grammatical structure, facilitating the use of Spanish lexicon with Quechua inflections, with the entire package produced within the Spanish articulatory style. The aesthetic of sweetness and expressiveness signaled the spoken Quechua of the *gamonales*.

Gamonales claimed that their Quechua expressiveness allowed them to convey their inner sentiments. But, by sentiments they referred to the "refined" attitude and considerations they had for the Inka, of whom they claimed to be the sole legitimate heirs, effectively disinheriting the native Quechua-speaking people around them. They cultivated such "high sentiments" by writing poetry and theater that they later performed (see Itier, 1995, for an extensive analysis of theater production by *gamonales*), thus displaying their relationship with the Inkakuna (Inka, plural) in terms of kinship. The self-promotion of the "sweetness" and "expressiveness" of their Quechua was used to differentiate it and themselves from the one spoken as mother tongue by natives who worked on their estates as *peones* (effectively, as slaves). *Gamonal* cultivation of the Inka past was also a way of claiming legitimacy over the land that they seized from native owners.

“Expressive” and “sweet”³ Quechua, the Quechua of the *gamonales*, is often deemed the only appropriate language form for use in public events and radio broadcasting, conveying the link between current language use and a glorified Inka past: *El idioma en el que podemos expresar nuestro pasado, nuestra herencia cultural de los Incas* (“a language in which we can express our past, our Inka cultural heritage”).

The aesthetic of “sweet” Quechua indexes Inka heritage as a set of inert signs, speaking the language fluently is not necessary. In turn, this relationship creates a “shared” regional story that set the southern highlands off from other regions, especially from the coast. In this imaginary, contemporary native speakers of Quechua are left invisible.

The aestheticization of Quechua sets it off from Spanish: It is *más dulce que el castellano* (“sweeter than Spanish”). Bilingual speakers (that is, speakers of Spanish and the Spanish-regimented variety of Quechua) committed to promoting Quechua—singers, poets, teachers, and activists—say that *en quechua puedo expresar mis sentimientos mejor que en castellano* (“in Quechua I can express my feelings better than in Spanish”). The Quechua expressive aesthetic indexes deep emotions in relation to Spanish: *Puedes expresar lo que realmente sientes, tus emociones, tus cuitas* (“you can express what you really feel, your emotions, and your troubles”).

But the romanticization of Quechua as an aesthetic, emotional language also has a dark side, in that Quechua is stereotyped as a medium to express emotions beyond rational control. And some prominent advocates of Quechua assert that *en la cocina provoca hablar quechua, es cómodo para hablar sobre la comida* (“the kitchen instigates [one] to speak Quechua, it is a comfortable space to speak about food”). Quechua is placed in the realm of the kitchen; as the space par excellence where Quechua emerges “naturally” to speak about food preparation, and becomes an index of domesticity.

“Quechua es un cáncer”: it impedes abstract thinking

*Nos guste o no, hay que decir que el quechua es un enorme peligro, un cáncer, para el pensamiento abstracto. Te bloquea el pensamiento abstracto. Es cierto, puedo tocar algunas sensibilidades. Mi opinión no debe ser compartida por todos.*⁴

Like it or not, we should say that Quechua is a huge danger, a cancer for abstract thought. It blocks your abstract thinking. It is true. I can touch some sensibilities, but my opinion may not be shared by all of you.

So spoke the organizer of a regional meeting in Cuzco called “Tercer Encuentro Nacional de Cultura” (2013), acting in his official duties as the manager of the Cultural Affairs office of the provincial Municipality. Such a disparaging public statement was unexpected in a space where Quechua is an icon, an artifact linked to Inka-ness. And especially so in a place in which the Inka past is worshiped, Inka paraphernalia is used widely in public and private institutions, and Inka stories and archeological sites have been commoditized for tourist consumption. His statement reflected not only his personal position, but common-sense ideas about the significance of the language—that Quechua value resides in its iconic standing with respect to Inka-ness, but not as a code of everyday communication or interchange among flesh-and-blood speakers.

For the meeting organizer, a historian himself, Quechua is an *enorme peligro* to theoretical thought. Quechua is a *cancer* and thus a “real menace” for abstract thought. This metonymic relation with cancer portrays Quechua as a primary cause for the deterioration of theoretical thinking. Quechua as a disease nullifies the mind by canceling the development of abstraction, which in the long run would allegedly lead to death. Because Quechua is an “impediment to abstract thought,” its disappearance would be a welcomed outcome. If Quechua drags its speakers to a state in which abstract thinking is not possible, it would be “healthy” to disappear that language without further considerations.

The implication is that those who primarily speak Quechua cannot develop an abstract thought; they are so handicapped by their language that they cannot be fully human. In this view, the only option is to learn Spanish to develop an abstract thought. Those who continue to speak Quechua in their everyday life “menace” the very fabric of Cuzco society. The proposed solution is the extinction of Quechua, and by extension its speakers, should they persist in continuing to speak their language.

Motoso and Motosidad

The word “*motoso*” is used for those who supposedly cannot distinguish between vowels /o/ and /u/, and /e/ and /i/, respectively, while speaking Spanish. The underlying claims is that Quechua and Spanish share the same vowel system (/a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/), and thus those who “confuse” the Spanish vowels either speak *gamonal* Quechua inappropriately, or are “dumb.” *Motosidad* (the word used for the general phenomenon) is explained as “errors” that individuals—normally native speakers of Quechua—produce in everyday Spanish.

In these interactions first-language Spanish speakers perceive first-language Quechua speakers as “*motoso*”: this perception becomes part of the structure of interactions that permeates any conversation between speakers of the two languages, and is used to discriminate against those who do not produce the canonical Spanish vowels.

In reality, first-language speakers of Quechua produce Spanish vowels within a vowel space distinct from that of Spanish. First-language Quechua speakers use a narrower vowel space than first-language Spanish speakers. Quechua has a three-vowel system (usually written i, a, u, but in fact more centralized phonetically than the corresponding Spanish vowels). In contrast, Spanish has a five-vowel system (i, e, a, o, u). The Quechua vowels move back in the mouth adjacent to certain back consonants (e.g., /q/, /q’/, and /qh/); the back vowels are sometimes written “e” and “o” by Spanish-dominant bilinguals. This leads many people to believe that the vowels of the two languages are pronounced in essentially the same way. But recent studies of the acoustic structure of the vowels, and of their production have shown that both production and acoustics are very different in the two languages (Pasquale 2001; Guion 2003; Pérez, Acurio, and Bendezú 2009).

In speaking, the vocal tract is a complex resonator, producing regular overtones. The overtones are concentrated in bands of frequencies called *formants*. In order to plot the acoustic space used by vowels, the first set of overtones or *formants* is graphed against the second. Figure 27.1 below shows the average frequency values for the vowels produced by a first-language speaker of Quechua from Cuzco, speaking Quechua (from Pérez, Acurio, and Bendezú, 2009, pp.17, 19).

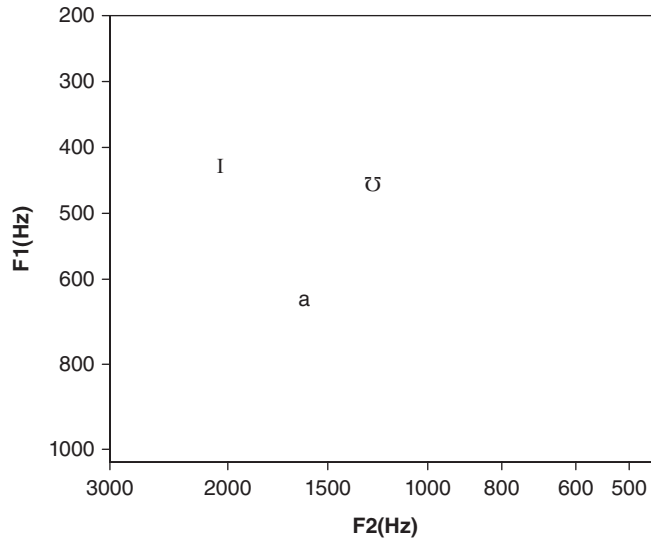


Figure 27.1 Quechua vowel system (after Pérez et al., 2009, p. 19). The frequencies of the first formant are on the y-axis and the frequencies of the second formant are on the x-axis

Compare the vowel positions for a first-language speaker of Spanish, also from Cuzco, speaking Spanish (Figure 27.2):

Figures 27.1 and 27.2 show the acoustic space used by the vowel systems of Quechua and Spanish, respectively. Native speakers of Quechua use a narrower acoustic space with more centralized vowels. Native speakers of Spanish use a wider acoustic space to produce their vowels. Figure 27.3 from the Guion’s study of Ecuadorian Quichua shows the range of variability of the vowels in Quechua and in Spanish.

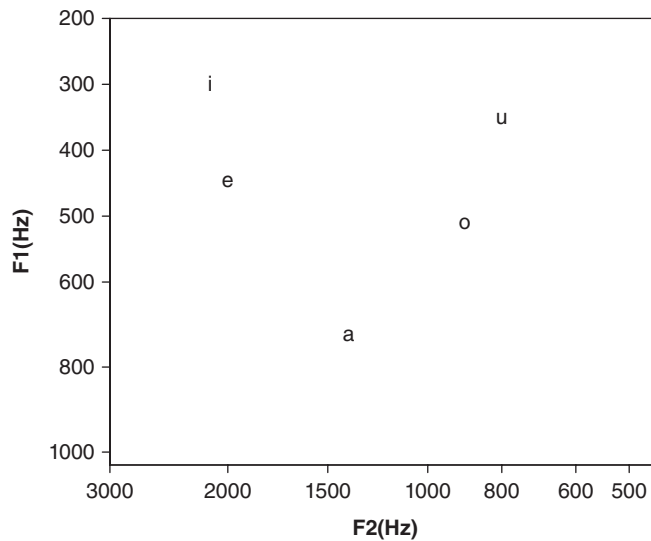


Figure 27.2 Spanish vowel system (after Pérez et al., 2009, p. 17)

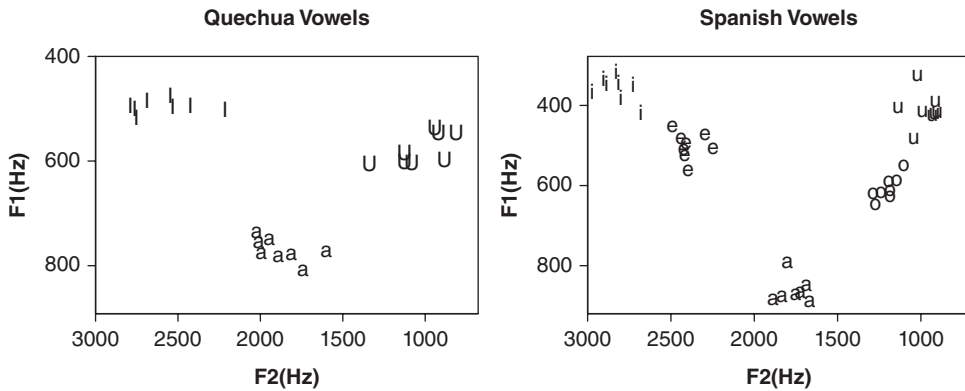


Figure 27.3 Occupation of the vowel space in Quechua and Spanish
(after Guion, 2003, p. 104)

Although there are phonological differences between Ecuadorian Quichua and the southern Quechua described in the Pasquale and Pérez studies, the general principle is the same. Quechua vowels are more centralized and closer together, meaning that Quechua speakers are on average using a smaller acoustic space for the vowels than do Spanish speakers. Native speakers of Quechua use their buccal resonator (the vocal tract above the larynx, excluding the nasal resonator) differently from first-language Spanish speakers, a difference that is habituated in early childhood (see Mannheim Chapter 37 this volume), in much the way the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu observed.

Language is a body technique, and specifically linguistic, especially phonetic, competence is a dimension of bodily hexis in which one's whole relation to the social world, and one's whole socially informed relation to the world are expressed. There is every reason to think that, through the mediation of what Pierre Guiraud calls "articulatory style," the bodily hexis characteristic of a social class determines the system of phonological features which characterizes a class pronunciation.

(Bourdieu, 1991, p. 86)

Native speakers of Quechua produce their vowels with narrow buccal aperture, and native speakers of Spanish with a wider one. When the former produce Spanish vowels within a narrow aperture, it is evaluated as *motoso* by the Spanish speakers. Because buccal aperture is habituated in individuals, it becomes a ground for racial discrimination.

When a Quechua-dominant bilingual speaker produces the Spanish word *mesa* "table" (with the first vowel roughly that of English "hay"), she pronounces it within the acoustic space of Quechua, with more centralized [ɪ] (roughly the vowel of the English word "bit"). The same would be true for the Spanish word *misa* "religious mass" (with the first vowel roughly that of the English "beet"), again pronounced using a narrow buccal aperture: with the same centralized [ɪ]. Spanish speakers hear both within their own phonological system as the "wrong" vowel, framing Quechua-dominant speakers as lacking a cognitive capacity. However, it is

not a cognitive lack but a state of the body subjected to multiple directionality: words uttered, meaning a movement of one's facial muscles and vocal cords in a direction [in speaking Spanish] against the direction that those muscles are usually predisposed to go under the effect of the dispositionality of one's facial, mouth, and tongue muscles and vocal chords.

(Hage 2014, p. 148, insertions mine)

It is not that first-language Quechua speakers are physiognomically and cognitively unable to speak Spanish; with considerable time and effort, they can habituate to Spanish-language buccal dispositions. The claim otherwise, that they are *motoso* and unable to produce Spanish vowels is an ideological construct used to justify racial discrimination ((Pérez, Acurio, and Bendezú 2009). The ideology of “*motosidad*” is an exact counterpart to nineteenth century stereotypes of Native North Americans as unable to produce phonetically stable speech, as Franz Boas falsified in a classic study (1889, p. 51–53).

ARTICULATORY STYLE AND IDENTITY ASCRIPTION

Individuals who have access to Quechua or Spanish as a first language have a different articulatory style. This embodied articulatory style may be used in any given situation to classify speakers. Despite villagers' stand against any kind of social labeling, they tacitly sort their interlocutors into hard-and-fast categories. Although many villagers have access to Spanish and many of their interlocutors—city dwellers—have access to Quechua, it is not language competence per se that allows them to tacitly sort their interlocutors into categories. Rather, both villagers and city dwellers use the articulatory style of their interlocutors—in either language—as the basis for sorting people. Such a categorization is not the gradient assumed by scholars analyzing race and ethnicity in the Andes. If a Quechua speaker who is categorized as *indio* learns to drive a car or learns Spanish, he is categorized as *cholo* or *mestizo*. This kind of relabeling was taken up by scholars, South American and foreign, who unwittingly bought into the presupposition that an individual moves from an *indio* category to a *cholo* and from there to a *mestizo* category in a gradient fashion. And in turn, this gradient categorization is nested within an ideology of *mestizaje* by which an *indio* becomes “modern” by gradual assimilation to the mainstream culture (Safa, 2005).

Villagers and city dwellers are both sensitive to the vowel systems (the buccal aperture) of other speakers and use them to gauge the linguistic histories of their interlocutors—that is, whether they grew up speaking Quechua or grew up speaking Spanish, regardless of which language they are speaking at a given moment. To test this, I administered an experimental test called “matched-guise test”⁵ (Lambert, Frankel, and Tucker 1966) to villagers and city dwellers. The outcome of the test shows that: a) both villagers and city dwellers are able to identify speakers tacitly, resorting to the articulatory style to estimate their linguistic background; b) these judgments are qualitative rather than gradient (thereby falsifying the standard claim in the Andean social science literature that social identification is made gradiently); and c) the identifications are intrinsically associated with social stereotypes.

I designed a variant of the matched-guise-test called “identity ascription,” to generate identity attribution among primarily Quechua-speaking individuals and primarily

Spanish-speaking with different levels of access to Spanish and Quechua respectively. The test was used to examine if identity ascription from speech is unavoidable in spite of the language being spoken. Beyond visual and other non-linguistic behavioral cues, there are linguistic cues that identify speakers' linguistic background, be it Quechua or Spanish, regardless of which of the languages they are speaking.

I recorded a short story about haciendas four times, twice in Spanish and twice in Quechua with the same speaker, a bilingual woman who was sensitive enough to the distinctions to produce all four speech registers. After testing the recorded speech, 34 listeners were asked to identify the language, education, geographical location, and gender of the four guises. Twenty listeners consisted of villagers and fourteen of city dwellers (medical staff, elementary school teachers, and municipality agents). Let us examine the results. The first set of Figures (27.4 and 27.5) show listeners attributing identity to the four guises (two in Quechua and two in Spanish)

Figures 27.4 and 27.5 show the responses of Quechua-dominant speakers (QDS) and Spanish-dominant speakers (SDS) respectively to the four guises; they identify the narrow aperture articulatory style with the “Quechua” identity ascription almost qualitatively, regardless of the language being spoken. QDS are more likely than first-language speakers of Spanish to ascribe wide aperture Quechua guise with the “Quechua” identity as well.

When interviewed about the guises after the test, SDS evaluated the narrow aperture articulatory style of Quechua guise as substandard, “rumbling without purpose,” a “crushing speaking,” and “making difficult” for listeners to understand the message. Some asserted that it was not a truly *Cuzco* Quechua (meaning spoken Quechua within Spanish acoustic space) due to the “non-clarity” and “fuzziness” of the vowels production. Almost half of SDS characterized the wide amplitude Quechua guise as “articulated,” “organized,” and produced correctly, as someone who had learned Quechua at a university level, and able to read, i.e., only educated people can pronounce Quechua properly, so that SDS can understand them.

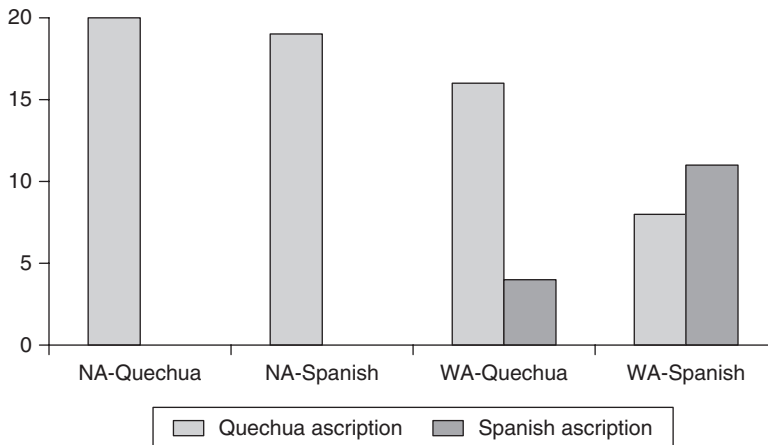


Figure 27.4 Identity attribution by first-language speakers of Quechua (n=20), by stimulus

NA= narrower buccal aperture

WA= wider buccal aperture

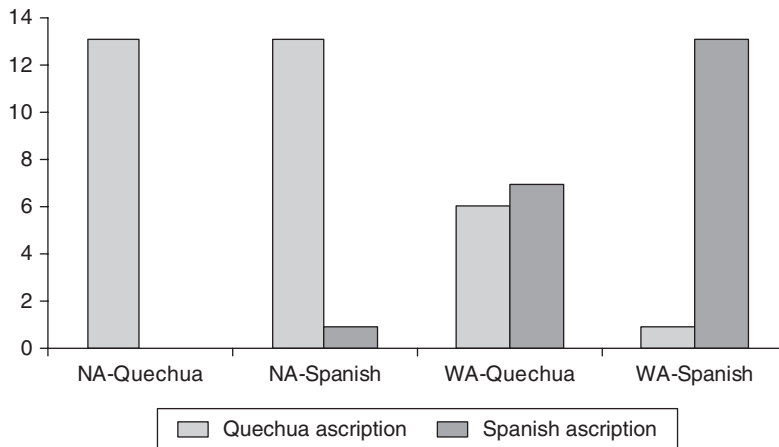


Figure 27.5 Identity ascription by first-language speakers of Spanish (n=14), by stimulus

In addition to identifying the guises as “Quechua” or “Spanish,” listeners were asked to identify them by education and residence, as these are two common surrogates for talking about “race” or “ethnicity” in highland Peru. For “education”, they were asked to choose between four categories: utterly unschooled, primary education only, some high school, and university education.

Figures 27.6 and 27.7 show how listeners distributed the four guises within the given categories. The narrow aperture articulatory style of Quechua guise is placed within the category of primary education by both QDS and SDS. But QDS place the wider

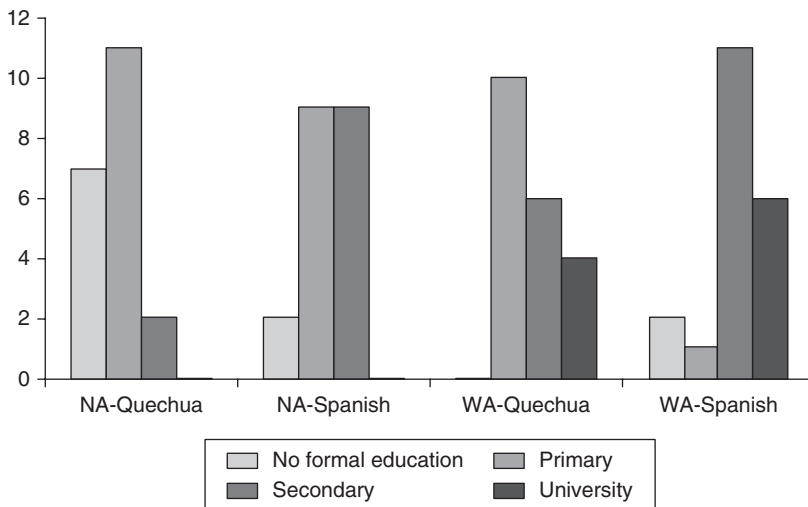


Figure 27.6 Education ascription by first-language speakers of Quechua (n=20), by stimulus

NA= narrower buccal aperture

WA= wider buccal aperture

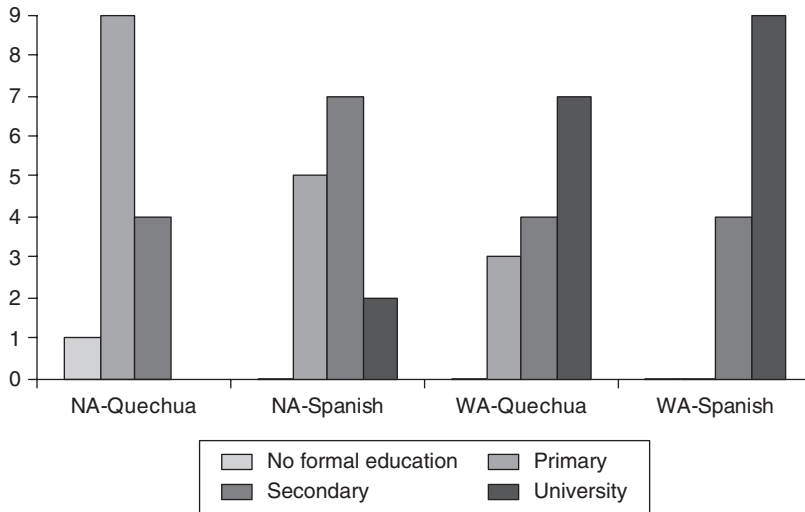


Figure 27.7 Education ascription by first-language speakers of Spanish (n=14), by stimulus

Quechua guise within the category of primary education; and SDS place it within university education. Native Quechua speakers can identify different registers of Quechua, i.e., they do not necessarily link the wider aperture Quechua guise to higher levels of education. This guise is placed in higher education by Spanish-dominant listeners because many *cusqueño* elite and their descendants hold teaching positions at the local university, or work as broadcasters in the local media (newspapers, TV, radio).

The narrow aperture Spanish guise is placed most of the time within the categories of primary education and some high school by both QDS and SDS. However, QDS

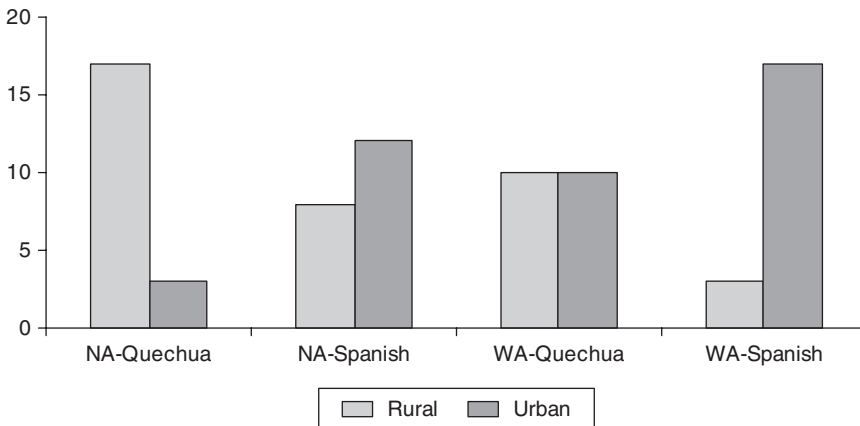


Figure 27.8 Urbanism ascription by first-language speakers of Quechua (n=2), by stimulus

NA= narrower buccal aperture

WA= wider buccal aperture

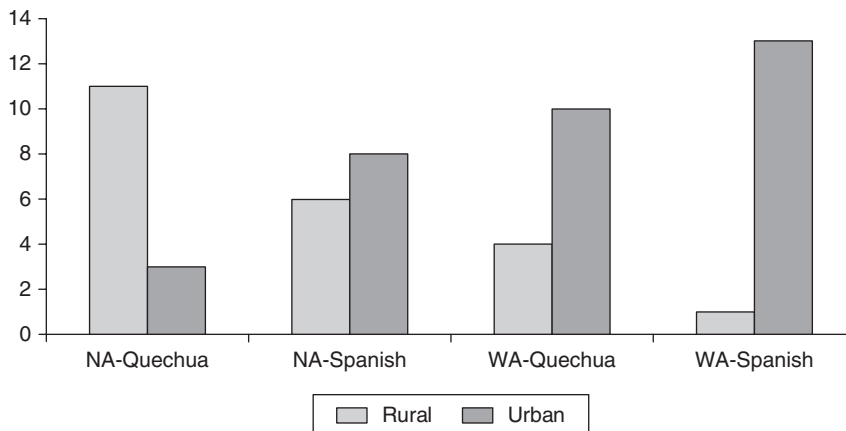


Figure 27.9 Urbanism ascription by first-language speakers of Spanish (n=14), by stimulus

place the wider Spanish guise within the category of some high school more than SDS who place the same guise most of the time within the category of university education. This last placement suggests that SDS assume that the clear production of Spanish vowels is achieved by education, which correlates with the results about the placement of “residency” for the four guises.

Lastly, listeners were asked to choose between rural and urban categories to place the four guises (see Figures 27.8 and 27.9 above).

The results for residence are quite robust, though less so than direct ascription of identity. The narrow aperture of Quechua guise is ascribed to rural residence by both QDS and SDS. But QDS assign rural and urban residency in equal percentage to the wide aperture of Quechua guise while SDS assign urban residency to more than 70 percent of the guise. The placement of wide aperture Quechua in equal numbers could be read as the identification of multiple registers of Quechua, which correlates with Quechua identity attribution, primary education, and an urban placement. Most QDS who live either in villages or the city of Cuzco have finished primary education, and most of those who live in the city travel back and forth to their villages. The placement of most wide aperture of Quechua guise within the urban category by Spanish-speaking listeners correlates with the attribution of university education.

DISCUSSION

Primarily Spanish-speaking listeners’ comments on the narrow aperture of the Spanish guise as lacking “correct articulatory traits” can be explained by the study of Pérez and his associates. Pérez et al. (2009, p. 10) state that native speakers of any language tend to project their own phonetic sensorial expectations onto their interlocutor’s phonetics performance. When primarily Spanish-speakers listen to the narrow Spanish guise, they perceive the guise as not having a “clear cut” distinction between vowels /i/ and /e/, and between /u/ and /o/. The assumption is that the speaker is not making the distinction and is mispronouncing the vowels. This becomes a tacit cue to target the social origins of any speaker.

Speakers identify their interlocutors as having Quechua background if they are not distinguishing the vowels sharply enough, according to their sensory expectations. This is shown by how Spanish narrow aperture guise is identified as having Quechua background/accent, and by the same token is ascribed mostly Quechua identity (92.85 percent) by Spanish-speaking listeners. Spanish-speaking listeners are not aware that Spanish and Quechua use their acoustic space to produce their respective vowels differently. As Guion (2003) and Pérez et al. (2009) illustrate in their research, the buccal cavity space to produce Quechua vowels (a, u, i) and Spanish vowels (a, o, u, e, i) is narrow and wide respectively.

For instance, Pérez et al. illustrate native Quechua-speakers who are learning Spanish as a second language, both incipient and intermediates, perceive Spanish vowels within their own vowel system and produce them within this frame. The incipient bilingual produces Spanish vowels similar to Quechua vowels (2009, p. 45), while the intermediate bilingual is acquiring the skill to produce /i/ and /e/ as different categories. However, the back vowels /u/ and /o/ seem still to remain as one phonetic category (Pérez et al, p. 49). Therefore, Quechua-speaking people speaking Spanish as a second language may not necessarily produce Spanish vowels within the phonetic space of articulation of such vowels. This leads Spanish-speaking interlocutors to create not only an implicit cue to mark social origin, but also to make social distinctions when they listen to Spanish produced within a narrow aperture articulation.

In other words, those who do not speak Spanish within the Spanish acoustic (phonetic) frame, using a wide buccal aperture, will be identified as Quechua pejoratively, whether they are speaking Spanish or not. They will be called *motoso(a)* and *cholo(a)* among other names, depending on their social position and geographical location. Identity ascription from speech is inescapable in spite of the language being spoken. Both Quechua- and Spanish-speaking individuals can tell what each other's first language is in any interaction and treat each other accordingly. In short, the acoustic space (narrow or wide) where vowels of Quechua or Spanish are produced is a linguistic cue that individuals use to ascribe identity, regardless if they are actually speaking any of these languages; linguistic cues are used to measure the linguistic history of their interlocutors.

ARTICULATORY STYLE AND DISCRIMINATION

First-language speakers of Quechua and Spanish used their buccal cavities according to the corporeal hexis of their first language, regardless of which language they are actually speaking; the judgment of Quechua speakers' spoken Spanish as *motoso* is a misrecognition of this fact. To depict a person as *motoso*—the same adjective is used to describe a knife that has lost its sharpness—is to claim that the person's tongue lacks the right shape. By analogy, a *motoso* person lacks something physiognomically essential in order to produce the Spanish vowel sounds, so the pseudo-explanation goes, underlying his inability to speak "proper" Spanish. These ideas are interlocked with interlocutors' evaluation of each party's corporeal hexis, both below the threshold of awareness and in conscious stereotypes.

This explanation is held by many domestic, well-intentioned, scholars and lay people who address the presumed physiognomic flaw under the label of *motosidad*, which undermines the agency of those framed under this category. The relation

between spoken vowels and *motosidad* is used to project a stereotype of Quechua-speaking people in so-called comedies. For instance, the regimentation of the relationships between speech and *motosidad* is shown in a TV show called *Paisana Jacinta*.⁶ The main performer, a man mocking a woman, plays a very extreme, stereotyped representation of a Quechua-speaking woman; the representation blends together a deformed physiognomy, a stereotyped speech, lack of intelligence, dirtiness and ugliness in a single female image.

In the “comedy,” the performer’s speech is regimented, Spanish vowels are confused: *lus hagu sofrir a istus cujudus* (‘I make these morons to suffer’). The Spanish-speaking performer symbolizes *motosidad* by using the vowel /u/ that yields *lus hagu* and *cujudus* instead of using /o/ to say *los hago* and *cojudos*. He uses the vowel /o/ that yields *sofrir* instead of using /u/ to say *sufrir*. Additionally, he uses /i/ and /u/ that yields *istus* instead of using /e/ and /o/ to say *estos*. This way of confusing the Spanish vowels mocks the Spanish spoken by Quechua-speaking females. Such stereotyping becomes an icon of Native Andeans in general.

In sum, labels, ideologies about Quechua, the articulatory style and the results of the matched-guise-test, and the production of Spanish vowels within a narrow or wider buccal cavity are the basis for discrimination. They are consistent in two regards: First, Quechua spoken within a Spanish frame (phonetically, semantically and syntactically) is hailed as expressive and is linked to Inka heritage. Quechua spoken by natives is considered as too emotional, domestic, and impeding abstract thinking.

Second, if native Quechua speakers speak Spanish within their articulatory style, this Spanish is evaluated as having *motosidad*. *Motosidad* is projected to produce a visceral female stereotypical image of having defective speech and deformity. In fact, natives’ spoken Spanish produce within native’s corporeal hexis is evaluated as *motoso*, as all-or-nothing, not gradient evaluation. Discrimination, as well as categorization, is linguistically based. Conversely, speakers of Quechua refuse to be categorized and framed in identitarian terms to avoid stigmatization, but also tacitly categorize their interlocutors into fixed categories. *Campesino*, *productor*, and *agricultor* are cover labels for the stigmatized term *indio*, which carries a racialized denotatum.

On discussing labeling and framing, native Quechua-speaking people do not use labels such as “*indio*,” “*cholo*,” or “*mestizo*” among other labels to identify or refer to themselves in their daily interactions. This challenges (and falsifies) scholarly work that treat such labels as identity markers and use them as analytical categories. Although Quechua-speaking people refuse such labels, there are still stigma attached to the labels, which is outside of their control.

Although native Quechua-speaking people do not use *indio*, *cholo*, or *mestizo* to identify themselves, both they and Spanish-dominant speakers can identify their interlocutors socially on the basis of linguistic cues, as the matched-guise-test shows, using vocal aperture to classify their interlocutors into discrete categories. Both sets of tacit classification show that racial and ethnic relations are not laid out on the gradient continuum suggested by the folk ideology of *mestizaje* in the Andean region. Everyday racial discrimination is based on identification of the linguistic background of one’s interlocutors. An identification that is made in everyday interaction, not consciously, but pervasively, accompanied with discriminatory, damaging social stereotypes. Racism is in the details.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

- 1 For a discussion on *runa* as inextricably linked to particular socio-cultural practices, see Allen, 2002.
- 2 However, one has to be aware of the fact that labeling is intrinsic to social interaction.
- 3 The aesthetic sweetness attributed to Quechua was reinforced within literature by José María Arguedas, who penned that Quechua is *dulce y palpitante* (“sweet and vibrant,” Arguedas, 1950). Arguedas commented on the lack of Spanish vocabulary to describe Quechua events. For most of his childhood he was confined to the kitchen by his stepmother, where he grew up and learned Quechua.
- 4 <https://lamula.pe/2013/08/11/gerente-de-cultura-de-cusco-el-quechua-es-un-enorme-peligro-un-cancer/elmanuel/> (accessed November 4, 2014).
- 5 The matched-guise test was designed by the social psychologist Wallace Lambert and his colleagues to study language attitudinal reactions toward French Canadian and Anglo Canadian speakers in Montreal. Bilingual speakers (speakers of both French and English) were recorded reading a passage once in French and once in English. Listeners were unaware of the fact that speakers were bilingual, speaking in English at one time and in French at another. They were asked to rank speakers according to a set of traits. The bilingual individuals in their English guise were evaluated as intelligent, powerful, and secular, while in their French guise, they were evaluated as nice, religious, and filial. A variant of the matched-guise test was used by Susan Blum (2001, p. 41) to study inter-ethnic relations in southwest China; Blum designed the test to produce identification of a broad scale of linguistic varieties spoken in Kunming and to draw attitudes toward these varieties. Bender (2000) extended the matched-guise methodology to test the social evaluation of copula presence and non-presence in African American Vernacular English (AAVE).
- 6 See short clips at www.netjoven.pe/espectaculos/144188/La-Paisana-Jacinta-Difunden-ocurrentes-memes-de-los-nuevos-capitulos.html (accessed October 30, 2014).

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PART IX

AESTHETICS,
COMMUNICATION, AND
PERFORMANCE





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CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

PATRON SAINT FESTIVALS AND DANCE IN PERU

Histories told from within



Zoila S. Mendoza

INTRODUCTION

Who knows how long ago our grandfather, our ancestor, the *Qanchi Machu*, lived. He was powerful, a winner, rough like a great rock, he walked around accomplishing everything he wanted, . . . he did not know limits, . . . he was mischievous and when they trapped him to go to mass he always escaped before consecration . . . he used to hide under the earth . . . he was very knowledgeable, a wise man and that is why he was persecuted.¹

Among many other elements that are part of the multifaceted experience of festivals and dances in the Andes, these public performances are powerful ways to immerse participants in a history told from within. They offer occasions when musicians, dancers, and other performers make visible, audible, and palpable stories about the local and regional past and present while envisioning a future. During these festivals, the participants shape, learn, and remember many concepts/feelings² that are central to their individual, local, regional, national, and even transnational identities. This is a particularly powerful form of social action for Andeans because of a predominant form of knowledge and memory that has existed in the region for thousands of years. As I have argued elsewhere (Mendoza, 2015) this form of knowledge and memory is anchored by a sensory model that privileges the unity of hearing, sight, and body movement.

In the Quechua-speaking community of Pomacanchi, Cusco,³ once a year, during a festival in honor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul on June 29, an archetypical ancestor comes to life, the *Qanchi Machu*. Many *pomacanchinos* (people from Pomacanchi) I worked with while doing research on their participation in the greatest pilgrimage of the Andean region, were excited and proud to tell me stories about the powerful, rebellious, and mischievous *Qanchi Machu* whom they call their grandfather. In those stories (a small section of one is excerpted above), he always outsmarted his opponents as he traveled through many historical periods. While this character only appears in the flesh during the festival in honor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, his persona is re-created through elements present in the dances that are considered traditional to the community: *K'achampa* and *Qanchi*. These dances are performed throughout the



Figure 28.1 Painting of the Archetypal Ancestor *Qanchi Machu* in the main communal gathering place, Pomacanchi, Cuzco, Peru, July 2006

Photo credit: Zoila. S. Mendoza.

year in different festivals; *Kachampa* was the one that the *comparsa* (dance troupe) members chose to embody the three times we traveled together to the sanctuary of the Lord of *Qoyllor Rit'i* (shiny snow) at almost 16,000 feet above sea level.⁴ This group had taken the *Qanchi* dance to the sanctuary in the past—dancers claimed that in both dances they were dressed like their pre-Hispanic archetypal ancestor, the *Qanchi Machu* (Figure 28.1).

Dance and festival performance in the Andes has been a site of confrontation and negotiation of identities since the beginning of the Andean colonial period in the sixteenth century (Ares Queija, 1984; Poole, 1990; Estenssoro, 1992). From the time that dance-dramas became part of Andean Catholic celebrations, they entered a dialectic that emerged from the ruling elite's efforts to curb and control the innovative, sometimes subversive, expressive forms of subordinated groups. This dynamic has rendered these dance-dramas and festivals highly meaningful for performers and audiences alike, as it has shaped their individual and group identities. In the twentieth century, the process of "folklorization" of Andean music and dance, by which some of these practices are put on stage and selected as representative of a region or nation, added a new and powerful dimension to this dialectic (Mendoza, 2000, Chapter 2; 2008).

CATHOLICISM IN THE ANDES

The Spanish encountered a rich tradition of public and private ceremonies, most of which included a variety of music and dance. Among these forms, the *taqui*, a song/dance genre, attracted the most attention from chroniclers as well as from the civil and

church administration. This was because the *taquis* were associated with important public ceremonies in honor of local superior forces (e.g., mountains), ancestors, or Inca elite members and authorities (Estenssoro, 1992). Pilgrimage to regional sanctuaries was another deeply rooted practice in the Andean region (Sallnow, 1987; Bauer and Stanish, 2001). The attitude of the church in the face of these ubiquitous practices varied during the colonial period depending on the religious order in charge of evangelizing, and also on the political situation (Ares Queija, 1984, p. 448). Nevertheless, the equivalence with certain European devotional traditions that considered dance an important form of worshiping God, combined with the possibility that these forms could become the media for the incorporation of the indigenous population into Catholic rituals, allowed negotiation between local symbolic practices and the imposed overall structures into which they should be incorporated.

The most widespread form of public celebrations in the Andes today are the multi-day festivals known as patron-saint festivals that honor a Catholic image that has been designated as the protector of a particular town. Complex structures emerged from the imposition of this Catholic practice as they intertwined with local economic, political, and economic conflicts within local populations. Early on in the colonial period an institution brought by the Spaniards also became very important in the Andean context, the *cofradía*, or religious brotherhood. These brotherhoods were in charge of financing and organizing the festivals in honor of the Catholic images and of presenting dances for that occasion. The *cofradía* is the clearest historical antecedent of today's *comparsas*, which are the main institutions behind the making of Andean festivals today (Mendoza, 2000, pp. 24–26).

The Spanish Catholicism (both missionary and lay) brought to the Americas was heterodox. Elements of local religion that were flourishing in sixteenth century Spain, such as the cult of saints in local chapels and shrines, were re-created in America. In Europe, the anecdotes and legends about the lives and miracles of the saints collected in books of exempla, hagiographies, and prayer (often re-told in sermon stories), became powerful and enduring encapsulations of moral, theological, and mystical messages (Christian, 1981). In Peru, hagiographies were used in the preaching of Catholicism because evangelizers considered them “an easy pedagogical tool” (Marzal, 1983, p. 204). In both Europe and America the legends and anecdotes collected in such texts have induced the experience of apparitions, as well as of miracles and punishment by the saints.

People in the Andes consider saints to be not only the martyrs or other salient personages of Christian history canonized by the Catholic Church but also different representations of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary (Marzal, 1977). The physical embodiments (icons) of these “saints”—that is, crosses, paintings, and statues—first brought from Europe and then produced in America have become associated with local distinctions and identities.

My research in the central and southern Andes of Peru shows that the characterization of the saints in hagiographies, sermon stories, and iconography laid the ground for the local elaboration of meanings associated with those saints. In the long term, however, what has determined the configuration of the local meanings that different social groups have associated with those saints has depended on particular aspects of the cultural, social, and personal experience of the devotees. As I will show below, although for the people of the central Peruvian Andes the meanings associated

with the saints were shaped by life models propagated by missionary preaching, the actual identification with the cult of a particular saint of local groups such as ritual associations and neighborhoods was determined by two other elements: the group's experience of local social and economic differentiation, and the way in which the cult of that particular saint was introduced into their lives (i.e., imposed from above or voluntarily chosen).

THE AVELINOS: DANCE, SOCIAL CONFLICT, AND HISTORY FROM WITHIN

The *Avelinos* is one of the most popular folkloric/ritual dances in the Mantaro Valley (Department of Junín, Peru), and in Lima among migrants from this region. The dance is made up of a group of 10–15 men who are dressed in clothes made from strips of cloth and ripped hats. Their faces are covered with knitted sky hats (*pasamontañas*) or with cloth or sheepskin bearded masks, and they carry weapons (Figure 28.2). Headed by a leader or a “president”, the group travels through the town streets trotting in three or four parallel rows. They do this at different moments from the eve or vespers of the fiesta until the celebration ends (often after four days).



Figure 28.2 Avelino at the San Roque Festival

Photo credit: Zoila S. Mendoza.

When they are in public plazas and sometimes as they proceed down the streets, they scatter in a disorderly way, approaching spectators and joking with them in falsetto. Their traditional music is played with *wak'rapuku* (wind instrument made out of cattle horns) and *tinya* (small drum), although this may vary based on the group or town/people that performs the dance.

In addition to being a dance presented by local troupes at religious festivals honoring a celebrated image, this dance is also performed in Lima, the nation's capital, and in the Mantaro Valley in official ceremonies that commemorate the patriotic actions of the people of the central Peruvian Andes during the War of the Pacific.⁵ Despite the efforts of some sectors of the local and national society to portray the Avelinos solely as a patriotic symbol, this ritual dance has always been a source of multiple socio-cultural meanings, many of them critical of the history and contemporary society to which the performers belong. The potential of this dance to bring together and generate a series of new meanings has contributed to its popularity.

Avelinos originated in the district of San Jerónimo de Tunán, in the Mantaro Valley region of the Peruvian central Andes in the early twentieth century.⁶ The dance came together and became popular through the voluntary associations of migrants who went from their towns to work in nearby mining centers and later to Lima. Even though the participation of Mantaro Valley residents in the War of the Pacific has been an explicit theme of the dance, the performers of the Avelinos, with their display of ragged clothes, weapons, bearded masks, and satire, have incorporated many other themes that communicate multiple meanings in the ritual context. Even within the theme of the aforementioned war, the Avelinos have emphasized the injustices and paradoxes that residents experienced during the war. Here I explore some of these themes and meanings, and I will also look at some of the mechanisms by means of which the people of San Jerónimo de Tunán materialized these themes and meanings in the dance.⁷

ANTECEDENTS OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE AVELINOS

Although certain themes may be particularly relevant to a society, this is not an adequate explanation for why a group arises in that society to explicitly represent those themes in a dance.⁸ In the case of the Avelinos I found at least four important factors in the formation of a group of people who created and popularized this dance: 1) the existence of a certain degree of local autonomy in the towns of the Mantaro Valley; 2) an interest in strengthening and promoting knowledge of local values; 3) a tradition of inter and intra group competition, and above all, 4) the fact that the associations dedicated to financing local cultural groups and dance performances arose when the townspeople perceived a threat to their autonomy and to local organizations under a new system of power relations.

Many authors have explained the factors that contributed to the consolidation of strong autonomous and mestizo communities in the Mantaro Valley (Arguedas, 1957; Espinoza, 1973; Mallon, 1983). During the three centuries of colonial rule and the following years of republican domination, the region's people participated in the commercial economy on their own terms. There was already a high degree of cultural and racial mixing, or *mestizaje* in the Mantaro Valley in the eighteenth century. It has been calculated that around 1780 the central highlands (or sierra) had one of the highest percentages of *mestizaje* in the vice-royalty of Peru. This phenomenon

continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Mallon, 1983, pp. 33–34). The dynamic cultural production of people in this region and their strong ties to Lima since the beginning of the twentieth century has made the Mantaro Valley a focal point for the dissemination of mestizo culture for the entire sierra and for *ser-rano* (from the highlands) migrants in Lima (Arguedas, 1957; Romero, 2001).

An important mode of local organization during the colonial period in the Mantaro Valley, like other regions in the Andes, was that of the local *cofradías* or religious brotherhoods (Celestino and Meyers, 1981). Through the establishment of *cofradías* and neighborhood cults, rivalries were institutionalized and competitions were channeled between groups that had been incorporated into the new political units created by the colonial government (Celestino and Meyers, 1981). As mentioned above, the members of the *cofradías* in charge of financing and organizing the cult for the image celebrated were also in charge of presenting the dances that honored that image (Ares, 1984).

The material base of the *cofradías* in the central sierra was destroyed during the early republican period (Peru declared independence from Spain in 1821). Their organizational principles have remained intact, however, and have mediated structural changes in the region. In the central Andes, from the beginning of twentieth century, migrant associations that celebrate a religious image and perform a dance in its honor have proliferated. This type of organization has therefore been an effective collective response to the threat of the destruction of older forms of local organization and autonomy. These older forms of local organization were jeopardized by migration to nearby mining centers controlled by North American capital along with other effects of the accelerated penetration of capitalism in the area at the beginning of the twentieth century.

THE WAR OF THE PACIFIC AND THE GUERRILLAS

The War of the Pacific was full of ambiguities and paradoxes for the inhabitants of the Mantaro Valley, as it was for the Peruvian state. A debate continues among Peruvian and foreign historians over the voluntary nature of the peasant participation in the campaign of the central sierra and over the social tensions, some of them racial, that resulted (see for example Manrique, 1981; Mallon, 1983, 1987).

In 1882–1883, as part of a national resistance movement led by Andrés Bello Cáceres, the peasants in the Mantaro Valley formed town-based guerrillas who rose up to defend their home and their land from Chilean troops. Once the war ceased, a combination of collaboration with the Chileans on the part of landholders of the region and a growing peasant autonomy set loose a class conflict that lasted for twenty years after the end of the war (Mallon, 1984, p. 1). As the war came to an end, when Cáceres was president of the Republic, the Peruvian state made an effort to control the guerrillas that remained in the Mantaro Valley. These fighters once represented a force that the state had controlled and used during the battle against the Chileans, but that had to be repressed once the war was over.

THE CONTEXT OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE AVELINOS

It is no coincidence that of all of the rituals that were celebrated throughout the year in San Jerónimo de Tunán at the beginning of the twentieth century, the fiesta of

Saint Roch was chosen as the site of the Avelinos' first and subsequent appearances. At the time of the Avelinos' creation, the fiesta of Saint Roch was being popularized by the Huando neighborhood in San Jerónimo (Mendoza, 1985, 1988). This fiesta was in the process of becoming the most important in the town, replacing the fiesta that celebrated the traditional patron, Saint Jerome. In this process, the Avelinos played a central role; there has been an intrinsic relationship between the festivity of Saint Roch and the Avelinos from the moment the dance appeared. Both Saint Roch and the guerrilla band that the Avelinos embodied were forces that had been stimulated from above, by colonial evangelization and by the nation state, but that had also emerged from below with their own goals.

My research informants agreed that the cult of Saint Roch began in the Huando neighborhood. This is also mentioned in a contemporary legend regarding the origin of the town cult (Mendoza, 1985, 1988). Bibliographic sources on the legal conflict, which apparently gave rise to the cult of Saint Roch, document that in the legal battle between the Huando and the Tuna neighborhoods (in those days still referred to as *ayllus*⁹), Tuna prevailed because it was the more powerful, linked to important authorities and local land owners. Huando publicly expressed discontent when faced with its final defeat (Sanabria, 1943, pp. 85–89; Egoavil and Meza, 1974, pp. 37–38). As a result, Huando wanted to challenge Tuna by means of the ritual organization, following a tradition in which local rivalries and competitions were channeled through neighborhood cults. By failing to offer their support to the traditional patron saint of the town, Saint Jerome, who embodied the ideals of the dominant local elite and by propagating the cult of Saint Roch, an image with which the majority of the peasants could identify, the people of Huando utilized a viable mechanism to oppose the dominant ayllu or neighborhood.¹⁰ The creation of the Avelinos dance by the members of the Huando community to honor Saint Roch, along with their formation of a voluntary association to finance the fiesta, were determining forces in the transformation of this fiesta into the most important one in the town and one of the most important in the region.

THE RITUAL CONTEXT

In general, rituals can be defined as socially demarcated times and spaces in which highly elaborated symbolic forms such as dances are carried out. In rituals, iconic symbols, actions, words, or objects have the capacity to synthesize complex socio-cultural meanings that come from varied domains and specific contexts and as such become vehicles through which to construct messages and circulate multiple meanings.¹¹ Following Comaroff, ritual constructions “play most directly upon the signifying capacity of symbols, using them as the means through which to grasp, condense, and act upon qualities otherwise diffused in the social and material world” (1985, p. 78).¹² Therefore, in the context of ritual, members of the Avelinos dance brought together a series of iconic symbols such as ragged clothes, bearded masks, weapons, etc., to create something that, while new, also synthesized and made manifest a series of historic and contemporary conflicts that already existed in their society. The creation of this dance in itself has been a historically important act in the life of the residents of San Jerónimo and for all the towns in the Mantaro Valley.

Various themes and meanings were brought together in the creation of the dance.¹³ In the first years of the twentieth century, five residents of the Huando neighborhood

formed for the first time what they themselves called a “gang of poor people” (gang in this context is synonymous with dance troupe) in order to honor the patron saint of their neighborhood, Saint Roch. Even though at that time Spanish was already the primary language spoken in the town, these young people adopted Quechua nicknames to hide their identity. We should note that although currently the members of many the Avelinos groups do not speak Quechua in their daily lives, the tradition of this dance obligates them to speak to one another in Quechua during their ritual performance. Thus, from the beginning, this dance was identified with Quechua tradition in the region, and opposed to the imposed language, Spanish.

In making their “poor people” costumes, the five young men were inspired by two themes in recent history. The first was the memories of painful experiences some of the residents had had during the participation in the War of the Pacific. These people had returned from the battlefield with ragged clothes and had told all their neighbors the vicissitudes of what had happened while trying to escape from the Chileans. The second source of inspiration was the shredded clothes of a *chuto* (vagabond or beggar). This character was chosen in a context in which, in accordance with the oral tradition of the region, Cáceres had formed groups of spies disguised as chutos who infiltrated the Chilean troops to obtain information. These two images—that of the guerrilla and the chuto spy—held in common the idea that beneath the appearance of poverty pride was hidden and these meanings contributed to the nature of the Avelinos costumes. Moreover, the poor guerrillas and Saint Roch (considered in the town as a poor saint or a saint of the poor) also conveyed the idea that ambiguous forces could maintain the reigning order or subvert it. This tension between order and subversion directly links the Avelinos with the *ukukus* of the southern Peruvian Andes (Allen, 1983) and with other disguised ambiguous ritual characters in other parts of the sierra. The *ukukus* are characters who must take care that rituals are carried out with a certain order. For example, they make sure that dancers have enough space to execute their moves; they punish drunk people who break certain rules; they clear the streets for the procession, etc. At the same time, they are buffoons who talk in falsetto, joking around, satirizing and even insulting those present, and as such, they also subvert the order. The appearance of these characters resembles that of the Avelinos, since their disguises employ the idea of poor and marginal beings with tattered clothes.

One of the first five members of the first “gang” of the Avelinos was a tailor who proposed that the costumes be made using old suits that were cut up into small strips, with the pieces sewn over the top of another old suit. It is particularly interesting to observe that the description of this material artistic activity in the text from which I reconstruct this moment is very detailed. It gives the impression that the cutting of pieces of suits to put over the top of another was the material counterpart to what the Avelinos dancers did at another level. That is, they created something new from elements that already existed in different realms of the experience of the townspeople.

To cover their faces, the first Avelinos wore bearded masks made of sheepskin, which recalled the face of General Cáceres and the bearded face of the chuto. They also covered their heads with frayed hats. It is useful to note that one of the elements in the dance that has changed the most is the mask. In San Jerónimo de Tunán, the bearded face is used less and less, and in other towns it is not worn at all. In several towns the mask has been replaced by *pasamontañas* featuring a large cloth

nose, which the Avelinos dancers themselves proudly identified as representing the male sexual organ. The use of *pasamontañas* makes the Avelinos dancers even more similar to the *ukukus* since the latter also wear them. However, the Avelino dancers always maintain at least one character within the troupe that alludes to a historically recognizable guerrilla or revolutionary leader. Those I have seen in photos or in person include representations of Cáceres, Mao, Fidel Castro, and “Che” Guevara.

The gang went out for the first time on August 16, 1889, the central day of the Saint Roch festivities. Following the tradition of other dance groups, they chose a leader and nicknamed him Tito Avelino, using the middle name of General Cáceres. Then in like manner, they began calling all of the members of the group the Avelinos. The first time out, the leader carried a dog with him, as San Roch is portrayed in Catholic religious iconography. The other members of the group transported exquisite traditional dishes in their *quipes* (bundles on their backs) and went to the house of the *mayordomo* (main sponsor) of the festivities that were being celebrated in the neighborhood. Then, for the first time, the Avelinos dancers offered the now traditional “banquet of the Avelinos.” I have not been able to confirm if this first banquet was offered in miniature, but this is how it is currently done.

After visiting the *mayordomo* of the festivities, the Avelinos dancers went out to the streets to dance, causing a commotion, since this was the first time that a dance troupe had performed with “poor people clothes” in the town’s religious festivities. As we mentioned above, from the beginning the characteristic music of the Avelinos has been played on the *wak’rapuku* and *tinya*—the former a colonial instrument and the latter of pre-Hispanic origin—that peasants use to accompany the *herranza*, the rituals devoted to promote agricultural and cattle breeding fertility. The tune played by the *wak’rapuku* is a combination of *herranza* music and the military beat of the trumpet. Even though the Avelinos troupe later developed its characteristic tune played on the clarinet, saxophone, harp, and violin (“*orquesta típica*” or traditional music ensemble of the central Andes of Peru (Romero, 2001), this traditional tune is still played only on the above-mentioned peasant instruments at different stages of the current ritual.

As I pointed out above, the theme that greatness may be hidden beneath external poverty, or simply the theme that a poor person can have power, appears to be central to the dance of the Avelinos. The three characters—the guerrilla who returns to his town, the brave spy disguised as a beggar, and the member of the first group of the Avelinos—were poor in appearance, but all of them contributed to the fulfillment of an important job. The first two characters collaborated to defend their land. It is clear that the Avelinos did not exalt the participation of the landowners in the war, but rather the memory of the peasant groups who organized as guerrilla warriors. The third character, the Avelino, contributed what he had (his dance and his “banquet”) to the patron saint celebration of Saint Roch, with whom he identified. Poverty in itself is a powerful image that can be symbolically elaborated on around various themes. For this reason, I think that poverty has been and continues to be one of the central images of the dance, an image that has unquestionable force and has facilitated the transformation of the dance into one of the most popular in the Mantaro Valley.

There is no doubt that the theme of poverty concealing brave virtues has a more explicit embodiment in the very image of Saint Roch, the poor saint and healer whom

the Avelinos wanted to honor with their dance. It is possible that the long and intense evangelization by the Franciscans in the area has also played an important role in consolidating this theme in the cultural tradition of San Jerónimo of Tunán. The representation of Saint Roch as a traveling poor person accompanied by his dog, who always appears when somebody needs to be cured, has contributed to the popularity of this image. Further, the theme of the humble beggar who becomes a powerful being was already present in pre-Hispanic Andean mythology.¹⁴

The conflict between the Huando and Tuna *ayllus*, which played an important role in the emergence and propagation of the cult that offered an alternative to that of the old patron saint cult, was also an element incorporated into the Avelinos. The same local historian, writing in the 1940s, made extensive references to the legal battle between both *ayllus*, and explicitly stated that the Avelinos (besides remembering the guerrillas) “also are able to remember one ayllu dominated by another more powerful one” (Sanabria, 1943, p. 183). It is possible that when making this comment the author, who originated from the area, had in mind the conflict between the two *ayllus*. As I noted above, the cult of Saint Roch and the dance of the Avelinos began and was maintained exclusively among the members of the ayllu of Huando for only a certain period of time. These individuals seriously resented the community of Tuna, which thanks to its power, won the legal battle.

After its first appearance, in the first decade of the twentieth century, the Avelinos continued to honor Saint Roch annually. In 1918 the “gang” formed a voluntary association called “*Auxilios Mutuos San Roque*” (Saint Roch Mutual Aid Society), which had as its main goals the collective financing of the festivities in honor of this saint and the performance of the dance at the Saint Roch fiesta. The majority of the association’s members, who belonged to the Huando neighborhood, were seasonal migrants to nearby mining centers in the region. It is possible that Saint Roch, the healer saint, has gained even more relevance for those residents of San Jerónimo who work in places where illnesses, accidents and death are frequent phenomena.

Various elements indicate that around 1940 the popularity of the Saint Roch fiesta and the dance of the Avelinos had extended to all sectors of society in San Jerónimo de Tunán. The social groups in San Jerónimo with greater economic possibilities—the first to migrate to the country’s capital in search of education and professional improvements—formally established their association in 1946 based precisely on the celebration of Saint Roch. In 1945, a new “Society of Mutual Aid” had been formed in the town also to present a dance troupe or “gang” of Avelinos. This time, however, the dance would be performed in honor of the traditional patron saint of the town, Saint Jerome, whose festival was already of secondary importance. The popularity that the cult of Saint Roch and the dance of the Avelinos acquired among all social sectors of the town, considering that the dance had originally opposed many established norms when it appeared, exemplifies a phenomenon that happens with great frequency. It is common that groups that have greater power in society pick up and adopt cultural elements that marginalized sectors have manufactured to express criticism of the established order. These more powerful groups thereby attempt to diminish the force or danger of this protest (Hebdige, 1985).

EPILOGUE

After over thirty years researching festivals and dances in the Peruvian Andes, I have arrived at the conclusion that music, dances, and festivals are such an important form of social action for Andeans because of a predominant form of knowledge and memory among them. This form privileges the unity of sound, sight, and body movement that, I hypothesize, is at the core of the Andean sensory model (Mendoza, 2015).

Like the Avelinos dance in the context of the Central Peruvian Andes, the yearly appearance of the Qanchi Machu, the archetypical ancestor of Pomacanchi people, embodies a local history told from within. Both these performances may be considered, as part of the local “repertoire” as they are embodied acts that: “generate, record, and transmit knowledge . . . [reconstituting] themselves, transmitting communal memories, histories, and values from one group/generation to the next.” (Taylor, 2003, p. 21). Once a year, the idealized pre-Hispanic, invincible, Quechua-speaking archetypal Qanchi Machu wakes up the people of Pomacanchi at dawn, speaking to them in Quechua from a special place on the mountain that overlooks the town. Flutes and drums (at moments a trumpet joins) accompany him throughout the day as he goes around the town reminding everybody about all the fights he has won against Pomacanchinos’ enemies and how he has provided them with abundant land and water. He also advises them to work and be honest or otherwise he will punish them with his whip. The community members honor him with a special festive meal and after a few other performances he disappears into a creek as he is considered the owner of the local waters. This yearly embodiment of the main character of the local oral tradition teaches and reminds Pomacanchinos about the concepts/feelings that connect them to a strong, proud, and rebellious past and that give them hope for a better future.

NOTES

- 1 Interview with a member of the *K’achampa* dance troupe in May 2006.
- 2 I use this compound term to emphasize that thought and feeling are always together and that we need to avoid the body/mind dichotomy that has plagued disciplines in the humanities and social sciences for too long. Following Raymond Williams (1977, pp. 132–133) I understand “thought as felt and feeling as thought,” thus leaving behind the dichotomy of feeling and thought.
- 3 Pomacanchi is a district of the Province of Acomayo and it is also a recognized “*Comunidad Campesina*,” Peasant Community. Quechua is the most wide-spread indigenous language in the Andes and the largest in the Americas.
- 4 For *pomacanchinos* it takes three days and two nights walking up and down the mountains for approximately 85 miles and accompanied by the incessant music of flutes and drums. I went on this walk with them in 2006, 2008, and 2010.
- 5 This war emerged from an initial conflict between Bolivia and Chile over the control of the mineral rich Atacama Desert and resulted in the loss of important territories by Peru and Bolivia who fought against Chile. It took place between 1879–1883.
- 6 Most of the research on the Avelinos was done between July and December of 1984 and between July and September of 1986 and 1987.
- 7 Using the concept of “bricolage” first developed by Lévi-Strauss (1966, pp. 21–22), we consider the creators of the Avelinos dance as *bricoleurs* who took elements from their history and their contemporary sociocultural reality and constructed a new and meaningful structure. However, considering that this dance has some of the essential characteristics

- of what Dick Hebdige (1985) called “subcultures,” our use of the concept of bricolage is closer to how this author has developed it in his analysis of British subcultures because it incorporates a historical perspective and social and class conflict.
- 8 Terence Ranger (1975) makes a similar point in his analysis of the Beni Ngoma dance groups that arose in the colonial context of East Africa.
- 9 *Ayllu* is a Quechua (the most widespread native language in the Andes) term that refers to a basic unit of social organization.
- 10 Saint Jerome, considered as a learned Doctor of the church with a very high place in the hierarchy of saints, was very far from being a representative image for the majority of peasants; he better embodied characteristics of the governing elite.
- 11 Taking from Victor Turner the notion of symbolic condensation (the power of symbols to condense multiple and disparate meanings), Nancy Munn (1974) has developed a useful model for analyzing ritual symbolism. I have taken some aspects from her model here.
- 12 Comaroff recaptures analytical elements elaborated by Munn, 1974.
- 13 To reconstruct the relevant themes and meanings in the creation of the dance, I was fortunate to have a text that was dictated in the late 1970s–early 1980s by Don Eusebio Rodríguez Meza, who was one of the first groups of the Avelinos.
- 14 I refer specifically to the so-called “Huarochiri Manuscript” (Urioste, 1983). For an analysis of this subject in the Andean mythology, also see Ortiz, 1973. Finally, we should note that Lévi-Strauss has suggested that this could be a pan-American figure (Lévi-Strauss, 1976, pp. 256–268).

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CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

ANDEAN MUSICAL EXPRESSIONS

Ethnographic notes on materialities, ontologies, and alterities



Juan Javier Rivera Andía

INTRODUCTION

Talking about an “Andean musical expression” entails encompassing a variety of sounds as immense as the regions that fall within the geographic space called “the Andes,” whose diversity (in geographic, linguistic, social, political, and cultural terms) has long been underscored in this vast area where “all but a few generalizations . . . are problematic” (Turino, 2004, p. 124) and “musical meaning must be studied at the local level” (Turino, 2004, p. 141).

However, the main challenge facing any attempt to address this issue can be seen in the treatment of “that variety,” the difficulty of which may best be illustrated with the case of studies of songs (Rivera, 2016). For example, and as a rule, the compilations of songs with indigenous roots in the Andes tend to assume that these songs, first, are primarily composed of “words”—instead of, for example, unarticulated human voices such as yells, cries (Orobitg, 2015), high-pitched voices, whispers (Turino, 2004, p. 134; Lewy, Brabec, and García, 2015, p. 12), “syllabic singing” (Arce, 2014, p. 15), “whooping and . . . cries” (Stobart, 2011a, p. 219; see also Butterworth, 2014, p. 141)—and second, that they are distinct from one another because of different “titles” or “verses” (Degregori and Oetling, 1979; Montoya, Montoya, and Montoya, 1997; Lienhard, 2005). Thus, few scholars (Quijada, 1957; Vivanco, 2012; Bernand, 2015) have let themselves be led by what they have found, such as the indistinct or interchangeable use of certain lyrical segments, and we are aware of none that have addressed something as crucial as the problem of the authorship—not always human—of the songs as happens in Amazonia.

A second example (quite familiar in other Amerindian regions) concerns something as elementary as what a musical instrument is. Is a musical instrument in the Andes something that is “used” by human beings to emit sounds, or is it itself a non-human agent with its own, unique, needs and intentions? Furthermore, who makes it possible for these “instruments” to work properly? The people we call “musicians” or non-human entities in charge of tuning them (usually at night)? Taking ethnography seriously allows us to ask other questions. Isn’t what makes an instrument “sound good” (that is, what makes it audible), a kind of opposition between the origins of the materials with which it is crafted (such as the hides of a predator and a prey, or the wood of a mountain tree and a plains tree)?

In addition to these questions about such fundamental aspects as the nature of what produces sound and what allows a melody to exist, we could cite yet a third example, that which concerns what has been called “[strategic] bilateral processes of separatism” (Turino, 2004, p. 141) or, more precisely, a “sound signature” (Bellenger, 2007, pp. 81–83): “internal markers” or “successive retouches” that are used to identify specific groups, *ayllus*, or “localized communities and regions” (Turino, 2004, p. 123; see also Stobart, 2001 [1996], p. 95). The variations between these “standards” are minimal, but are highly prized for those with a well-trained ear: They highlight “the aesthetic principle that subtle changes mark major differences,” as Turino (2004, p. 137) puts it. In fact, “similar instruments used during the same festival are not interchangeable from one *ayllu* to another given that the instruments were conceived for each *ayllu* and confer on the *ayllu* their own particular signature sound” (Bellenger, 2007, p. 234).¹ We can extend the above analysis to ask what the most relevant unit of analysis would be in the case of songs. Where does one melody end and another begin? In other words, where does one musical instrument end and another begin? In short, considering the possibility of radical differences in Andean music (which does not necessarily have to expunge those aspects which are shared with the European world) requires us to reflectively reformulate the conceptual tools that we use. This is what has been suggested by those scholars trying to integrate “the sonic and the musical” (Brabec, 2012, p. 79) in a theory in which “the audible . . . is the tool for achieving mimesis, transformation, and the construction of worlds” (Brabec, 2012, p. 96). Let us remember here that in the earliest mythical accounts of the Andes, music (and dance) are at the core of the transformation of non-human beings into animals (Arguedas, 1966).

Thus, given our awareness that this cosmos is as diverse as it is unexplored—and being cognizant of the boldness of our venture—we can now turn to how we will approach it. First, we wish to note the richness of Andean musical instruments, not so much from the more common ones (Bellenger, 1980, 1982) but primarily from those that are less visible (because of the context in which they appear, their material simplicity, or the region where they are found).

After this tally of the materialities of music in the Andes, we shall address its audible dimensions. First, we will consider the existence of an Andean theory of audibility, that is, of what makes “music” possible: the aspects related to the tuning of the musical instruments (overseen by non-human entities) and the “living” (or “agential”) nature of “instruments,” which have needs of their own (for alcohol, water, or tobacco, for example).

Second, we shall examine the different frontiers between the audible and how they shape the ways in which they can mingle with or interrupt each other. We shall stress three kinds of frontiers which usually occur in Andean music: the division between male and female genders (*qari* and *warmi*), the age distribution across youth and adult (*maqta* and *runa*) and the frontier between contexts (local rural rituals and global folkloric shows).

We will then show how these frontiers not only interact with or are superimposed upon each other but also how they clash with one another or even try to eliminate each other. We will illustrate this clash or interruptions or dissonances in the dimension of the audible, evoking recent perspectives on the entanglement and suppression of ontologies (Blaser, 2009).



Figure 29.1 Chirimía player, Cañarís

Photo credit: Juan Javier Rivera Andía.

Finally, we shall revisit the clashes mentioned above to show how certain dynamics of the patrimonial appropriation of “traditional” or “indigenous” music can express not only the fetishization of Andean “culture” but also a veritable hierarchical order of what should be preserved and what can be discarded in the music of this region (Bessire, 2014).

We have not set out to list or gloss a “typology” of the music of the Andes that strives to classify it into “song genres” (Baumann, 1996, p. 18), “rhythms,” “melodies,” “dances,” or “performances” (such as *huaynos*, *mulisas*, *carnavales*, *takis*, *chicha* and many more) (Romero, 2007 [2000], pp. 448–453; Bernand, 2015). Nor are we interested in spotlighting the “identity” dimension of music (distinguishing, for example, an “indigenous” sphere from a “mestizo” one). We believe that before proposing an unproductive musical typology we must analyze the basic components of what we call Andean music; that is, its material expressions (its organology), its forms of audibility (theories of music), its most common frontiers (gender, age and context) and the clashes and politics that come into play.

THE MATERIALITIES OF MUSIC: VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE INSTRUMENTS

Below we provide examples of those instruments which are made and used locally in the Andes—this excludes manufactured ones that are usually found in

“European-derived wind ensembles or bands” (Robles, 2000; Olsen, 2007b [2000], p. 48; Yep, 2015). The first are the drum called *tinya* and the shawm called *dulzaina*, which are two of the most widespread musical instruments in the Andes: the former has indigenous roots—as appears in the well-known drawing of Guaman Poma—while the second originally comes from Europe.² We then examine two other instruments (one string and one wind) which illustrate the opposite: while these instruments are deeply rooted in indigenous Andean communities, they have remained relatively unknown in Andean ethnography to date. As we shall see, here, too, one of them is clearly European inspired, while the other can only be Amerindian.

The shawm (see Figure 29.1), which is classified in the “Mapa de los instrumentos musicales del Perú” (henceforth MIM) devised by the National Culture Institute, as an “oboe, isolated, conical tube, with holes” (Instituto Nacional de Cultura INC, 1978, p. 253; see also Olsen, 2004, pp. 304, 316–318), and its existence has been documented since the start of the Viceroyalty of Peru. In the sixteenth century, the shawm was played by the “Indians” on the occasion of several important activities, such as the “election of mayors, acts of faith, student parades, parades of the royal banner” and even, as in Lima on June 15, 1556, to welcome a viceroy (Jiménez Borja, 1951, p. 46; Stevenson, 1968, p. 289). This wind instrument is referred to in other regions of Peru, and the Spanish-speaking Americas, as a *chirisuya*, *dulzaina* or *chirimía* (INC, 1978, p. 253). The latter name seems to prevail in the northern Peruvian Andes (Jiménez Borja, 1951, pp. 46–48; INC, 1978, p. 253) and in the Ecuadorian Andes (Tobar, 1981, p. 42), as well as in Central America (McNett, 1960) and Spain.

According to the MIM, the *tinya*³ is classified among “framed drums, without handles, with two drumheads” (INC, 1978, p. 102). These “vertically held drums . . . often with a single beater and a snare of string, and sometimes porcupine quills” are found in practically the whole of the Andes. In some regions, it is played by itself, such as in the cattle branding rites (Romero, 2007 [2000], p. 442; Rivera, 2003). However, in other settings, it can be played in consort with another instrument (Stobart, 2007 [2000], p. 422). The other instrument, which may even be played by the same person, is often a wind instrument (like the *pinkullu* or flute) (Parejo-Coudert, 2001), but can also be an idiophone (like the maraca) (see Figure 29.2). In some cases, only the leather drumhead is hit without touching the rim or hoop, but in others, the drumhead is hit alternatively with the rim or hoop, thus producing two contrasting, alternating sounds (INC, 1978; p. 105).

The *tinya* is precisely what seems to have replaced another instrument in the middle of last century, one that was played in the cattle branding ritual in Mantaro Valley (Junín, Peru). It was half a gourd which was beaten while held floating face down in water (Rivera, 2003, pp. 514–520). Unlike this instrument, of which only oral testimony remains (as it died out without ever being described), the *cañareja* and the *kinran pinkullu* are Andean instruments which we have directly observed. If they have remained invisible until today, it might be due to the lack of ethnographic documentation which still affects several regions in the Andes.

The first, the *cañareja*, is a string instrument only present in the Lambayeque mountains and had not been described until very recently (Rivera, 2013).⁴ Because of its morphological features and sounds, it is unique in the Andes. Its crafting process must follow strict prescriptions (such as sexual abstinence and the avoidance of



Figure 29.2 Drum and maraca, Incahuasi, 2009

Photo credit: Juan Javier Rivera Andía.

products that “burst” as they are being prepared, such as toasted corn). Those who craft and play the *cañareja* are men, almost always over the age of 50, but women are the main recipients of its music, since the purpose of this instrument is to seduce young women—as is the case among other chordophones in the Southern Andes (Turino, 2004, p. 135; Stobart, 2007 [2000], pp.418, 424, 430)—or to play “a central role in establishing and maintaining the special frame that makes the amorous activities possible” (Turino, 1983, p. 94).

The second “invisible” instrument, the *kinran pinkullu*, is a transverse flute manufactured and known only in some farms in the northern Andes of Peru, with very few active performers (Rivera, 2011). While *pinkullu* is the generic name for the flutes of the Andes (Olsen, 2002, p.36),⁵ *kinran* is often translated as “inclined” or “reclining,” alluding to the position in which this instrument is played. In the Andes, the *kinran pinkullu* has two characteristics which distinguish it from all the known cases to date:⁶ one is its morphology and the other is its exclusive association with a female descent, which involves a not so common individual performance with an

“entertainment function” (Olsen, 2004, pp. 294–296; Turino, 2004, p. 126; Stobart, 2008, pp. 70–72).

Indeed, the MIM does not even mention the existence of a transverse flute that is closed on both ends (INC, 1978, p. 220), as is the case of the *kinran pinkullu*. Furthermore, it only has two holes. In contrast, in the transverse flutes recorded in the MIM, the number of holes ranges from five (in the “*quena través*” from Pomabamba, Ancash; the *pífano* from Cuzco; and the *pito* from Apurímac) to eight (in the flute from San Martín and the Amazon region).⁷ In sum, despite the variety of transverse flutes in the Andes, there seem to be no ethnographic cases similar to the *kinran pinkullu* (Olsen, 2002, p. 136; Rivera, 2011). Surprisingly, other pre-Columbian transverse flutes do seem identical to the *kinran pinkullu* (Jiménez Borja, 1951, pp. 120, 138; Stevenson, 1968, pp. 256–268; Olsen, 2002, pp. 135–139; Bolaños, 2007, p. 87), as “they consist of tubes which are closed of both ends. The proximal end is the blow-hole, at the distal end two stops” (Izikowitz, 1935, p. 300). The transverse flutes from the Amazon region also have a morphology similar to that of the *kinran pinkullu*; they tend to be sealed on both ends and have few finger holes. The Aguaruna transverse flute, for example, seems to be practically identical to the *kinran pinkullu* (INC, 1978, p. 483). In short, because of its morphology, the *kinran pinkullu* is closer to the transverse flute played in pre-Columbian coastal societies and contemporary Amazonian villages than the ones recorded in other regions of the Andes.⁸

WHAT MAKES MUSIC POSSIBLE? NON-HUMAN TUNING OF INSTRUMENTS

“[T]he various forms of music played by humans are ultimately presented as expressions of the earth and landscape rather than originating from human creativity” (Stobart, 2006, p. 102). In the Andes, what is it that makes a musical instrument itself audible? That is, from an indigenous perspective, what is it that allows what we call “music” to exist? To understand what it means that musical sound is often said to be the manifestation or voice of spirits (Stobart, 2007 [2000], p. 426), that “the performers may or may not be hybrid humans or spirits, and the instruments themselves spirits” (Seeger, 2007 [2000], p. 56. See also Seeger, 1987), or that “among most native South American people, spirits have an especially musical language” (Olsen, 2007a [2000], p. 30), we shall point to two elements.

The literature repeatedly, albeit not necessarily in a very scholarly fashion, attests to the practice of leaving musical instruments (especially string instruments, but also wind and percussion) in particular places the night before they are played. These spaces tend to be near running water (for example, by the shore of a waterfall, a bridge over a stream, or caverns where crosses associated with springs are venerated). According to these sources, the purpose of this practice is for certain non-human entities—sometimes personified as devils or Sirens, “the source of all music” (Turino, 1983, p. 96)⁹—to tune the instrument (Mamani, 1996, p. 225; Stobart, 1994, p. 45; Millones and Tomoeda, 2004; Olsen, 2007b [2000], p. 43).

But non-humans are in charge not only of producing music appropriately; the composition or even the very manufacture of some musical instruments also requires the prior intervention of other non-human entities. For example, a chili, a clove of garlic, the body of a bird (Jiménez Borja, 1951), a snake’s head or tail (Turino,

1983, p. 96) or even a red cockerel's blood (Stobart, 2006, p. 102) might be placed inside the instrument. In other cases, more than incorporating a thing within the instrument in a somewhat supplementary fashion, the material itself holds this element. This occurs, for example, with the wood with which some of the flutes in the northern Andes are made. This wood must come from a tree where specific rites are practiced (candles are lit under its trunk, and bags of soil from the visitor's land, wool from their sheep and even hair from their family members are left on its branches to protect them).

When manufacturing string instruments (such as the *cañareja* described above), it is considered necessary to use at least two kinds of wood, which must bear a particular relationship to each other. That is, the wood for the cover and bottom must come from trees that grow at different ecological strata. For example, if alder is used to make the case, cedar must be used for the bottom. Only in this way will the *cañareja* be able to “sound.”

This requirement is reminiscent of the case of the *tinya*'s drumheads, which must come from contrasting animals. Indeed, in different regions of the Andes (Villarreal, 1959; Quijada, 1957; INC, 1978, p. 104; Quijada 1982 [1944]), the drumheads of a *tinya* must not only be made from different hides, but from animals regarded as antagonistic. In this way, they explain, the hides of a dog and a fox, for example, will beat each other. And this clash or antagonism between two living beings (either animal or plant) is what will make it possible for an instrument, such as the *tinya* or the *cañareja*, to produce music.

If, as we see, the appropriate tuning of a musical instrument requires non-human entities, it should come as no surprise that the way a person who ultimately plays the instrument learns to do so would follow a similar principle (Seeger, 1987). Who teaches one how to play an instrument? The music of the *kinran pinkullu*, described above, is taught to women by the “charms” (*encantos*), entities that allow them to listen to their melodies on mist-shrouded hills. Men were taught to play the *bombito* of Colcamar by a bird locally known as the *waycho* (Pugliesi, Gómez, and Martínez, 2012). In other regions of the Andes, not only music but also dance appears to be taught to men by non-human entities; for example, in the *herranza* of Chancay valley, the participants in the ritual follow the patterns of the partridge celebrations near lagoons (Rivera, 2013). In Bolivia, Stobart was told that melodies “come to you when you are near a river, maybe at night, while you rest, as in a dream” (Stobart, 2010, p. 199). The same author has suggested a full circuit in which “players . . . primarily serve as vehicles” since music is not only “the voice of the landscape” (i.e., the sound produced by certain flutes made of canes considered as mountain's bones) but it is also destined for the landscape (Stobart, 2006, pp. 103–105). Finally, such a cycle would concur with what authors working in South American lowlands have recently called trans-specific communication (Schoer, Brabec, and Lewy, 2014, p. 18), aiming to take seriously Amerindian worldings (ways of being in the world) in contrast to those authors who see musicians' performances as “pretending to be” (Romero, 2013, p. 17) something that they are not.

In addition to the agency of non-humans in the tuning of instruments, the instruments themselves are personified and provided with intentions. In a recently published ethnography, a story is included in which a musical instrument “comes to life” and battles to defend its owner (Pilco, 2012, p. 90). This is nothing other than one of the many expressions of a concept of Andean musical instruments as possessors of

agency, as living beings with needs of their own. In fact, it is not only that when the pieces comprising an instrument are described, they evince a scheme that refers to the parts of the human body (Stobart, 1994, p. 40; Rivera, 2013), or that when an instrument is no longer being played (because it is either damaged or missing a piece), it is said to be dead. It is also the very presence of certain qualities shared by humans in these instruments.

For example, in the mountains of Lima (Peru), a hole is made in the hoop of drums so that tobacco smoke can be blown inside the instrument the night before the livestock rituals (Rivera, 2003). In other regions, “[the drum] is perfumed with cigar smoke ‘to warm it up’” (Jiménez, 1951). In the case of wind instruments, they share a need, not only human but also common to a particular gender. Thus, water must be introduced into the transverse flutes played by women; in contrast, the flutes played by men need *eau-de-vie* (Rivera, 2015). Only by this “warming up” these instruments (Pugliesi, Gómez, and Martínez, 2012, p. 76) is it possible to get the right sound, or a sound “powerful” enough to be heard from afar (Jiménez Borja, 1951, p. 45; Stobart, 1994, p. 41).

Finally, recall the role of the northern Andean *cañareja* in seducing women (Rivera, 2013). A similar ideology which associates the sound of this string instrument with courting young women has been found in the southern Andes (Turino, 1983; Grassler, 1997, p.42), a region where flutes also have a similar role (Stobart, 2010, p.197). In the northern Andes, the story of the attraction this instrument exerted is canonical: a boy from the outside plays his *cañareja* in such a way that the girl he likes can hear it. However, only if the young man manages to play in the style in which she (and the women of her village) sings will the woman give herself to him.

Bearing in mind what allows an instrument to be properly tuned and the right melody to be learned, we can better understand the extent to which the agent in this game of seduction between men and women is a kind of coupling or sound harmonization (either the male *cañareja* or the female song) (Stobart, 2008, pp. 74–75; Bernand, 2009, p. 89) rather than the instrument itself. We will now turn to the sexual division of music in the Andes.

USUAL COORDINATES OF THE STUDY OF THE AUDIBLE IN THE ANDES

There is no comprehensive map of Andean organology but only some national efforts that briefly mention some of the most notable frontiers associated with them (INC, 1978; Bellenger, 1980; 1982). Here we shall mention three kinds of frontiers, none of them geographic but all of them equally fundamental and undeniably important in Andean musical expressions: gender, age, and performance contexts.

The exceptionalism of an instrument like the *kinran pinkullu*, described above, highlights a fairly common pattern in the Andes, and perhaps in South American Amerindian societies in general (Chaumeil, 2007; Hill and Chaumeil, 2011), in which the role of musician—especially in the case of aerophones (Romero, 2007 [2000], p. 442, Olsen 2007a [2000], p. 31)—is usually assigned to men (Olsen, 2004, p. 269; Grassler, 1997, p. 42). Regarding women, it has been said that it is much more common to find them in charge of singing and dance (Baumann, 1996, p. 18; Stobart, 2007 [2000], pp. 429–430; Cohen and Wissler, 2007 [2000], p. 471)

and that their singing has an important influence on human activities, animal well-being and the development of crops (Stobart, 1994; Arce, 2014, p.4).¹⁰ This kind of sexual division of music is in line with other distinct assessments of the genders which include, for example, different forms of communication with non-humans, which are expressed in both the requirements to establish this communication and its justification (Rivera, 2015).

An increasing access to new musical trends and the technological possibilities of dissemination (digital and virtual) (Stobart, 2011b, p. 335) appears to have fostered the musical “cosmopolitanism” expressed by an interest in instruments and rhythms from distant cities and regions (Ortiz Rescaniere, 1999). Today, virtually everybody carries their own portable musical set. Instead of news or debates, what they are listening to is a more or less fixed repertoire of songs that is heterogeneous and endlessly repeated, and accompanied by constant greetings that young lovers like to send each other. Even youth from the more isolated regions tend to keep abreast of a surprising variety of rhythms, from regional “folkloric singers” to Caribbean “Latin pop” bands or Protestant missionaries-influenced hymns in indigenous languages (Seeger, 2007 [2000], p. 57; Stobart, 2011a; Butterworth 2014).

These two age group tendencies bring together different musical instruments and performance contexts,¹¹ and seem to point to a generation gap in terms of musical preferences and the knowledge needed to make and play certain local instruments. On the one hand, we have a set of locally made musical instruments that are played by adults and the elderly, who regard them as ancient and of their own, that have a primarily ritual performance context, are restricted to the local sphere, and tend to be the object of regional or national exoticization. These instruments are usually expressed in rural rituals around non-human entities (like Catholic images, “spirits” of the mountains or lakes) that embed their participants in practices in which land ownership, agriculture, and exchanges of labor and services are stressed as sources of wealth.

On the other hand, there is a set of (mainly electronic) instruments (Olsen, 2007b [2000], p. 51) which are regarded as foreign and recently acquired, are played by young people and tend to have a performance context associated with radio broadcasts and concerts or “folkloric spectacles” organized and sponsored by outside agents (from public schools and city councils to mining companies and religious orders) who are relatively able to access urban commodities (Turino, 2004, p. 136, 2008; Romero, 2007 [2000], p. 453). It has been stated that at least since the early twentieth century, “the impact of these media is so widespread that it is difficult to imagine musical life without them” (Seeger, 2007 [2000], p. 63). Below we shall address precisely the most common contexts in which these two kinds of instruments appear.

Even though they may vary considerably, the rural contexts of music can be grouped according to their association with three kinds of cycles: religious, economic, and life (Seeger, 2007 [2000], pp. 59–60).¹² The music associated with religious cycles (that is, the countless local adaptations of the Catholic festive calendar) might be one of the most broadly distributed: “The foremost musical thread, perhaps, is a strong religious belief in Roman Catholicism” (Olsen, 2007c [2000], p. 273). It also encompasses a considerable variety, including both songs with lyrics in extinct indigenous languages and evangelizing “liturgical songs” (Pilco, 2012; Millones and Tomoeda, 2004, p. 21).

In reality, much less is known about the music we find in rituals related to the economic and life cycles (Romero, 2013). Some information on the former can be found in ethnographies of the rituals related to irrigation (known as *champerías*, “clean irrigation ditches” or “water festival”) (Tello and Miranda, 1923; Vivanco, 2012), sowing crops (Arce, 2014, p. 4) and livestock (Quijada, 1957; Rivera, 2003, 2014). Stobart (2007 [2000], p. 426) notes that “Musical instruments are often believed to influence agricultural production directly, and their sound is considered to affect the weather.” In rural contexts, economic cycles are usually closely related to what ethnography has more generally called “times of year” (Turino, 2004, p. 127), “seasons” (frequently divided in two: rainy and dry) (Stobart, 1994, pp. 37–38; Sánchez, 1996, p. 83; Seeger, 2007 [2000], p. 60; Parejo-Coudert, 2001), or “the agricultural cycle and other cyclical activities or celebrations” (Stobart, 2007 [2000], p. 426), which would “determine the kinds of musical instruments, melodies, and dances that should be performed” (Baumann, 2004, p. 102. See also Baumann, 1996, p. 19). In sum, “musical performance is contextualized activity. Each form of song, instrumental music or dance is appropriate to a specific time or function” (Stobart, 1994, p. 36).

There is even less specific information available about the music associated with life cycle rites, such as children’s first haircut (mentioned at least as early as Garcilaso de la Vega), marriage (Ulfe, 1997), the inauguration of the marital home (known as *wasichakuy*, *flechada* or *zafa casa*) (Gose, 1991) and funerals (Romero, 2013, pp. 27–28). To our knowledge, there are no comparative studies that analyze the various versions of the aforementioned rituals.¹³

In contrast to those ethnographic shortcomings, the study of the representations of indigenous peoples in the folklore market, their relationship with identity negotiations, and the performance of the stereotypes associated to the globalization and the mercantilization of indigenous music have been more frequently studied (Romero, 2001; Mendoza, 2008). The strategies of appropriation used by these musicians and their listeners have been analyzed from interpretative frameworks like class and ethnicity, mercantilism, appropriation, tourism, exoticism, or the binomial of domination and resistance. They show how, since the middle of the past century, “Andean music” performed by folkloric groups has become globalized and increasingly transnational, referred to as a sort of “Chinese food of ethnic music,” in allusion to its ubiquity, traditional nature, flavor and low cost (Bigenho, 2012, p. 62). Indeed, some of these groups deal not only with the stereotypes of the market but also with economic precariousness, and appropriate tunes which they themselves regard as foreign, or even false, such as dancing to “techno” sounds while dressed as North American Indians (Bigenho, 2012, pp. 33–169). Regarding the followers and fans of this music, no matter whether they are consumers or producers, they tend to allude to the nostalgia for something lost or absent in what they call urban “modern life” and to seek a non-capitalist cultural alternative (Bigenho, 2012, pp. 34, 111).

A FINAL NOTE ON FETISHIZATION AND RADICAL ALTERITY

Certainly, the two analytical spaces mentioned above, the rural and the transnational, are neither isolated nor impermeable. “Commercial huayno,” for instance, is

“an expression of contemporary indigenous experience” (Butterworth, 2014, p. 147). Nevertheless, their compatibility does not necessarily allow us to postulate an “Andean agency and a form of economic and cultural empowerment” (Butterworth, 2014, pp. 145–146) based on the “opportunities afforded by capitalism and the language of spectacle” (Butterworth, 2014, p. 134). To the contrary, I think that recognizing how deeply intertwined with each other these spaces are would entail the acknowledgement of the asymmetries that permeate Andean musical expressions today.

If we pay attention to, for example, those moments when folkloric contests and religious rituals take place simultaneously, we could notice that their respective participants and audiences enact what defines and distinguishes them. Their aim to stabilize themselves and suppress the other becomes not only more visible, but above all more audible. Contemporary Andean musical expressions are asymmetrically affected, organized, and confronted by this frontier and divergence between contexts—and this asymmetry is expressed in aural terms. The sound of the huge loudspeakers at spectacles or contests—whose echoes reach several kilometers—can take over the entire surrounding space suppressing the audibility of hand-made musical instruments played during rituals. Their participants, including those that have to dance, are almost literally deafened, since their auditory link with the source of music is interrupted or at least lessened. This asymmetrical interruption between sounds expresses a clash between those intertwined worldings and cosmologies that make them meaningful (Blaser, 2009, p. 11).

Another aspect of this clash between the rural Amerindian Andes and globalized folklore is to be found in the production of “traditional Andean music” that omits the unequal conditions and relationships through which it was made possible, and that limits itself to the thrill of the exotic or taken for granted genres or political-administrative demarcations. Recordings, in this case, become such an “eagerly sought object and diabolic fetish” (Bessire 2014, p. 35) that it does not have much importance if musicians consider them to be incomplete (Stobart, 2008, p. 87) or disappointing (Martínez, 2014). A “frank manipulation” (Díaz and Tomé, 2007, p. 17) oversees many of those recordings made in rural areas (Ministerio de Cultura, 2014; Pugliesi, Gómez, and Martínez, 2012) with the stated intention to “safeguard the intangible heritage” but without taking seriously the fact that “musical performance is essentially a socializing activity in which general participation and interaction are encouraged . . . [and that] The notion of a soloist is contrary to many traditional highland musical practices” (Stobart, 2007 [2000], p. 432). This kind of safeguarding, therefore, just standardizes multiplicity.

If “what we call music or musical instruments may not always be considered music or musical instruments by the people of the cultures themselves” (Olsen, 2007b [2000], p. 39), studying Andean musical expressions needs a constant reflection on the appropriateness of its analytical tools (Stobart, 1994, pp. 35–36; Holbraad, 2014). Only then will we be able to investigate the perceptions and categories of the different senses and their axiomatic systems (Lewy, Brabec, and García, 2015, p. 10) “in order to receive, describe, analyse and understand the use of sound techniques that transform and manipulate the environment” (Lewy, Brabec, and García 2015, p. 20) and “the land” (Stobart, 2006, p. 99).

Finally, this reflective call—that some scholars have labelled as “sonic perspectivism,” “ambient multinaturalism,” (Brabec, 2012, p. 73), or “sonorism” (Lewy, 2015, p. 85)—merges with the importance of being aware of the “social afterlives of prior analytic categories” (Bessire, 2014, pp. 228–229) regarding the musical expressions

we study. If we forget this, future studies on Andean music might end up trivializing the analyses that are so deeply needed in this region today.

NOTES

- 1 This is reminiscent of the old debate on the presence of the pentatonic scale in the Andes. According to various authors, it is “pervasive” (Romero, 2013, p. 6) but not dominant (Stevenson, 1968), as was proposed by Castro (1938 [1898]), Alviña (1929 [1908]), D’Harcourt and D’Harcourt (1990 [1925]), and Ferrier, 2012, p. 142) based on romantic (Olsen, 2002, pp. 37–38) and evolutionist (Romero, 2012, p. 295) assumptions.
- 2 Nevertheless, Olsen considers the use of shawms (in Peru and Guatemala) as representing “a continuity rather than a cultural borrowing” (2007b [2000], p. 43).
- 3 Other recorded names include: *tinguia*, *tinyacha*, *tintaya*, *wancartinya*, *huancartinya*, and *caja* (INC, 1978, p. 103). Regarding the relationship between pre-Columbian societies in Peru and the development and distribution of the drum in the Americas, see Izikowitz (1931).
- 4 Romero (1996) published a recording of two brief fragments of songs played on this instrument. However, neither the leaflet accompanying them nor the associated documentary (Cánepa, 1991) describe the morphology of this instrument or provide any images of it.
- 5 Note that “Native Americans . . . developed the largest number and greatest diversity of aerophones . . . [and that] Native America [is] . . . a geographic unit dominated by aerophones as the major nonvocal, melodic sound makers” (Olsen, 2004, pp. 261–262).
- 6 Here we shall only discuss transverse flutes made of wood, not those made of metal used in military-inspired bands (INC, 1978, p. 225; Otter, 1985, p. 94). The morphologic similarities between the *kinran pinkullu* and an instrument like the *tunda* (founded in Imbabura and Pichincha, Ecuador) have yet to be examined (Olsen, 2004, p. 295).
- 7 They seem to be the heirs of the traditional transverse flute from Europe, where it became common in the seventeenth century (Wilmotte, 2009). According to Izikowitz (1935, pp. 297–303), all the indigenous Andean transverse flutes date from after contact with Europe.
- 8 The reasons for this interesting morphological similarity in both loci could be studied following the analytical methods suggested by Carneiro da Cunha (2012).
- 9 On the variations of the association of Siren-music and its European and indigenous resonances, see Turino (1983), and Stobart 2010 [2006]. On the sound and bodily characteristics of the practice of learning to play music, see Martínez (2000, pp. 179–181).
- 10 However, there is one indigenous instrument that is traditionally played by women: the *tinya* (INC 1978, pp. 107–108; Rivera, 2003, pp. 190, 191–194, 517; Turino 2004, p. 127; Stobart 2008, p. 70). Regarding wind instruments, I am aware of one played by women: the *erqe* of the *jalq’as* of Bolivia (Martínez, 1994).
- 11 Are we witnessing the displacement of a certain “tradition” by a set of new acquisitions (Arce 2014: 12–13)? Or is this hypothesis of the abandonment of a “tradition” rather an echo of a local ideology on the passage of time (Ortiz Rescaniere, 1995)? Is there a coexistence of contrasting age groups which would express a competition or distribution of roles (Romero, 2007; Ferrier, 2010; Butterworth, 2014)?
- 12 On two other important contexts, leisure and tourism (Seeger 2007 [2000], p. 53), see the next section.
- 13 Nevertheless, there is one characteristic that is frequently highlighted: how several performers can play simultaneously yet independently; that is, without seeking synchrony or a harmonious whole. They simply play different tunes. And if they are performing the same song, they are played separately (Martínez, 1994; Pilco, 2012; Martínez, 2014) or in “overlapping ‘disregard’ for each other” (Cohen and Wissler, 2007 [2000], pp. 466–471). “Rich, dense, and often dissonant tonal color is sometimes consciously added by an instrument that plays in parallel to the rest of the ensemble, but at a dissonant interval” (Stobart, 2007 [2000], p. 432). This feature has received many names: “dense unison,” “heterophony,” “parallel polyphony,” “melodic group variation,” or “free imitation” (Turino, 2004, p. 124, Olsen, 2004, p. 267). Instead, in the case of ritual singing, authors like Arce see in this lack of synchrony a sign of an imminent extinction (2014, p. 17).

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CHAPTER THIRTY

ENVISAGING ANDEAN INDIGENEITY THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHIC AND AUDIOVISUAL TECHNOLOGIES



Gabriela Zamorano Villarreal

INTRODUCTION

It is a challenge to do justice to the large and complex history of photography and film produced in Andean countries over the last century and a half.¹ Rather than attempt to present a whole overview of these histories, this essay briefly approaches six different moments that have been crucial for delineating specific nationalist and indigenous imaginaries about the Andes: racial, picturesque, and studio photography from 1880 to 1920; early cinema, including silent and documentary production from 1920 to 1950; revolutionary and militant cinema from 1950 to 1980; indigenous and collaborative film movements from 1990 to the present; popular images from the 1990s to the present; and contemporary film, photographic, and archival work.

Drawing from Deborah Poole's concept of "visual economies" (1997), I pay attention to how the production and circulation processes of images constitute forms of exchange that take part in and obtain value from other forms of power and inequality that have defined the history of the region. For this purpose, I examine the dialogues that some representative cases establish with previous and contemporary "visual repertoires" (Mraz, 2009) or "image worlds" (Poole, 1997, p. 7) circulating in the region. As Patricia Spyer and Margaret Steedly suggest (2013), paying attention to how images "move" involves both analyzing their forms of circulation, as well as looking at how they generate affects that contribute to commonsensical feelings and political imaginaries.

I concur with Poole's suggestion to reflect on "the astounding number and variety of images and image-objects through which that place called 'the Andes' has been both imagined and desired, marginalized and forgotten, by people on both sides of the Atlantic" (1997, p. 7). This involves thinking of how these diverse representations relate to concrete national and regional histories, as well as to the differentiated attention they have received from European and other international publics. For instance, in their analysis of Andean visual imaginaries in Chile, Alvarado et al. (2012) note that while the presence of some indigenous peoples such as those living in Mapuche and Land of Fire regions was recurrent in early photography, highlands and desert people were rather absent from these records despite their presence in written sources.²

Understanding how the “Andean region” is geographically defined has been a methodological challenge for writing this piece. While this essay mainly draws on representative cases from Bolivia, where most of my work has centered, I also make references to literature and photographic and audiovisual work produced about Ecuador, Peru and, less frequently, about Colombia, Chile, Argentina, and Venezuela.

SCIENTIFIC PORTRAITURE: BETWEEN RACIAL AND PICTURESQUE (1880–1920)

The origin of front and side photographic shots goes back to the origins of photography itself. Aside from the artistic and social uses of photographic portraiture, in the late nineteenth century scientists found in this technology a way to produce evidence in fields such as medicine, psychology, criminology, and anthropology (e.g., Sekula 1986; Edwards, Harvey, and Wade, 2010). For that purpose, scientists wrote numerous “scientific instructions” to produce the most accurate pictures for purposes of analysis, comparison, enlargement, and reproduction.

In this context, scientists from France, Germany, England, and other European countries, often in collaboration with local elites based in South America, organized scientific missions such as the ones led by French ethnologist Créqui Montfort in Bolivia in 1903 (Zamorano, 2011); priest and ethnologist Martin Gusinde in Tierra del Fuego, Chile (Palma, 2013); Jean-Louis Doze and Edmond-Joseph-Augustin Payen for the Cape Horn Scientific Expedition in Argentina and Chile (Giordano, 2012); and Hermann Ten Kate for the Scientific Expedition to Patagonia (Giordano, 2012), among many others.

Although similar missions had begun in the late seventeenth century, such as the ones led by Alcide d’Orbigny and Alexander Von Humboldt that registered their findings through drawings (Poole, 1997), the ones mentioned above introduced the use of photography as a new and arguably more accurate system of capturing data. Equipped with the most advanced technologies for measuring and recording, these missions were often charged with compiling all sort of geological, botanical, zoological, archeological, and human “specimens” (which included bones and skulls, but also sometimes persons) that could be transported, analyzed, and displayed in the emerging European museums (Riviale, 2000).

European and North American ethnographers during the last decades of the eighteenth century also toured South America, often with teams of assistants, to study local populations and obtain objects and records, such as body measurements and portraits. Both missions and individual ethnographers had an ambivalent relationship with photography: while they were interested in compiling and producing photos of people in their ordinary activities and places, most of them produced front and side portraits of local peoples’ faces and bodies according to conventions suggested by scientific instructions. Interestingly, many anthropometrical or racial portraits achieved powerful, intimate, and aesthetic images, as Giordano suggests in the case of photographer Jules Koswolski working for the Patagonian expedition (2012, pp.30–31). While pictures of every-day life were known as “picturesque”, the ones produced for scientific purposes were known as “racial portraits” (Chervin, 1908), aimed at producing evidence of physiological variations that could prove, together with body measurements, skin, eyes and hair color, and other demographic and medical information, the existence of diverse “racial types.”

Although based on European human evolutionist studies that reinforced colonial and imperialist arguments of white people's superiority, racial debates within Latin America from the late nineteenth century were adopted by post-independence elites who sought to legitimize creole domination over indigenous populations. Thus, racial studies, together with the powerful images they produced and circulated helped reorganize "internal colonial hierarchies" (Larson, 2004, p. 14) and reinforced the argument that indigenous peoples' "racial inferiority" could threaten the values and benefits promoted by modern nation-state projects, such as economic progress, unity, development, and liberal education (Larson, 2004). In spite of the incidence of racial portraiture in racial studies, it is worth emphasizing the heterogeneous and often contradictory character of these debates: some argued that indigenous peoples were racially inferior and that they had a more temperamental, rebellious, disobedient, or "traitorous" character based on their particular physiognomies or climate adaptive qualities, while others claimed that this character was the result of historical oppression they had suffered (Zamorano, 2011). In any case, debates over race centered on the so-called "Indian problem," that is, the anxieties of elites in charge of designing the emerging liberal national projects to know how to "include," "civilize," or "domesticate" ethnic difference and economic inequality in order to create one single nation, often envisioned as mestizo (Larson, 2004).³

Racial arguments soon lost relevance within anthropology and by 1910, authors like Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski insisted on the impossibility of photographic technologies to demonstrate racial theories, and on the irrelevance of racial theories in themselves. Nevertheless, the production and circulation of these kinds of images as argued proof of indigenous peoples' inferiority were crucial for disseminating racial imaginaries that are still present throughout Latin America.

Travelers, ethnographers, scientists, religious missions, and local photographers also produced photographs that some described as "picturesque" (Chervin, 1908), and which were generally circulated as postcards. Among these, an important genre consisted of occupational portraits that sought to document the wide variety of trades or occupations in these countries.⁴ "Picturesque" photographs included early portraiture and registration of ethnographic-like, daily life activities in indigenous communities and poor urban areas. Most of the photographs produced by anthropologists and religious missions in indigenous communities during the first half of the twentieth century were of this kind, as María Fernanda Troya documents for the case of the Paul Rivet collection, as well as those of Catholic Missions on Kichwa people by Giuseppini del Murialdo and Shuar peoples by Don Bosco Salesianos from Ecuador (Troya, 2016).

Additionally, from the last two decades of the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, foreign and national explorers, engineers and other commissioners working at railways, mining and rubber companies, as well as in boundary and military missions, produced a great number of photographs that documented the progress of their work, landscapes and ordinary activities of peoples living in the region (Buck, 1999; Alvarado et al., 2012, Giordano, 2012). As Majluf notes, these early photographic records of infrastructure were also key for circulating images of unique Andean landscapes which became so central for spatially visualizing the nation (2015). And yet many others, like Arthur Poznanski in Tihuanaku, Bolivia, became specialists in documenting archeological sites and objects which also became central for promoting particular forms of nationalism (Buck, 1999; Mariaca, 2006).

STUDIO PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

While science actively experimented with the possibilities of reducing the aesthetic “noise” of portraits to make them more accurate and reliable, also in the late nineteenth century photographic studios became a glamorous urban novelty as attractive as many other technological developments imported from Europe that signaled the desire for modernity of emerging Latin American liberal states. These innovations included transportation infrastructure such as railways, roads, and automobiles, as well as early communication devices like the telegraph, telephone, and radio.

Although clients of photographic studios mainly belonged to local elites who could afford to pay for a family or individual portrait or *carte de visite*, the emerging wealthy classes such as the famous mestizo women or “*cholas ilustres*” portrayed by Bolivian photographer Julio Cordero in the first decades of the twentieth century also made efforts to have their pictures taken with fashionable backgrounds of European landscapes or architecture. People would pose either in their most elegant outfits, or wearing amusing and exotic costumes of faraway places such as Asia and the Middle East, which evoked novel aspirations for cosmopolitanism. In these studios, photographers used props like books or globes, alluding to Enlightenment ideals of literacy and education. These modern and cosmopolitan motifs were often randomly—and theatrically—combined with Andean referents including textiles, hats, mountain landscapes, and llamas. Aside from the more formal individual or family portraits, studios photographed groups of sport teams, workers, music bands and troupes of traditional celebrations.

Some of the photographers who owned these early studios were foreign entrepreneurs,⁵ while many others were from the country in which they worked.⁶ Aside from their prolific work within the studio, many of these photographers were hired by governmental institutions to produce police mug shots of criminals, prostitutes, beggars; to take ID photos of immigrants; or to make official portraits of presidents, government representatives and official events. Modern enterprises in charge of building infrastructure and of extractive industries also hired photographers to document their contributions to “progress.” In Bolivia, Julio Cordero was probably the favorite photographer of the liberal regime, therefore the one in charge of working in all these different activities during the first two decades of the twentieth century. As Hugo José Suárez notes (2005), this versatile quality of his work allowed him to visually document, probably unintentionally, poignant aspects of the social stratification that characterized the foundation of this nation. From a very different perspective, François Laso (2016) identifies the ways in which José Domingo Laso, his great-grandfather and one of the most important Ecuadorian photographers from the early twentieth century, added to social and racial stratification by literally erasing the presence of indigenous peoples in his negatives of the majestic colonial architecture of the city of Quito. Widely circulated in postcards, illustrated journals and, particularly, in a photo book titled *Quito a la vista* (1911), these kinds of images sought to strengthen a sense of pride of a clean and modern Latin American city while promoting it as a destination for international tourism and investment (Laso, 2016).

The development of photojournalism within the Andean region during the first half of the twentieth century deserves more attention from scholars. Chilean photographer

Baltazar Robles Ponce, who worked in the 1920s for Chilean journals and newspapers, is one of the few photographers of the time whose work is identified as “photojournalism” (Alvarado et al., 2012, p. 130). The use of photographs for the production and circulation of news in the region involved totally different conventions than those used in studio, official, police, or landscape photography (e.g., Salazar, Novillo, and Bedoya, 2011).⁷

The genres presented in these first two sections allow us to understand that the early developments of photography in the Andes were highly shaped by the historical and geographical context. As a modern visual technology, photography was embraced by liberal aspirations of progress both in the scientific-political realm of racial debates centered around the so-called “Indian problem,” as well as among social and artistic studio practices that unintentionally documented the reconfigurations of social and economic stratification during the first half of the twentieth century. In this respect, borrowing the photographic metaphor of positive and negative copies, authors such as Sekula (1986) and Poole (1997) have suggested that *cartes de visite* were valued as the “positive” portraits of identification and self-representation of emerging elite classes. By contrast, type photography, to which Poole refers as “colonial *cartes de visite*,” such as picturesque, criminal, and racial portraits, acquired value as a form of image that could be accumulated and exchanged mainly among European travelers and scientists to comprise collections of “negative,” anonymous portraits of marginal sectors within Latin America (Poole, 1997, pp. 139). Yet, in both cases, these kinds of photographs contributed to visually reorganize social difference in the Latin American emerging modern nations (Poole, 1997).

Alternatively, other photographic genres of the time such as landscape, architectural, and infrastructure images allowed for powerful displays to spatialize and reinforce the nationalist ideal of progress, modernity, and tourism in the region.

SILENT FILM AND EARLY NARRATIVE AND DOCUMENTARIES (1920–1950)

Although there are references to a few experiences of film projection in Andean cities before 1900, the development and shooting of film started in the region in the first decade of the twentieth century (e.g., Gumucio, 1977; León, 2010, p. 66). Like photography, film was also welcomed and promoted by local urban elites as an emblem of modernity. Nevertheless, as most authors working on the early history of Latin American film note, film soon became a site for approaching indigenous issues and national politics (Mesa, 1985; Gumucio, 1977; Córdova, 2007; Himpele, 2008; León, 2010).

After a few foreign cinematographers began to organize public projections of world events footage and European panoramas (Gumucio, 1977, p. 30; León, 2010, p. 66); national entrepreneurs started to buy equipment to film events, news, travels, and ordinary scenes in their countries (León, 2010, p. 67). Aside from producing early local views, cinematographers such as Luis Castillo González in Bolivia (Gumucio, 1977) and the Brothers Casajuana in Ecuador (León, 2010) opened the first sites for screening and distributing film before 1920. Some governments requested propaganda films from these companies to promote the development of infrastructure like railways, or nationalist celebrations like parades and school inaugurations (León, 2010, p. 67).

Other projects, like the ones directed by the famous archaeologist Arturo Posnanski in Bolivia, pioneered (in alliance with Luis Castillo) early archeological and ethnographic footage and even fictional films based on indigenous subjects such as *La gloria de la raza* (1926). The latter is based on the account that an Uru man tells to an archaeologist about the history of his town (Gumucio, 1977, p. 31).

By the 1920s, local circuits of film production and distribution became more stable and prolific, thus facilitating the production of numerous documentary films with clearer narratives and editing styles, as well as the first fictional silent films which often addressed social inequality and indigenous issues. Most of these narrative films established a dialogue with the local literature of the time, including indigenista references.

In Bolivia, the most notable productions of this kind are love dramas marked by ethnic tensions.⁸ In the case of Ecuador, silent films of the same time engaged similar concerns through adventurers' stories, such as that of an urban student searching Inca treasures in *El tesoro de Atahualpa* (1924) and the drama of hacienda owners' exploitation of indigenous people in *Un abismo y dos almas* (1925) (León, 2010, pp. 68–69).

While narrative films from the 1920s from Ecuador and Bolivia centered more on indigenous issues, narrative films in the genres of urban comedy and drama began to be produced as early as 1913 in Peru and Argentina. During the 1920s there was a prolific outpouring of such films on these kinds of topics in Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, and Colombia and they also produced films on the topics in newsreels and epic and historical films (Kriger and Pórtela, 1997). The invention of sound film in the 1930s allowed for a wide production, often musicalized, of fictional, commercial comedies and dramas, which sometimes involved war and love stories, as well as documentaries on local wars such as *La Guerra del Chacolel infierno verde* (filmed during the 1930s but finished in 1958) in Bolivia (Gumucio, 1977). Also in the 1930s, Swedish traveler Rolf Blomberg arrived in Ecuador, where he filmed natural scenes and indigenous peoples until the 1960s (León, 2010, p.69).

Although film production in the region became bogged down during the 1940s because of political instability, a new direction of filmmaking started to take shape during the final years of that decade. Exploring the accessibility of new 16mm film technology, young filmmakers including Jorge Ruiz, Augusto Roca, Alberto Perrín, and American Kenneth B. Wasson founded the company *Bolivian Films*, which produced various short documentary and fictional films that highlighted the marginal presence of indigenous peoples in the country. In this period, which for Bolivia meant the eve of the National Revolution of 1952, they produced films of denunciation and hope such as *Donde nace un imperio* (1949), and *Los Urus* (1951) (Gumucio, 1977, p. 36). Some of these filmmakers continued their intensive production after the post-revolutionary government founded the Instituto Cinematográfico Boliviano in 1953 (Gumucio, 1977, p. 37). While post-revolutionary films included denunciation of inequality and discrimination, these topics were most often depicted as part of a miserable past that would vanish with the state's revolutionary project. Hence, new productions whose tenor was more propagandistic, celebratory, and hopeful, like *Amanecer Indio* (1952), among many other documentaries and news films, were promoted by the government of the Revolution (Gumucio, 1977, pp. 36–37). Although the political context of Ecuador was different from that of Bolivia, there too filmmakers turned their attention to indigenous issues in the 1950s, for example, with

documentaries sponsored by the Institute of Anthropology and Geography of Quito like *Los Salasacas* and *Los Colorados* (1955) (León, 2010, p. 70). In spite of the nationalistic focus of most productions from the 1950s, Bolivian feature films such as *Vuelve Sebastiana* (1953) and *La vertiente* (1958) introduced a great period of socially oriented cinema within the Andes, as the following section details.

REVOLUTIONARY AND MILITANT CINEMA (1960–1980)

One of the most notable periods for referring to visual representations of the Andes is the movement known as the New, Revolutionary, or Militant Latin American cinema. In a complex context of recurrent dictatorships, social struggles led by peasant, worker, mining and urban sectors and anti-imperialist movements, filmmakers throughout the region became engaged with the production of documentary and fictional works aimed at political transformation.

Filmmakers started to experiment with realistic documentary and fictional possibilities.⁹ Seeking to challenge dominant aesthetics and politics, these filmmakers explored collaborative methodologies such as working with non-professional actors while training them on political issues, producing films spoken in indigenous languages, and basing content on real life conflicts faced by marginal sectors. Often informed or trained by European representatives of the Cinema Verité movement, such as Jean Rouch in France, most of these filmmakers also challenged production and distribution strategies by shooting and screening films in places with no regular access to film, such as rural areas and popular urban neighborhoods (Sanjinés and Grupo Ukamau, 1979; Burton, 1986). As David Wood notes, the “Marxist political commitment” of many of these filmmakers allowed them to revolutionize Cinema Verité because, beyond this movement’s emphasis on subjectivity and knowledge production, Latin American filmmakers underlined the need to make visible a material reality and to transform it (Wood, 2005, pp. 149–150).

Representative titles of Andean militant cinema include films like *Yawar mallku* (1969), *El coraje del pueblo* (1971) and *La nación clandestina* (1989) by Jorge Sanjinés and Grupo Ukamau. Although addressing different class, racial, and political conflicts faced by indigenous subjects in rural and urban contexts, they have in common the frequent use of Aymara language, depictions of collective action as a way to face conflicts, and that their main characters, such as *Sebastián Mamani* of *La nación clandestina*, face deep moral contradictions that relate to histories of colonization, exclusion, and discrimination (Wood, 2005; Himpele, 2008; Schiwy, 2009). For example, for *El coraje del pueblo* Sanjinés secured the involvement of miners’ families in the Siglo XX camp to dramatically recreate their experience during the San Juan massacre ordered by dictator René Barrientos in 1967.

In these films, Sanjinés and Grupo Ukamau effectively transformed previous representations of the Indian within Bolivia by proposing their active and more historically situated role in national politics despite the fact that these films often returned to romanticized views of Andean people as stoic, wise and earthy (Wood, 2005, p. 97; Zamorano, 2017, p. 168). In this regard, and in a very different context, Christian León analyzes the prolific production of indigenista documentaries in Ecuador from 1970 to the early 1980s (2010). León argues that in this case, although also based on indigenous issues, most production was related to popular

nationalism promoted by military governments of the time in a context of modernization, state redefinition and economic prosperity (2010, p. 145). He mentions that in less than two decades more than 40 films on indigenous and Andean themes were produced, including *Los hieleros del Chimborazo* (1980), among many others (León, 2010, p. 147).

Additionally, while not focused on indigenous themes, representative films of the Andean region from this period include the influential documentaries *La hora de los hornos* (1968) in Argentina, *La batalla de Chile* (1975) in Chile, and *Chircales* (1972) in Colombia. While the first two aimed at public reflection on the political realities of Latin America through historical documentaries, *Chircales* developed a more ethnographic approach to a group of brick makers in the outskirts of Bogotá to reflect on their class conditions.

By the late 1970s and during the 1980s, often responding to some of the depictions promoted by militant cinema, other film movements experimented with different narratives and discourses. In Colombia, the Cali group, formed by filmmakers Luis Ospina and Carlos Mayolo, and writer Andrés Caicedo, was perhaps one of the most influential movements of this time (Arias, 2014). Through rather irreverent tones, and the use of innovative genres like “fake documentary” or “mockumentary” and experimental work, films such as *Agarrando pueblo* (1978) critically portrayed ordinary urban life and inequality in Cali, and elaborated a sharp critique of what they called “pornomiseria”, this is, the ways in which visual media depicted poverty (Arias, 2014, p. 362).

PARTICIPATORY AND INDIGENOUS FILM (1980–2010)

Militant cinema, together with wider world developments on participatory cinema and with local media initiatives, has set a strong precedent for filmmakers and political organizations to develop community and indigenous video throughout Latin America since the late 1980s. The more significant initiatives of this kind in the Andes include the work of the National Plan of Indigenous Audiovisual Communication, which started producing documentary and fictional films in Bolivia in 1997 (Himpele, 2008; Schiwy, 2009; Zamorano, 2017), numerous indigenous media projects from different regions and organizations from Colombia from the late 1990s (Mora, 2012), and indigenous documentary production by the Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador, CONAIE in Ecuador since the first years of 2000 (León, 2010; Romero, 2010). Although less abundant, indigenous film production and the organization of indigenous film festivals and workshops since the late 1990s in Chile (Salazar and Cordova 2004), Argentina, Peru, and Venezuela have also marked the history of indigenous production in the region.

Although each local initiative has drawn on particular contexts of film production, aesthetic searches, local media, funding, and political struggle, it is possible to refer to three phenomena that favored the development of indigenous and community media in the region: the simplification and cheapness of video technologies; prior active experiences of community radio within political organizations (Huesca, 1996; Rodríguez, 2010); and the emergence of the Latin American Coordination of Indigenous Peoples’ Film and Communication, CLACPI. Founded in 1985 in Mexico, this organization is currently in charge of one of the most representative festivals of

the region, which biannually screens Latin American and world indigenous cinema in different countries (Salazar and Córdova, 2004; Cordova, 2011; Bermúdez, 2013; Sanjinés, 2013). Each festival celebration includes training processes that often result in the consolidation of national media initiatives, as well as meetings to define financial, distribution, and political strategies concerning indigenous media in the region (Sanjinés, 2013).

Since its origins, indigenous media production has received significant academic attention. Some of the questions explored by scholars working on South America are how production and distribution strategies challenge previous representations of indigeneity and what are the political, cultural, and aesthetic implications of these so-called processes of self-representation (Salazar, 2004; Himpele, 2008; Salazar and Córdova, 2008; Schiwy, 2009; Córdova, 2011, Mora, 2015; Gleghorn, 2017, Zamorano, 2017).

These studies concur that indigenous media initiatives in the region have gained visibility while revolutionizing the ways in which indigenous people have been represented in mainstream media. For example, indigenous films from the region use indigenous languages more frequently and in more conscious ways; document struggles, conflicts, and realities that have been neglected by mainstream media; situate characters as active historical subjects; emphasize indigenous peoples' possibilities for collective action; and sometimes depict communities and organizations' internal contradictions and inequality. An interesting characteristic of indigenous media in the region is that, because political organizations are generally involved in their production, films accompany, document, and make visible the struggles of indigenous peoples. Documentary and fictional films in this context have been instrumental for bringing to the fore debates about constitutional indigenous claims on self-determination, territory and natural resources, education, health, and gender.

While some are produced by indigenous mediamakers or organizations, many others result from their collaboration with non-indigenous filmmakers. A few of the many examples of titles on these issues include documentaries on indigenous constitutional claims, as well as struggles for territory and natural resources, against gender inequality, racism, and violence.¹⁰ This diversity of topics has been explored through all kinds of genres that include and often combine documentary, fiction, docu-fiction and archival compilation (Romero 2010; Mora 2012 and 2015; Daupará 2013). In general, Latin American indigenous film production has maintained a strong rhythm of production and has gained a substantial presence among communities and organizations, at national media venues, international festivals, and within educational spaces. It has developed innovative distribution strategies that include itinerant screenings, alliances with local media, and the creation of unusual itinerant festivals such as the Anaconda Award biannual festival for videos produced in the Amazonian region.

Scholars have noted the significance of indigenous media for regional politics. Jeff Himpele, for example, suggests that indigenous media in Bolivia contributes to "the indigeneization of popular media" (2008, p. 200), and Freya Schiwy focuses on their possibilities for "decolonizing knowledge" (2009, p.41). Clemencia Rodríguez characterizes Colombian initiatives that include indigenous media but then expand to other popular and urban experiences as "citizen media." She suggests that these multiple initiatives effectively decentralize the power of mainstream media and contribute to local struggles and collective action against violence (2001, 2010). I have

argued elsewhere, based on the Bolivian case, that indigenous media processes not only spark reflection at the moment of watching films, but also create production and distribution processes that involve negotiations and reflection among people participating in planning, acting, and recreating stories. In this regard, their potential for generating debate and disagreement about current realities, often through fictional reenactment, is a way of envisaging political futures (Zamorano, 2017). At the same time, I have found that in their search to advance indigenous peoples' claims, indigenous films often reproduce essentialist or celebratory images of the Indian as intrinsically harmonic with nature, reciprocal, solidary, politically coherent, or community oriented. Still, indigenous and community media continue to be a prolific field of research for understanding non-conventional strategies within local and regional struggles and for exploring the continuities and ruptures that contribute to current representations of indigenous peoples.

POPULAR IMAGES

It would be impossible to discuss Andean imaginaries without referring to the strong influence of popular media in the region. For instance, during the 1980s a few television shows popularized melodramatic images of indigenous people through characters like *La Chola Remedios* who, together with political leader *Compadre Palenque*, conveyed the realities and social problems of poor urban classes in the *Tribuna libre* show in Bolivia (Himpele, 2008). Himpele suggests that the popularity of this show resulted from “the presence of the urban poor and indigenous in the hybrid popular public sphere” which, at the same time, challenged the political elites’ “Liberal fantasy of a rationalized modern world” (2008, p. 162). In a very different tone, since the first years of the new century, Peruvian highly stereotypical comic series such as *Cholo Juanito* and *Paisana Jacinta*, have promoted images of Indians as ignorant, highly sexualized, dirty and indiscreet (Pagán-Teitelbaum, 2008; see also Chapter 27, this volume). At the same time, these candid characters, which become extremely popular among the very poor urban and rural sectors they discriminate against, often serve as a pretext to criticize the class, gender, and sexual tensions that indigenous people experience in their daily interactions.

In addition to wildly popular shows that are watched on television, youtube, and even live spectacles, the lower cost of video technologies and, more recently, digital media at the turn of the twenty-first century has contributed to the development of a powerful industry of musical clips and low budget films. These often-self-produced pieces are also consumed either via pirated DVDs or the internet in rural and popular urban regions. The possibilities of digital technologies for instant and massive visual reproduction have greatly favored the impact of musical phenomena like *Wendy Sulca* and *La tigresa del oriente* from Peru and *Delfin Quispe* from Ecuador. Henri Stobart analyzes a different case of digital self-promotion by Gregorio Mamani, an indigenous musician from Bolivia who, based on the idea of “strengthening culture,” produced music and videoclips by himself in his studio which created effective community involvement. Interestingly, Mamani’s most effective distribution strategy in his region was to “pirate” and sell his own productions (Stobart, 2011, p. 218).

Another prolific realm that has started to receive attention is the production of amateur popular fictional films. Emilio Bustamante and Jaime Luna Victoria

documented this phenomenon in different regions of Peru, identifying genres as diverse as melodrama, horror, documentary, and experimental shorts (Bustamante and Luna, 2017). Meanwhile, Miguel Alvear and Christian León analyzed similar kinds of productions in Ecuador, which they refer to as “popular videographies” or “audiovisual subaltern practices,” alluding to the possibilities of informal economies and digital technologies for expanding these kinds of productions since the beginning of the twenty-first century (Alvear and León, 2009, p. 17). These kinds of productions, which are influenced by Hollywood action films and Latin American melodrama, center on topics such as narco-traffic, love, family drama, and migration.

As the abovementioned cases show, although popular and denigrating images of indigeneity have always existed, the recent developments of audiovisual and digital technologies, together with the dynamics of informal economies, have allowed for massive reproduction and popular consumption that do not compare to the circulation of any preceding film production. The authors demonstrate that “popular videographies” and photographic practices deserve more nuanced reflection concerning the ways in which these phenomena inhabit Andean imaginaries and relate to concrete social realities. While often in denigrating and stereotypical ways, and through peculiar “vernacular” aesthetics, these works comment on current issues that permeate the everyday life of marginal populations such as technology, class and gender discrimination, racism, migration, and violence.

CONTEMPORARY FILM TENDENCIES

In terms of narrative film, indigenous themes and characters continue to be central, although many works are not successful in going beyond racialized and sexualized imaginaries. For example, in spite of her efforts to depict violence and racism suffered by indigenous peoples, Peruvian filmmaker Claudia Llosa has been criticized for refashioning colonialist, kitschy, and indigenista stereotypes of Andeans in her films *Madeinusa* and *La teta asustada* (D’Argenio, 2013). Antonio Eguino’s historical film *Los Andes no creen en Dios* (2007) also perpetuates some of these imaginaries in the sexualized female indigenous character of *Misk’isimi*, who is the subject of disputes between mining entrepreneurs.

Alternatively, representatives of the militant cinema of the 1960s continue producing important films. One example is Marta Rodríguez, whose work over the last three decades has denounced the repercussions of narco-traffic, guerrilla, and neoliberal violence on indigenous peoples of Colombia. She is now producing *La sinfónica de los Andes*, a documentary on a traditional orchestra working with indigenous children in the Cauca region as a way to contest the impacts of war in their lives. In addition, films like *Insurgentes* (2012) and *Juana Azurduy* (2016) by Jorge Sanjinés focus on historical reconstruction as a way to vindicate indigenous leaders as the new national heroes promoted by the plurinational state project in Bolivia. Nevertheless, these films are criticized for presenting an official and acritical version of history in a revisionist and celebratory tone, despite their efforts to change national historical imaginaries (Wood, 2017).

In dialogue with contemporary struggles of the region, various narrative films are turning attention to indigenous values, particularly in relation to territory and natural resources, such as the *La hija de la laguna* (2015) and *Wiñaypacha* (2017),

both produced in Peru and the latter acknowledged as the first Peruvian production fully spoken in Aymara. Alternatively, at least two influential contemporary films in the region, *Ivy Maraey* (2013) from Bolivia and *El abrazo de la serpiente* (2014), a coproduction from Colombia, Venezuela, and Argentina, examine encounters between white explorers or filmmakers and indigenous cultures. These films center on indigenous knowledges while underlining the tensions between two opposing ways of understanding the world. Focused on racial and class (dis)encounters in urban contexts, films like *Zona sur* (2009) from Bolivia, and the abovementioned *La teta asustada* from Peru address social tensions in daily life interactions between wealthy families and domestic, often indigenous, workers.

A few titles produced by younger generations are boldly challenging the narrative and aesthetic approaches to imaginaries of Andean landscapes and people. For instance, some Bolivian films are doing so either through visual experimentation in *Sol piedra agua* (2016), satire in *Quién mató a la llamita blanca* (2007), and more intimate explorations of the indigenous roots in *El corral y el viento* (2014). It is worth mentioning that these efforts are nourished by the gradual expansion of financial and distribution opportunities in the region, and by their international projection through spaces like Ibermedia and Bolivia Lab, as well as through already established international film festivals in major Andean cities such as Lima, Bogotá, Quito, La Paz, and Mérida, the recently created regional Festival de Cine de las Alturas in Jujuy, Argentina, and the Festival de Cine Radical in La Paz, Bolivia, to mention just a few.

ARCHIVAL WORK AND COMPILATION FILM

Based on initiatives such as *Fototeca Andina*, founded in 1987 by anthropologists Fran Antmann and Deborah Poole in collaboration with Peruvian historian Adelma Benavente, there is a growing regional interest on photographic research and preservation that has resulted in extraordinary research and archival projects that, significantly, have been beneficiaries of international funding. These include Benavente and Peter Yenne's work during the first years of the twenty-first century to digitalize representative photographic collections in the Andes and throughout Latin America, including those of the Vargas brothers in Arequipa Perú and the archive of Julio Cordero from Bolivia (Yenne, 2000).¹¹ Through different dissemination strategies, recent research on photographic archives also involves curatorial work for photographic exhibits and catalogues (e.g., Troya, Poole and Zamorano, 2010; Troya, 2016); artistic intervention or comments on photographic archives such as the exhibit *Indios medievales* by Tomás Ochoa (Barriendos, 2014); and Lucía Chiriboga's photographic artistic interventions in her project *Del fondo de la memoria vengo* in 2003 in Ecuador.

Historical films are also receiving attention from researchers and filmmakers, whose efforts have resulted in the restoration and circulation of pieces as central for the film history of the region as Bolivian productions *Wara wara* (Vargas, 2010) and *El bolillo fatal* (1927), restored in 2010 and 2012, respectively; and *Los pueblos dormidos* (1947) from Argentina, restored in 2017. Additionally, perhaps as part of a worldwide phenomenon, significant film production of the region is turning its attention to resituating visual archives in the present. An example of these kinds of works is *Damiana Kryygi* (2015), an Argentinian film that reconstructs the dramatic

history of an Achá girl who was captured in Paraguay by a German scientific mission expedition in 1896 to be studied and displayed in Europe. Based on historical and anthropological research on Kryygi's human remains and photographic collections in European museums, the film team critically documents this case while accompanying Achá people's claims for the repatriation of this woman's remains. This film demonstrates the political and aesthetic potential of bringing to light photographic archives. In a more ludic tone, another film based on photographic archives is *El secreto de la luz* (2014), which celebrates Swedish explorer Rolf Blomberg's extensive photographic and filmic documentation of rural Ecuador from the 1930s.

The attention that visual archives are currently receiving strengthens the potential for developing creative visual, narrative, and research methodologies. This potential is favored by the open, uncertain, ambiguous, and unfinished character of photographic, film, and audiovisual technologies. Archival research and its reorganization into photographic exhibits and compilation films is a way of rendering material the dialogue that all kind of visual representations establish with the repertoires that constantly redefine our visual, political, and affective ways of relating to Andean worlds and their histories.

NOTES

- 1 Just to give an idea of the huge dimension of these phenomena, by 2000 Michele M. Penhall identified around 60 bibliographic entries of research on the history of South American photography (2000), and Daniel Buck registered around 350 entries of photographers or photographic studios that had only worked in Bolivia from 1840 to 1930 (1999).
- 2 I am aware that by focusing on Andean imaginaries about indigeneity I may leave aside many other historical phenomena that have marked visual production in the region and that indirectly inform Andean imaginaries, including violence associated with dictatorships, narco-trafficking and guerrilla warfare, as well as urban artistic and political movements in different regions and periods.
- 3 The Bolivian government's hiring of Belgian pedagogue Georges Rouma to develop anthropometrical studies of Quechua and Aymara peoples to explain schoolchildren's development is an example of how these kinds of studies related to concrete national policies (e.g., Rouma, 1921; Martínez, 2010).
- 4 Examples of these kinds of images include the ones produced by Bolivian photographer Ricardo Villalba in Bolivia and Peru from 1860 to 1880, and European travelers Jean Louis Rodolphe Agassiz and Esteban Gonnet in Argentina (Giordano, 2012), and Charles Wiener in Bolivia and Peru (Riviale, 2000). It is worth noting that many photographic collections of these travelers include images they bought or obtained from others, as Riviale suggests for the case of Villalba's photos in Wiener's collection.
- 5 For instance, Peruvians Luis Gismondi (of Italian origin), and the Valdéz Brothers in Bolivia, who learned the technique in their own countries and looked for fortune in neighboring countries; French photographers Louis Gouin and Leonce Labaure who opened their studios as early as 1860, American photographer Enrique Morgan in Ecuador (Salazar, Bedoya, and Novillo, 2011), and Jacques Cori Alaloff in Chile (Alvarado et al., 2012).
- 6 For example, Manuel González Salazar, Juan Manuel Figueroa Aznar, Filiberto and Crisanto Cabrera, Martín Chambi, and the Vargas Brothers in Peru (Benavente 1996; Penhall 2000; Yenne 2000; Poole 1997); A. Olavarría and Enrique Thede in Ecuador (Bedoya and Salazar, 2008), and Julio Cordero in Bolivia (Buck, 1999; Suárez, 2005; Suárez, 2011).
- 7 There are some references to studio and travel photographers who eventually published images of landscapes and local population, more as a form of tourist and nationalist promotion, in national and international journals and newspapers, such as Percy Harrison Fawcett who worked in the Peru-Bolivia boundary commission in 1911 (Buck 1999), and the abovementioned José Domingo Laso in Ecuador (Laso, 2016).

- 8 Examples of these kinds of films include *Corazón Aymara* (1925), *Profecía del lago* (1925) and *Wara wara* (1929), which was restored in 2006 in Bolivia (Córdova, 2007; Vargas, 2010).
- 9 Among the most representative filmmakers of this movement we can name Jorge Sanjinés and Antonio Eguino from Bolivia, Marta Rodríguez and Jorge Silva from Colombia, Fernando Birri and Fernando Solanas from Argentina, and Patricio Guzmán from Chile, together with many others from Venezuela, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, and, more marginally, Peru and Central America. See Middents (2009) for a detailed discussion of how Peruvian cinema of the time was overlooked by these spaces and some of the characteristics that made it different from other regional currents.
- 10 Some titles on these topics include the 2008 Ecuadorian film, *Propuesta para la Asamblea Constituyente en Montecristi* (Romero, 2010), *¿Ahora de quién es la verdad?* (2006) in Bolivia, and the Colombian *País de los pueblos sin dueños* (2009). The issue of territory and natural resources has largely been addressed in films like *El grito de la selva* (2008) in Bolivia, *Soy defensor de la selva* and *Sacha Runa yachay* (2006) in Ecuador, *La pachawasy: nuestra casa en la tierra* (2009) and *Y siguen llegando por el oro* (2012) in Colombia, and *Choropampa: el precio del oro* (2002) from Perú. Other films have addressed issues of gender inequality, such as *Venciendo el miedo* (2004) from Bolivia and *Sabedoras de muchas lunas* (2012) from Colombia; racism, such as *Ángeles de la tierra* (1997) from Bolivia; religiosity, like *Wiñay qaman pacha* (2004) from Bolivia; and violence, like *Un viaje a Kankuamia* (2007) and *Wasimal, testimonios de una masacre* (2011) from Colombia.
- 11 Yenne explains that the Fototeca Andina project was initially financed by the Ford Foundation in 1990 (2000). Additionally, in 2000 Yenne funded the Photographic Archive Project, which received support from the Earthwatch Institute for Field Research in collaboration with Fran Antmann, Adelma Benavente and Michelle Penhall among other scholars.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

ART FOR A MODERN PERU

The poetics and polemics of *Indigenismo*



Pilar Rau

INTRODUCTION

The process of creating national culture has been essential in situating the Republic of Peru in a global nation-state system and in responding to internal social, political, and intellectual debates about its national culture. Was the new nation's heritage Spanish, French, or Inca? What role would the indigenous majority play in the nation? Debates over national culture were also arguments about how the state would contend with the issues of citizenship and modernization. The artistic and literary genres of *Indianismo*, *Indigenismo*, and *Neo-Indigenismo* (defined and discussed below) centered the image of the native Andean in political and cultural debates during the nation's first 150 years of existence. Although these genres influenced the institutions and policies of a succession of governments, paradoxically, the vibrant aesthetics and political culture of *actual* indigenous peoples only gradually emerged from the margins to influence debates on Peru's national identity in the second half of the twentieth century.

FROM ALLEGORICAL INCAS TO TRAGIC INDIANS: NATIVE ANDEANS IN EARLY REPUBLICAN ART

The state of Peruvian literature and fine art after Independence confirms Dawn Ades's assertion that, "[s]uccess in Independence movements in the Spanish colonies of America gave birth to new countries, new political orders and to lasting debates about national identity, but not immediately to any flowering of the arts" (1989, p. 7). Early Republican artists incorporated the latest European styles without challenging the colonial system of representation (Majluf, 1995, p. 69), paralleling Republican society at large, where elite Creoles, the American-born descendants of Europeans, sought to consolidate their power, not to radically transform colonial society or enfranchise the native masses (Anderson, 1983; Lynch, 1986). Artistic and literary genres continued to reflect European tastes; revolutionary currents employing images of Indians did so in service of Creole nationalism, not as a reflection of cultural pluralism.

When the colonial workshops that trained multi-ethnic, popular craftsmen in religious painting closed after Independence, gained in 1821, Peru did not establish a national fine art academy for another century. Peru's first generation of professionalized middle and upper-class artists trained in the studios of French or Italian artists. French academic Neoclassical history painting replaced Spanish Baroque religious painting as dominant style, as it had in Bourbon Spain. As the Church's role as patron of the arts declined, painters also took up *Costumbrismo* (romantic depictions of local customs), portraiture, still-life, and landscape in response to the emerging bourgeois market for secular art (Barnitz, 2001, pp. 3–5). Even folk-crafts depicted local customs in an imported *Costumbrismo* (Wood, 2005, p. 217; Mauldin, 2011, pp. 149). Neoclassicism and *Costumbrismo* similarly dominated literature. Peru's literature did not cease being Spanish when the Republic was founded (Mariátegui 1928). Peru had yet to define an independent national culture. Ironically, “the diatribes against Spanish conquest and the praising of independence and liberty are literally processed in compliance with the values that govern Spanish literature of the era” (Cornejo Polar, 1989, p. 20).

Culturally and politically, Independence was the preserve of an elite Creole minority; consequently, early Republican art and literature neither addressed audiences in native languages nor included indigenous producers. In fact, native cultural consumption and production were repressed in the colony's final decades. Colonial-era Native lords avidly consumed European genres, especially portraiture and religious painting,¹ until their noble status was curtailed in the eighteenth-century. At that time, in a proto-nationalistic neo-Inca revival, *Kurakas* (ethnic lords) used elaborate Inca dress and symbols to performatively reaffirm their noble rights. Over 100 insurrections occurred (Klarén, 2000, p. 116), the most notorious of which was the Enlightenment and Inca nationalism-inspired rebellion of Tupac Amaru II (1781) (Walker, 1999). The use of Inca imagery was thereafter banned among natives to subdue insurgency (Cummins, 2002). Nevertheless, by the 1820s, Inca was resurrected in Creole nationalist allegory to envision the Republic as the Inca Empire's heir, while Indians were portrayed as too degraded by colonization for citizenship (Ades, 1989, p. 21; Earle, 2007). Amid this ambivalence on the nation's relationship to European and Indigenous identity, emerged the conventions of Peruvian Indianismo, a romantic nineteenth-century literary and artistic genre that depicted Indians as exotic sources of nostalgia for Creole consumers.

Francisco Laso's *Habitante de las cordilleras del Perú (Indio alfarero)*, a portrait of a man in Indian dress holding a Moche pot, which represented Peru in the 1855 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris (Figure 31.1), is the first major Indianista academic painting (Majluf, 1995, p. 140). The dignified pose and somber color palette of his oil painting contrasted with the playful frivolity of *Costumbrista* representations in its form and content, challenging urban stereotypes of native Andeans (Majluf, 1995, pp. 202–203, 209–210). Nevertheless, a sense of timeless antiquity idealized and Orientalized the Indian, obscuring the exploitative conditions of rural Andean lives. Mirko Lauer decried the effects of this aestheticism, which made “the undernourished muscular, the poor rich, the ragged luxurious, and [created] in the public mind a divide between the past and the present of the Andean people” (1976a, p. 104).

In the nineteenth century, sentimental, exoticizing Indianist novels abounded in the Americas (Sommer, 1991). In Peru, most famously, Clorinda Matto de Turner's

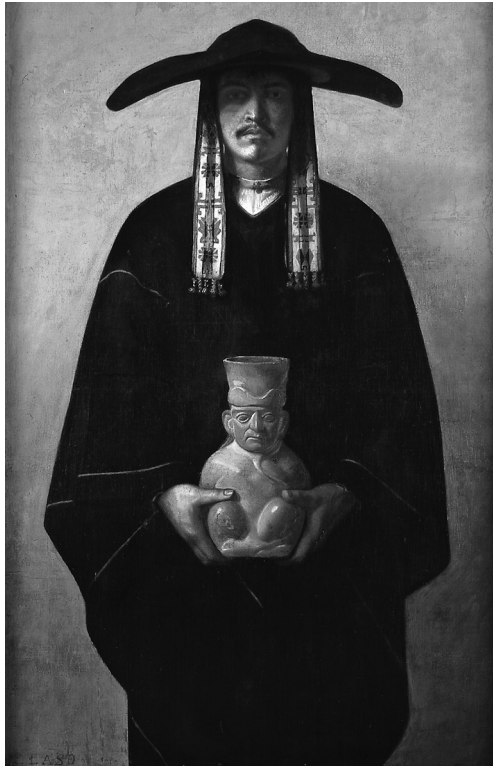


Figure 31.1 Laso, F. 1855. *Habitante de las cordilleras del Perú (Indio alfarero)*. [Oil on canvas 135x86cm] Pinacoteca Municipal Ignacio Merino, Lima; ARCHI: Archivo Digital de Arte Peruano, Museo de Arte de Lima. Courtesy of Daniel Giannoni, photographer.

Aves sin nido (1889) portrayed Indians as victims of the oppression of landowners, the law, and the Church, who could only be saved by benevolent Creoles. After the War of the Pacific (1879–1883), Indianista depictions expanded beyond poetry, fiction, and painting, to essays, journalism, and activism. Despite his aristocratic background and although he had never visited the Peruvian *sierra*, upon his return from exile, anarchist poet Manuel González Prada's scathing critique blamed Peru's loss of the War of the Pacific (1879–1883) on lack of national unity, as the ignorant Indian remained isolated in quasi-feudalism. His virulently anti-oligarchic essays criticized Peru's Hispanicism and Catholicism and urged land reform and argued that the Indian's only option was revolution ([1904]1928). His essays, Matto's novels, and journalists Dora Mayer and Pedro Zulén's activism (Gootenberg, 1993, p. 185), fomented a national cultural movement and new kind of populist politics that inspired the next generation of vanguardists.

Before discussing another elite current, it is necessary to note that, despite the enthusiasm with which elites consumed depictions of Indians, indigenous and popular expressive and political culture were excluded from nineteenth-century national discourse. Nevertheless, Andean subaltern classes actively created new

modes of political, economic, and cultural belonging.² Urban artisans and laborers organized political movements influenced by European social ideologies and engaged with a popular print culture that accommodated illiteracy (Gootenberg, 1993, p. 154; Klarén 2000, p. 156). This context also produced a politically-conscious rural culture. Although armed indigenous community members fought valiantly for Peru in the War of the Pacific, instead of having their citizenship recognized, they were brutally repressed and dispossessed of their land,³ forcing them into the capitalist market through labor-migration, muleteering, and reworking handicrafts into inter-regional trade goods (Wood, 2005; Mauldin, 2011). Despite evidence to the contrary, nineteenth-century positivist liberalism naturalized the image of a pre-modern Indian living outside the market economy (Harris, 1995) and incapable of citizenship, which justified hacienda expansion onto Indigenous land (Thurner, 1997). Decades later, the crafts born of this context were consecrated in the national patrimony and Agrarian Reform (1969) vindicated highland communities' complaints against the abuses of the large estate owners. At this time, however, Indianista images of a passive, dying race obscured robust expressive and political cultures, undermined popular agency, and assuaged the Creole ruling class's guilt, while granting it political legitimacy.

THE INDIGENISTA VANGUARD (1919-1930)

Indigenismo was an avant-garde artistic and political movement that coincided with Augusto B. Leguía's dictatorship (1919-1930), which centered the Indian in national political-economic and cultural debates. Although he made Indigenismo state policy, Leguía was ambivalent towards Indigenistas and Indians. His reformist populism attempted to pacify workers, student radicals, and peasants. Leguía gave speeches in Quechua and presented himself as protector of the Indian, as much to appeal to liberal middle-class sentiment as to disempower the landed oligarchy. His Constitution (1920) was the first in Peru to recognize the indigenous community (*comunidad indígena*). He appointed Hildebrando Castro Pozo director of the Section of Indian Affairs (until he exiled him in 1923). He also funded Mayer and Zulén's Sociedad Pro-Derecho Tahuantinsuyo (then outlawed it for opposing his Ley de Conscripción Vial (1920) that forced unpaid Indians to build rural highways). At times supporting and co-opting Indigenistas, he also censored free speech and exiled dissidents, among them, José Carlos Mariátegui, who became immersed in Vanguardist art and politics in Europe. Upon his return, Mariátegui founded *Amauta*, fomenting a movement, riddled with paradoxes and rivalries, on Peruvian aesthetics, politics, and the nature of the Indian that informed national debates for decades.

MARIÁTEGUI, AMAUTA, AND THE AVANT-GARDES

Between the World Wars, movements such as Indigenismo emerged across the Americas among a growing middle class, radicalized by the international labor and student movements, the Mexican and Soviet Revolutions, and the rise of European fascism and U.S. neo-imperialism (Unruh, 1994, pp. 5-7; Rosenberg, 2008, pp. 410-413). Manifestos, art, and literature creatively fused European and native culture in new models of national identity. Indigenistas were in dialogue with movements such as

Dada and Cubism through journals like *Amauta*, conferences, and travel (Ades, 1989). Like their international counterparts, Indigenistas experimented with avant-garde techniques and naïve, popular, and primitive subjects (García Canclini, 1995, pp. 28–31; Chang-Rodríguez, 1999, p. 104).

Mariátegui's journal *Amauta* (1926–1930), explicitly situated Indigenismo within the twentieth-century international avant-garde (Ades, 1989, p. 125; Sanjinés, 2008). The fact that *Amauta*, a Quechua word meaning wise man, was nearly named *Vanguardia*, foregrounds the commonalities of Indigenismo and the Peruvian avant-garde (Greet, 2009, p. 70; Archibald, 2011, p. 33). *Amauta* connected its readers to diverse cosmopolitan artistic and leftist internationalist tendencies. It published articles on history, politics, economy, psychology, literary and art criticism, as well as poetry. It featured foreign luminaries such as Mexican Indigenista José Vasconcelos and British playwright George Bernard Shaw, alongside Peruvian authors, such as Luis E. Valcárcel, Uriel García, and Victor Haya de la Torre. Issues included images of art by international artists like Diego Rivera, George Grosz, Pablo Picasso, and Emilio Pettoruti, as well as Lima's Peruvian School and regional Indigenistas. José Sabogal's woodcuts of Indians that often graced *Amauta*'s covers became the movement's emblems (Figure 31.2).

Rather than an inferior copy, Latin American Vanguardism continued tendencies interrupted in Europe by World War I (Barnitz, 2001), posing an even more radical critique. While the avant-garde, in general, self-reflexively interrogated the bourgeois institution of art (Bürger, 1974), Latin American movements included indigenous, black, and mestizo subjects excluded from national projects and problematized the universalism and hierarchies of the project of modernity itself—especially with respect to Latin America's status as the ever-belated importer of modernity (García Canclini, 1995, pp. 21–24; Rosenberg 2008, pp. 410–413). Latin American vanguards built the national institutions and canons European movements sought to destroy (Unruh, 1994, p.8). Indigenistas created national identities and historiographies that declared independence from colonialism and neo-imperialism while signaling Peru's membership in cosmopolitan modernity.

Mariátegui's alternative national historiography and copious cultural criticism selectively engaged with elements of the international avant-garde he saw as models for a socially-engaged, decolonized national culture.⁴ He proposed three periods of Peruvian literature: colonial Hispanicism, cosmopolitanism, and, finally, national self-consciousness (1928). And Indigenismo would decolonize Peru. Avant-garde experimentation offered a remedy to the aesthetic and linguistic Hispanicism still colonizing national culture; however, the slavish imitation of foreign trends, devoid of revolutionary commitment, did not satisfy Mariátegui's aspirations for an authentic Peruvian art. He proposed art's revolutionary potential lay not in stylistic experiment, but “in the rejection, dismissal and ridicule of the bourgeois absolute” (1926). While he admired French Surrealism's attacks on bourgeois values and commitment to Marxism, he rejected Italian Futurism's turn to fascism, found Postimpressionism, Cubism, and Dadaism irrelevant and Primitivism a decadent extension of Romanticism (1925). He suggested vernacular language and native subjects as sources of national cultural innovation that challenged colonialism, while engaging with cosmopolitanism (1928). Cesar Vallejo's poetry and Sabogal's art incarnated Mariátegui's ideals (1927, 1928). But, while advocating revolutionary values, *Amauta* inclusively encouraged pluralism.

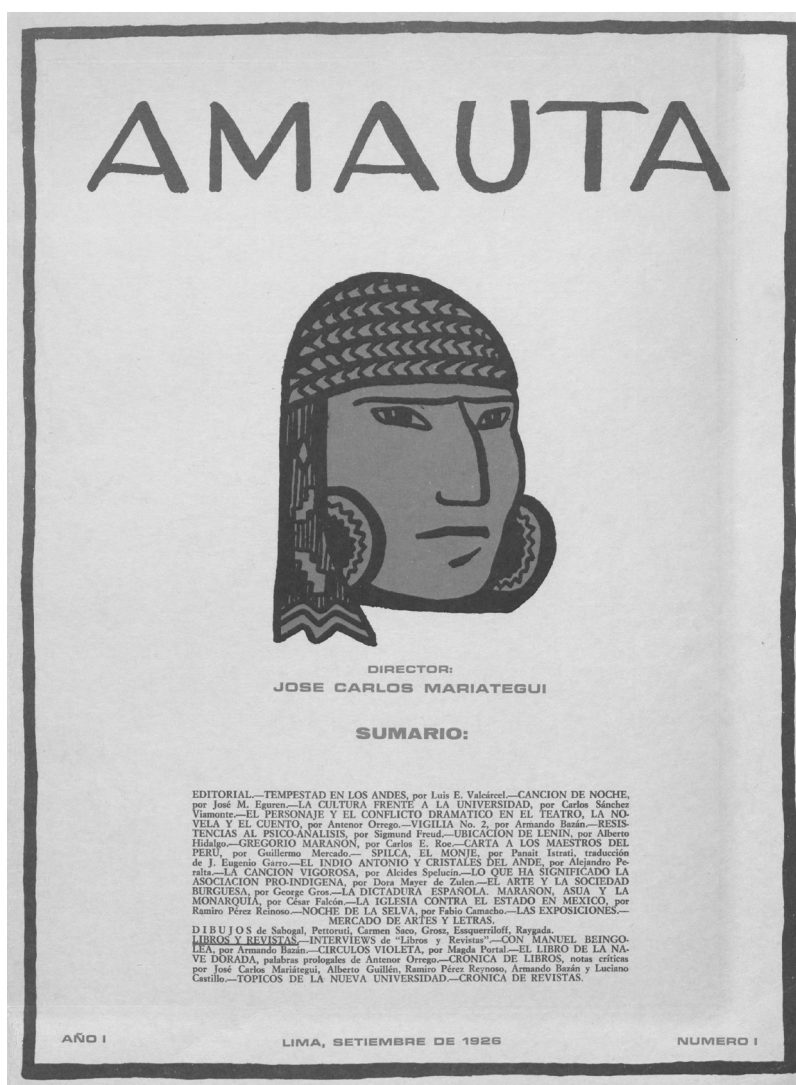


Figure 31.2 *Amauta* No.1, 1926. [Magazine cover]

Work in the public domain.

Amauta and the community surrounding it galvanized a group of young provincial artists, intellectuals, and activists into a progressive movement (Archibald, 2011, p. 21), forming an “alternative hegemony” (Moore, 2014, p. 7). With its large circulation and international reputation,⁵ *Amauta* grew into a major forum, producing an Indigenista fad (Wise, 1980, pp. 71–75). Mariátegui denied it was mere fashion: allied with a revolutionary ideological project, Indigenismo reflected a new national consciousness (1928).

THE POLEMICS

Initially unified against the conservative Hispanicism of the dominant political parties and cultural institutions, the Indigenistas splintered into various intellectual, artistic, and political positions (Moore, 2014, pp. 103–108). Public “polemics” evinced widening ideological rifts and rivalries between Marxist factions and between regionalists and centralists, which would play out among institutionalized political parties. The idea of the Indian was invoked and actual Indians excluded, in every debate.

Mariátegui’s unique Marxism rewrote Peru’s history as a dialectic interrupted by colonialism, in which Indians would lead the revolution. His theory challenged the Eurocentric teleologies that limited Marxism’s relevance to Peru. From 1926 on, he engaged in disputes with members of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA).⁶ In 1927, Aprista Luis A. Sánchez, instigated a debate with Mariátegui in the press on the compatibility of socialism, nationalism, and Indigenismo. Then, Mariátegui’s nine-month dispute with APRA founder, Haya de la Torre, split the united front of the Peruvian leftist organizations into three groups: Apristas, Socialists, and Communists in 1928 (Baines, 1972, pp. 69–71). That year, Mariátegui founded the journal *Labor* for workers, the Partido Socialista Peruano (PSP), and made his ideological position explicit in *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad Peruana* (*Seven interpretive essays on Peruvian reality*, 1928). In 1929 he also split with the Communist International (Comintern), the Moscow-based organization that advocated international communism, over his heretical position on the native peasantry.

In addition to these tensions among Lima’s leftist leaders, three prominent Cuzqueños challenged the coastal Indigenistas’ claims to represent the nation. José Escalante’s “Polémica del Indigenismo” (1927) which began, sarcastically, “we the Indios,” emphasized his highland origins and knowledge of local customs, arguing only Indios like himself could authentically represent the Indio. Although Mariátegui did only visit the sierra once, the absurdity of Escalante, a wealthy newspaper magnate and *Leguista* politician claiming to be a marginalized Indio is not lost on contemporary scholars (e.g., Vargas Llosa, 1996, p. 74; Coronado, 2009, p. 60). His epistemological challenge was ultimately a conservative defense of provincial oligarchy from challenges emanating from the modernizing capital, hence, less than empowering to rural Andeans (Chang-Rodríguez, 1999, pp. 5–7; Coronado, 2009, p. 60).

Valcárcel, anthropologist and director of Cusco’s Museo Arqueológico 1917–1930, profoundly inspired the *Amauta* group (Baines, 1972, p. 578; Wise 1980, p. 83). *Tempestad en los Andes* (1927), which was first serialized in *Amauta*, opposed an essentialized indígena to the criollo and mestizo. He believed Peru could develop by organizing communistic *ayllus* (Indian communities) into cooperatives. In 1920, he formed the Grupo Resurgimiento, to help, “materially and morally, the indigenous, who we consider our disgraced younger brothers” (Marzal, 1981, p. 498) and directed the *Misión de Arte Incaica*, a costumed troupe of landed elites, who performed stylized compositions of native music, dance, and tragic romances of Inca nobles. Tellingly, the *Misión* only acknowledged elite performers by name; others were simply referred to as “natives” or “aboriginals” (de la Cadena, 2000, pp. 72–78; Mendoza, 2008, p. 29). For Valcárcel, the Inca’s essence, which lay in the remote past, constantly clashed with the unruly reality of provincial life (Coronado, 2009, p. 151).

José Uriel García's rebuttal to Valcárcel, which he published in *Amauta* (1926, 1927), *Kuntur* (1927), and *El Nuevo Indio* (1930), proposed a Peruvian identity based on *mestizaje* (racial mixing). The New Indian was not a racial, ethnic, or class identity. He was not a rural "primitive." He was the creative power of "thinkers, artists, heroes" (García, 1930, pp. 90–91), the heir of Inca and Spanish culture, physically and spiritually shaped by centuries of contact with the Andes. Anyone could be a New Indian. Archibald notes this inclusive deconstruction of race obscures its power relations, which exclude actual Indians (2011, p.41). For Wise, this turn away from Incanism marks the political rise of the mestizo APRA (1980, p. 4).

THE PARADOXES

These conflicts point to Indigenismo's central paradox: What united Aprista, socialist, coastal, and provincial Indigenistas was the privileged position from which to speak about, for, and even *as* Indians. With a few noteworthy exceptions, such as a column in *Labor*, which published peasants' complaints and Martín Chambi's photography (Cohen-Aponte, 2017; Poole, 1997; Coronado, 2009), the participation of native Andeans was conspicuously absent.

Mariátegui himself defensively posited that Indigenismo should not be judged for its lack of indigenous participants: there would eventually be an indigenous literature when Indians themselves could produce it (1928). His stance, of course, ignored a flourishing popular expressive culture, including music, performance, poetry, stories, and handicrafts. For Cornejo Polar, non-Indians representing Indians in dominant cultural forms, while excluding Indians as consumers and producers, is characteristic of a feudalistic, class-stratified society (1989, p.19). While making strides towards imagining a pluricultural nation, Indigenismo did not empower Andeans or illuminate their political imaginaries or aesthetics; it merely coopted the idea of the Indian to imagine a form of racial alterity against colonialism and neo-imperialism.

Indigenismo's critique of the landed oligarchy served the interests of a rising coastal mestizo middle class (Rama, 1982). Nevertheless, its artistic and philosophical discourse on the Indian profoundly shaped political parties such as the PSP and APRA. Leguía did grant land titles to hundreds of communities and Indigenismo provided a language rural Andeans would later use to assert their rights as native peoples, eventually creating the conditions for land reform. While opening some channels of political participation, Peru's institutionalization of Indigenismo disempowered extra-official movements (García 2005, pp. 70–71). In contrast, neighboring Ecuador and Bolivia, where the state did not institutionalize Indigenismo, produced Indigenous rather than Indigenista movements during the same historical period.

NEO-INDIGENISMO AND NATIONAL CULTURE, 1930–1968

It is difficult to conclusively distinguish Neo-Indigenismo from Indigenismo because they shared many ideas and prominent figures and as there is considerable variation in scholarly use of the terms. However, a transition from the cosmopolitan, avant-garde *Indigenismo* of the 1920s to an institutionalized Neo-Indigenismo was marked by: Leguía's overthrow, Mariátegui's death, *Amauta's* final issue in 1930, the politically-motivated closure of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (UNMSM) in

1932–1935, and the imprisonment or exile of many intellectuals during the dictatorships of Luís Sánchez Cerro (1930–1933) and Oscar Benavides (1933–1939).

By the 1940s, Indigenismo had become official state rhetoric, enshrined in textbooks, speeches, national celebrations, universities, and museums (Vargas Llosa, 1996, pp. 201–202). Aggressive national modernization pushed rural Andean migrants to cities in unprecedented numbers. An appreciation of *mestizaje* replaced the idealization of the Inca. Indigenistas no longer called the Indian to overthrow society; rather, institutions and development projects of left and right-wing governments—dictatorships and democracies alike—collaborated with anthropologists to integrate rural Andeans into the nation (García, 2005, p. 72). Indigenistas such as Valcárcel, Sabogal, García, and Arguedas, who are better remembered for their creative work, took up government posts, where they created pro-indigenous policies and institutions that valorized and incorporated Colonial and contemporary Andean culture in the national patrimony and timeline of art history.

VALCÁRCEL: INSTITUTIONALIZING A NATIONAL CULTURE

As during Leguía's dictatorship, political appointments had major ramifications in state policy, while the threat of exile, imprisonment, or loss of employment curtailed artistic and intellectual expression. The extent to which the national political climate influenced neo-Indigenismo became apparent when Sánchez Cerro replaced Julio C. Tello, the father of Peruvian archaeology, an Indigenista congressman who had supported Leguía, as director of the Museo Nacional with another Indigenista congressman—Leguía's outspoken critic, the father of Peruvian anthropology, Luis Valcárcel.

Valcárcel presided over the national museum system until he retired in 1965 and many other contemporary institutions bear his mark as founder or director. For example, in 1931, he founded the Instituto de Arte Peruano (IAP) and, in 1938, the non-governmental Asociación Nacional de Escritores y Artistas (ANEA) and the Instituto Cultural Peruano Norte Americano (ICPNA). As President José Bustamante y Rivero's Minister of Education (1945–1947), he founded a national conservatory and theatre with schools of folkloric and dramatic arts, the Instituto Indígena Peruano and, with the help of his student, José María Arguedas, instituted a rural bilingual school system.⁷ In 1946, with his student, José Matos Mar, he created the Instituto de Etnología at the UNMSM, and he inaugurated the Museo Nacional de la Cultura Peruana (MNCP). In 1964, he co-founded the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. In contrast to the earlier Indigenista oppositional stance towards the state, his policies had far-reaching consequences for the arts, education, and native peoples, and careers of Neo-Indigenistas, particularly, Sabogal and Arguedas.

SABOGAL: REIMAGINING A NATIONAL ART

Like other artists coming of age in the Early Republic's cultural vacuum, Sabogal received his training abroad. Peru's Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes (ENBA) was established in 1919, the year he unleashed his colorful Fauvist-influenced Andean landscapes and figures on Lima (Ades, 1989, p. 28; Barnitz, 2001, p. 1). He quickly became Peru's preeminent artist. In the 1930s, he was the chief promoter of Indigenismo in the fine arts and of *arte popular* (folk art).

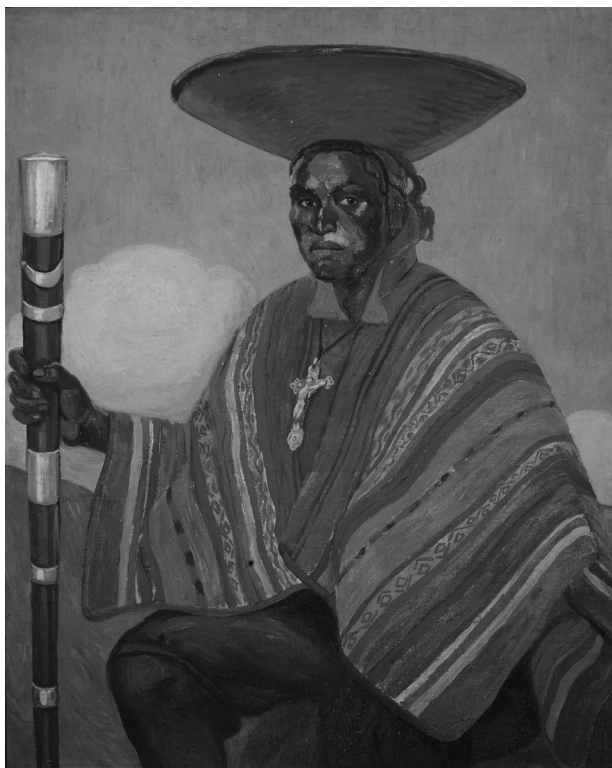


Figure 31.3 Sabogal, J. 1925. *Alcalde de Lucre*. [Oil on canvas 76x50cm]

Private collection, 04.001059.001, Lima: ARCHI: Archivo Digital de Arte Peruano, Museo de Arte de Lima, Courtesy of Daniel Giannoni, photographer).

Sabogal's portraits of rural mayors holding their *varas* staff of authority depict individuals, rather than timeless symbols (Figure 31.3, Figure 31.4). His impasto stroke and distinctive palette formally break with conservative academic taste, without conspicuously adopting any specific foreign style. Anthropology greatly influenced Sabogal's vision of Peruvian art in the mid-1920s. Inspired by Mexican state-sponsored Indigenism in 1922 (Wood, 2005) and his discovery of the *mate burilado*, a gourd carved with scenes of local life, at Huancayo's Sunday fair in 1925 (Villegas, 2013), he began exploring artistic mestizaje and Andean aesthetics. For example, his graphic art applies the *mate*'s spatial composition (Yllia, 2006, pp. 47–48; see Figure 31.5) and his later painting experiments with the colors of pre-Columbian ceramics (Villegas, 2006, p. 29).

Sabogal mentored a generation of painters known as the Peruvian School, including Julia Codesido, Teresa Caravallo, Enrique Camino Brent, Camilo Blas, and Alicia Bustamante, first as professor, then as ENBA's director (1930–1945), where he officialized Indigenismo (Wise, 1980, p. 76; Villegas, 2006), and finally as their employer at the Instituto de Arte Peruano (IAP), which he directed under Valcárcel from 1931 until his death in 1956.

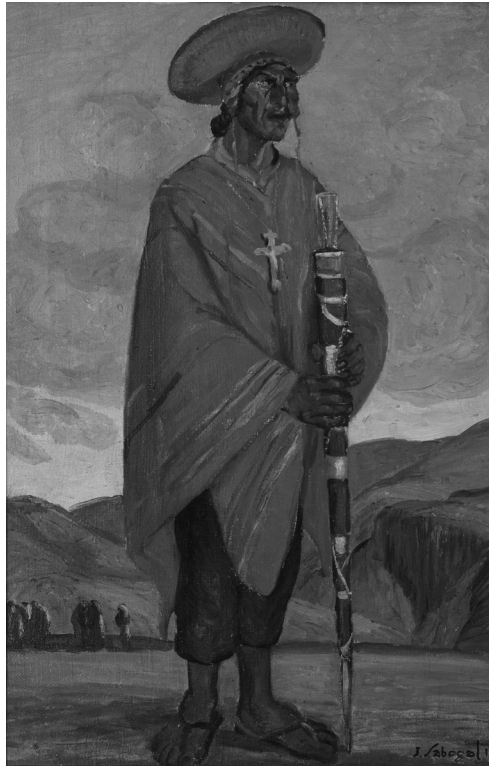


Figure 31.4 Sabogal, J. 1925. *Alcalde de Calca*. [Oil on canvas 129x95cm]

Private collection, 04.001060.001, Lima: ARCHI: Archivo Digital de Arte Peruano, Museo de Arte de Lima, Courtesy of Daniel Giannoni, photographer).

The Neo-Indigenista painters' unofficial activities also shaped the development of a national art. Sisters Alicia and Celia Bustamante ran the Peña Pancho Fierro (1936–1967) from a rented apartment. It was a *tertulia*, or salon, where Indigenistas of different generations, and artists and writers of other persuasions, such as Surrealists Emilio Westphalen and young Fernando de Szyszlo, gathered to debate art, literature, and politics, while imbibing cocktails made of *pisco*, the national liquor, and enjoying José María Arguedas's performance of Andean music. As *Amauta* did for its generation via print media, the Peña provided a forum for Peruvian artists and intellectuals to consort with like-minded cosmopolitan visitors, such as French ethnologist Paul Rivet; Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén; Mexican painters David Alfaro Siqueiros and Rufino Tamayo; and Mexican ambassador, Moisés Sáenz Garza, who shared Alicia Bustamante's passion for collecting trips (Carpio and Yllia, 2006, p. 47).

Bustamante's patronage, in particular, stamped her taste in emergent arte popular genres. In addition to purchasing crafts, she organized exhibits, administered and financed workshops to preserve techniques (Arguedas, 1975; Wood, 2005, p. 199) and housed artisans during their trips to Lima (Arguedas, 1969; Carpio and Yllia, 2006; p. 55). Joaquín López Antay reported that she dictated the content of her



Figure 31.5 Sabogal, J. ca.1929. *Diseño de mate*. [Ink on paper]

Private collection, 04.001310.001, Lima: ARCHI: Archivo Digital de Arte Peruano, Museo de Arte de Lima, Courtesy of Daniel Giannoni, photographer.

commissions (Razzeto, 1982, p. 147). Her retablo exhibit at the Asociación Cultural Peruano Británico was the first to break the taboo of displaying arte popular in a contemporary art gallery, thereafter opening doors to its acceptability in high culture venues (Carpio and Yllia, 2006, p. 48). As Leguía's highways flooded rural markets with inexpensive manufactured goods, rendering peasant crafts and the muleteers who transported them obsolete, Bustamante's private activity in conjunction with official state initiatives created middle-class markets that sustained craft-production through contests, publications, exhibitions, and holiday craft fairs.

Although Sabogal, Valcárcel, and their students controlled the major cultural institutions in the 1930s, the Salón de Independientes (1938) challenged Indigenismo's dominance. In 1945, Sabogal was replaced as EBNA's director by Germán Suárez Vétiz, a conservative academic history painter. During Bustamante and Rivero's second presidency (1945–1949), Ricardo Grau, leader of the Independientes, became director, promulgating a universalizing abstract modernism that thereafter competed with Indigenismo. Greet links the backlash against Indigenism in Peru and Ecuador

to a broader shift in the international art world (2009, pp. 150–151). In Peru, Grau's appointment marked the divorce between an elite cosmopolitan formalism and figurative Indigenismo, which had come to be associated with ethnographic concerns and state museums.

Dethroned from his dominion over fine art, Sabogal turned his energy to IAP and to creating MNCP, a museum of ethnographic and folk art. IAP's mission was to publish research and visually document Peru's ancient, colonial, and contemporary artistic patrimony to reinvigorate and establish the basis of a genuinely Peruvian modern art. IAP was staffed by Codesido, Bustamante, Caravallo, and Brent, who were by then EBNA professors. They covered its walls with illustrations of folk art. By capturing the stylistic development of a Peruvian aesthetic tradition, they constructed a novel national art-historical genealogy. In 1948, MNCP's permanent exhibit opened, displaying representative pieces organized by Sabogal's concept of "artistic evolution," tracing stylistic continuity from pre-Columbian through contemporary *arte popular*, seeing historical conflict as the engine of formal change. He established three periods of national art: Colonial, early Republican *Costumbrismo*, and twentieth-century *arte popular* (Yllia, 2006, p. 49; Villegas, 2006, p. 27, 2013, pp. 191–192). Starting national art history at Conquest, Sabogal treated colonial art as a creative reaction, rather than a passive copy of European culture (Cohen-Aponte, 2017).

Provincial Indigenistas also formulated Andes-centric art histories. When Valcárcel departed for Lima, Neoindianismo, which embraced *mestizaje* and native culture, rose to prominence in Cuzco (de la Cadena, 2000, pp. 132–133). Months after Peña Pancho Fierro opened in Lima, García founded the Instituto Americano de Arte de Cuzco (IAAC) and Museo de Arte Popular to promote Cuzco's popular and folkloric patrimony. IAAC's institutional metadiscourse established continuity in ancient, colonial, and contemporary art through an essential spirit of Cuzqueñidad. García defined Colonial art as *Arte Neo-indiano*, a step in the evolution of indigenous culture (1930), framing art European canons deemed derivative, as innovative works with an independent historical trajectory (Cohen-Aponte, 2017, pp. 285–286). Sabogal and García's valorization of colonial and folk art distinguished them from Western art history as well as from Mariátegui's Colonial, Cosmopolitan, and National periods, which also privileged European influences. Decades before Peru had institutionalized art history, Indigenista and Neo-Indigenista institutional masternarratives proposed essential national artistic continuity based on Andean, rather than Spanish culture.

WRITING ANDEAN VOICES

Arguedas also valorized *mestizaje* and sought to draw highland creativity into national canons. Born in Andahuaylas, he developed a bilingual, bicultural sensibility from living among his stepmother's Quechua-speaking servants. Although best known for his fiction, Arguedas was also an anthropologist and an accomplished bureaucrat. In these capacities, he disseminated, translated, and defended Andean language and culture to urban audiences.

Agua's publication (1935) marked a shift in Indigenista literature and politics (García, 2005, p. 72). In contrast to the oppressed, defenseless Indians of Ecuadorian Jorge Icaza's *Huasipungo* (1934), Arguedas depicted, in ethnographic detail, dynamic,

ethnically fluid, modernizing highland societies. *Yawar Fiesta* (1941) depicts a conflict between rural Andeans and coastal officials who would ban their indigenous bullfight. Attempting to modernize it, the town elites hire a Spanish-style *toreador* for whom the bull proves too fierce. Indians spontaneously jump into the ring, cheered on by the rural mestizos and *mistis* (whites) who originally supported the coastal edict, finishing the ritual per their custom. This highland mestizo culture is characterized as much by cultural clashes as by mixing. Like Sabogal, Arguedas's work incorporated aesthetic elements gleaned from rural culture. For Rama, his experiments with incorporating vernacular language, song, and myth challenged the national literary canon's Hispanicism (Rama, 1982, pp. 234–249). However, although much closer to its subject, his is still an elite Indigenista literature, not a literature of Indians.

In contrast to Mariátegui's thesis that Indians lacked a literature, Arguedas appreciated Andean culture's lyrical nature. He enthusiastically collected and published translations of myths, stories, songs, and legends, not as salvage anthropology, but as part of a dynamic, living tradition (e.g., 1953, 1966, 1938). He approvingly observed the rise of hybrid music genres and authorship in traditionally anonymous genres (Archibald, 2011, pp. 47–48). He noted similar trends in folk art, as Joaquín López Antay's retablos (portable San Marcos altars) became innovative bourgeois commodities that, nevertheless, retained a deep religiosity (1975). Arguedas believed modernization would reinvigorate rather than destroy local cultures (1975, p. 70). He regarded emergent culture, such as musical performances in coliseums and the mass media as authentically "folkloric" (Archibald 2011, pp. 106–107).

In Vargas Llosa's estimation, Arguedas was practically an ethnographer when he became one of UMSM's first anthropology graduate students in the 1950s (1996, p. 193). He initially embraced North American anthropology and the Cornell-Peru Vicos Project; but, his poem "Huk Doctorkunaman Qayay" ("A Call to Some Doctors," 1966), mocked anthropology in Quechua, evincing his later skepticism (quoted in Archibald, 2011, p. 104). Challenging the essentialized Indian that animated the Indigenista imagination, his PhD thesis, *Las comunidades de España y del Perú* (1968) highlights commonalities of Spanish and Peruvian peasants. His view of mestizo highland societies selectively incorporating modernity through local processes problematized the teleologies implicit in the era's anthropology and developmentalism.

Arguedas's public service also challenged Eurocentrism. Aside from his research, teaching, and editorship of several journals, Arguedas served in several government offices. Starting his career in the Ministry of Education in the 1940s, he became director of the Folklore and Popular Art Section, where he instituted a rural bilingual school system. He also headed the MNCP's Instituto de Estudios Etnológicos (1956–1963) and reformed the Eurocentric Casa de la Cultura (1963–1964), whose mission was to protect preserve the national cultural patrimony, to include the Andean patrimony.

The institutionalization of the Neo-Indigenismo by Valcárcel, Sabogal, Bustamante, García, and Arguedas valorized Andean culture and made arte popular an indisputable part of the national patrimony and a fixture in most middle-class homes (Wood, 2005, pp. 186–197; Carpio and Yllia, 2006, p. 55). As influential and ubiquitous as Neo-Indigenismo was, popular and elite challenges to its vision gained momentum during the Cold War. Insurgent leftist rhetoric gained

footholds in academia and politics. Hundreds of rural groups usurped haciendas. Urban workers, whose ranks included many highland migrants, organized unions and land invasions (Klarén, 2000, p. 317). And, a generation of artists aspiring to participate in cosmopolitan currents and markets rejected Indigenismo as provincial. In fact, every Peruvian artist in the sixth São Paulo Biennial (1961) (including former Indigenistas) exhibited abstract work (Barnitz, 2001, pp. 158–161). The Latin American literary boom’s modernism and magic realism similarly eclipsed Indigenismo’s “archaic utopian vision” (Vargas Llosa 1996, pp. 212–213).

FROM *PLAN INCA* TO THE FREE MARKET (1968–1975)

In response to the threat of guerrilla, peasant, and labor uprisings, General Juan Velasco Alvarado’s leftist Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces’ (RGAF) (1968–1975) took power. His populist, nationalist, anti-imperialistic *Plan Inca* unseated the traditional oligarchy, nationalized foreign-held companies, and instituted reforms to aid peasants and native peoples. Most importantly, on June 24, 1969, citing Tupac Amaru II, “[p]easants, the landlord will no longer eat from your poverty!” he announced the Agrarian Reform, which redistributed *haciendas* and replaced the pejorative *indio* with *campesino* (peasant), creating the *comunidad campesina*. In addition to his political and economic reforms, his cultural policy recognized native Andeans as coeval, albeit marginalized, citizens.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CULTURE OF THE ARMED FORCES

Velasco’s revolutionary nationalism framed ethnic and racial inequality as class issues. While prohibiting the term “Indio,” his policy acknowledged and legitimated the Andean character of national life and drew heavily on a national repertoire of Indigenista rhetoric. Reminiscent of nineteenth-century nationalism, his invocations of Incas addressed a unified nation; however, his revolution actually included and empowered native Andeans.

Velasco’s policies brought highland culture into mainstream society. He implemented bilingual education, made Quechua a second national language, broadcast Andean music and dance, and promoted folklore (Mendoza, 2008, pp. 175–176). He created the Instituto Nacional de la Cultura (INC) and Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (SINAMOS) to spearhead cultural and development projects. The GRFA revived sponsorship of artisans through new ministries, competitions, and publications—to integrate campesinos into national society, rather than affirm their essential distinctiveness (Wood, 2005, p. 187–190).

RETABLO AS NATIONAL ART

As Agrarian Reform unseated the landed oligarchy, the INC challenged Lima’s cultural elite by conferring the 1975 Premio Nacional de Arte on artisan Joaquín López Antay. The fault lines that formed in the 1930s between artists with cosmopolitan aspirations and those with nationalist commitments were thrown open by scandal. The Asociación Peruana de Artistas Plásticas (ASPAP) fought to revoke the prize, but only succeeded in producing a schism and an avalanche of polemical

newspaper articles. Artists in favor of including López in the national fine art canon formed the Sindicato Único de Trabajadores en las Artes Plásticas (SUTEP). Then, de Szyszlo led the protest against the decision for López to represent Peru at the fourteenth São Paulo Biennale (1977) (Oliva, 1981). These events caused an uproar among elites who saw an Indian as unworthy of such honors (Wood, 2005, p. 200). Opponents, such as former EBNA director, Juan Manuel Ugarte Eléspuru, argued that art, with its individualistic character and transcendental goals, fundamentally differed from craft (Bermúdez, 1975). López's defenders applauded the revolutionary interrogation of art and recognized the creativity of artisans (e.g., Garraud, 1976)—and lack thereof—of artists who copied foreign trends (e.g., Valencia-Arenas, 1976). INC director, Martha Hildebrandt, affirmed that López was an artist, but questioned Ugarte Eléspuru's creativity (*La Cronica*, 1975). Lauer notes that only artists and intellectuals (no artisans) participated in this debate. Furthermore, failing to recognize López's three decades of success in international art markets, his detractors confused race and class and simply viewed everything Andean as low status (Lauer, 1976b).

Velasco's policy concretely realized the Indigenista vision. Some of his achievements were short lived. General Francisco Morales-Bermúdez's (1975–1980) Plan Tupac Amaru ended Agrarian Reform. However, his Constitution (1979) did not escape the Indigenista legacy. Articles 34 and 135 provide for the preservation and promotion of native culture, folklore, folk art, and crafts. Battling insurgency and economic crisis, subsequent administrations focused on commercializing crafts. Since Machu Picchu was named a UNESCO World Heritage site (1983) and one of the Seven Wonders of the World (2007), international tourism has revived the romantic Indian, which had caused Arguedas and Bustamante, in later life, to regret their role in commercializing Andean culture (Arguedas, 1975, p. 209; Carpio and Yllia, 2006, p.50).

Since Independence, the Indian's image has been a powerful tool for nation-building and revolutionary insurgency. Indigenista currents helped decolonize the national imagination by reinventing Eurocentric canons, histories, and hierarchies. While the apogee of Indigenista political and cultural policy may have occurred in the Agrarian Reform and apotheosis of López Antay, the continued guerrilla, peasant, and urban unrest, the irreparable rift between elite and popular culture, and the speed with which Velasco's reforms were reversed, evince the native Andean's continued marginalization. Throughout Peru's history, vibrant subaltern political and expressive cultures have constantly incorporated outside influences and pressed the state for inclusion. In Peru and neighboring Andean nations,⁸ indigenous movements now actively appropriate elements of Indigenismo's critical historical legacy, which is also part of *their* national heritage—to claim rights within their nations and in a global nation-state system.

NOTES

1 See Cummins, 2002 and Dean, 1999 on native elite Colonial art consumption.

2 See Gotkowitz, 2007 on the history of Bolivian Indigenous legal cultures

3 E.g., see Mallon, 1995 and Smith, 1989, pp. 61–63.

4 See Ades, 1989, Sanjinés, 2008; Unruh, 1994 on Mariategui's art and literary criticism.

5 See Greet, 2009, on the consumption of Amauta by Ecuadorian *Indigenistas*.

6 Select parts of the polemics are reprinted in M. Aquézolo Castro, 1976.

- 7 See García, 2005, pp. 72–73 on Indigenista contributions to rural and bilingual education.
8 See Gotkowitz, 2007 and Becker, 2008 on grass-roots Indigenous movements in Bolivia and Ecuador.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

THREE AXES OF VARIABILITY IN QUECHUA

Regional diversification, contact with
other indigenous languages, and social
enregisterment



Bruce Mannheim

INTRODUCTION

Quechua is a family of close-knit languages spoken in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina, centered in the sierra, but with significant populations of Quechua speakers in eastern foothills of the Andes, in the adjacent western Amazon, and in major cities (Figure 32.1). The number of first-language speakers is

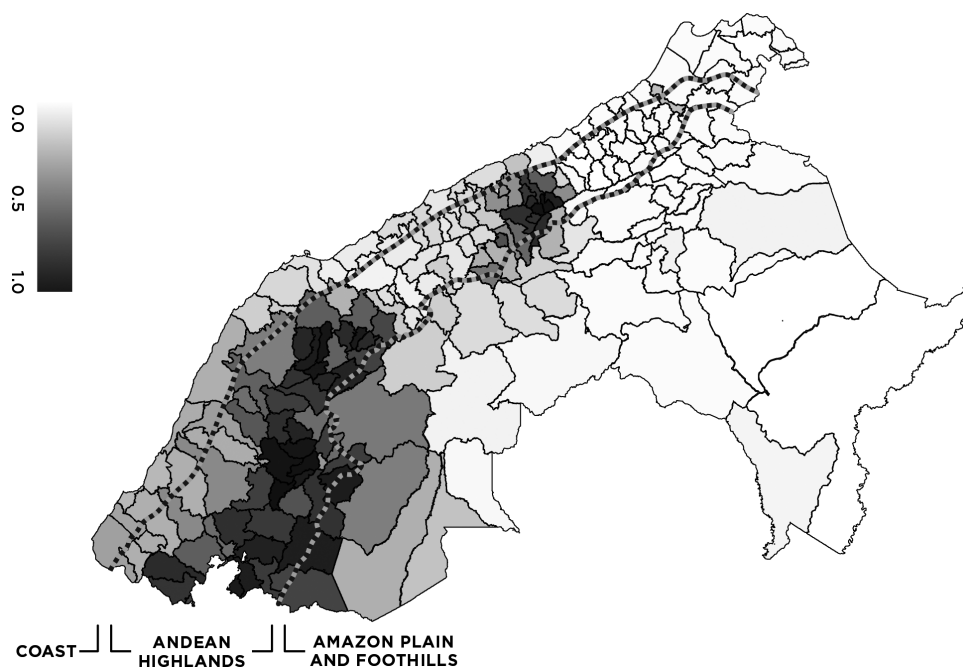


Figure 32.1 Percentage of Peruvian population with Quechua or Aymara backgrounds, by province, based on census self-reports, reported in Emlen (forthcoming)

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estimated to be in the magnitude of 10 to 15 million. However, because the total is a composite of figures arrived at by disparate means (primarily but not exclusively from national censuses in which speakers are asked to self-identify),¹ the total can only be an approximation at best.

A Quechua language was the administrative language of the Inka state known as *Tawantinsuyu* (Parts that in their fourness make up a whole), and was adopted by European administrators, missionaries, and settlers as a “lengua general”—a local language through which they could carry out the everyday business of colonial rule over a large portion of the western South American colony, from 1532 onward. Like many indigenous South American languages, it did not have a name as such. It was simply referred to as *Runa Simi*, “human language,” but because Quechua speakers had an essential (and essentialist) identification with their place of origin (Mannheim, 1991, p. 50; Oxa, 2005; Gelman and Mannheim, 2008; de la Cadena, 2015, pp. 102–103; Salas Carreño, 2018;) it could also be referred to as the name of a place in which it was spoken, for example *Qusqu simi*, “the language of Cuzco.” The name Quechua itself is likely a colonial invention (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987, p. 32; Mannheim, 1991, p. 6; Adelaar and Muysken, 2004, p. 179), identifying the language as that spoken in the relatively temperate valleys—the *qhiswa*—distinguished from languages spoken in the high plateaus, the *puna*, or in the lowlands to the east and west of the sierra, the *yunga*.² There are several variants on the language name. In Ecuador and Argentina, it is known as “Quichua,” and in Colombia as “Inga,” but these refer to members of the same language family.

It is commonplace to treat the languages indistinctly (see Adelaar and Muysken, 2004, pp. 180–182), although some Quechua languages are mutually unintelligible in conversation, and in some social registers, the meanings of words and utterances are distinct even though the forms of words and utterance are similar. Likewise, top-down efforts to standardize Quechua varieties (for example using “Quichua unificado”—Unified Quichua—in Ecuador or standardized school books in Bolivia) often meet with resistance from local communities, who regard the standardized varieties (often drawn up without prior study or consultation) as one more linguistic imposition by the state (Uzendoski, 2009; Grzech, 2017; Grzech, Ennis, and Schwarz, 2018). Much of the notion that Quechua is a single language rather than a linguistic family is motivated by a tendency by urbanites and social scientists to view native peoples as an indistinct mass, but it is also subscribed to by many Quechua speakers themselves, perhaps as a consequence of limited systematic exposure to the mosaic that constitutes the Quechua linguistic family.

In this chapter, I discuss three axes of linguistic differentiation in the Quechua family: 1) the pre-Columbian differentiation of the Quechua family; 2) contact between Quechua languages and other indigenous South American languages; and 3) the emergence of elite, hispanized social registers of Quechua after the European invasion (1532), and their effect on what are, effectively, “interethnic” interactions. There are broad political, policy, and sociolinguistic issues that also emerge from the interaction between the Quechua languages and Spanish, and between first-language speakers of Quechua and first-language speakers of Spanish that fall outside the scope of this chapter.³

THE QUECHUA LANGUAGE FAMILY

A working consensus among historical linguists is that the Quechua linguistic family has two main branches, a *Central* branch (“Quechua I”), spoken in the highland provinces of the modern Peruvian Departments of Junín, Pasco, Lima, Huánuco, and Ancash; and a *Peripheral* branch (“Quechua II”) spoken both to the north (pockets in the Peruvian Departments of Lambayeque, Cajamarca, Amazonas, and San Martín; Ecuador, and Colombia) and to the south (Northwest Argentina, Bolivia, and the six southeastern Departments of Peru). While the division into two branches was noted anecdotally by scholars and churchmen (without a scholarly framework within which to place it), the first systematic comparative work, and grouping of the languages of the Quechua family, was identified almost simultaneously and independently by Alfredo Torero (1964) and Gary Parker (1963, published in 1966). Both scholars assembled sets of cognate forms in the Quechua languages that had been described, albeit partially, by the 1960s, including colonial works, and both identified the division between the branches on the basis of phonological innovations in each of the branches. The current synthesis is owed to Cerrón-Palomino (1987) and Adelaar and Muysken (2004, pp. 194–237). There are limitations, however, to this classification. In the 1970s, when it was first proposed, there was little systematic research in the Central Quechua languages. Shortly after, scholars began more systematic research on Central Quechua (Cerrón-Palomino, 1976; Adelaar, 1977, 1987; Parker, 1976; and Weber, 1989). Parker’s analysis of the evolution of Central Quechua (Parker, 2013, pp. 197–215), first issued as a working paper in 1971, has catalyzed further scholarship since then. Evidence from the Central Quechua varieties remains limited to a handful of descriptive works, most based on fieldwork with one of a few individual speakers (with exceptions in Cerrón-Palomino (1989) and Weber (1989)). Even today, grammatical evidence from the eastern slopes of the Andes, from the western Amazon, and from most of Bolivia is more limited than usually sustains comparative linguistic reconstruction.

The consensus working classification of the Quechua language family is as below. The classification draws on Torero (1964, 2002); Cerrón-Palomino (1987); Mannheim (1991); and Adelaar and Muysken (2004). The names for the distinct branches of the language family combine Torero’s (1964) classification (Quechua I, Ia, etc.) with my own (Central, Peripheral). I provide a semi-technical overview of the different variants of Quechua and the characteristics of proto-Quechua.⁴

CENTRAL QUECHUA (QUECHUA I)

Ia. Huaylas-Conchucos, spoken in the Department of Ancash, Peru, apart from the Province of Bolognesi; also spoken in the northern part of the Department of Huánuco and in an enclave in La Libertad.

1b. Alto Paavola, Alto Marañón, Alto Huallaga, spoken to the south of Ia in the Departments of Huánuco and Ancash, with enclaves in the Department of Lima.

1c. Yare, spoken in the Departments of Pasco and Junín, and in adjacent parts of the Department of Lima, particularly in the Province of Yauyos.

1d. **Huanca**, spoken in Jauja and adjacent parts of the Department of Junín, with enclaves in Yauyos (Department of Lima).

1e. **Huangáscar-Topará**, spoken at the intersection of the Departments of Lima, Ica, and Huancavelica.

There is a complex interspersion of linguistic innovations in Central Quechua, which make it difficult to fit neatly onto a cladogram (a tree diagram showing linguistic inheritance), as Parker and others have observed, though there are particularly good linguistic descriptions of several of these varieties, by Cerrón-Palomino (1976), Parker (1976), and Weber (1989), each of which show the systematic structure of local varieties. Cerrón-Palomino's (1989) study of the social dialectology of Huanca (1d) is important for its systematic treatment of linguistic variability in a single Quechua language.

PERIPHERAL QUECHUA (QUECHUA II)

Ila. **Unnamed**. The varieties spoken in Cajamarca, Lambayeque, and in parts of Yauyos (perhaps the linguistically most complex province in the entire geographic purview of the Quechua family) have been grouped together largely because they have characteristics of both major branches of the Quechua family, but they do not group together into a single clade. For discussion, see Torero (1968), Landerman (1978), Grimes (1985), and Heggarty (2005, pp. 42–44).

Ilb. **Northern Quechua**. Varieties are spoken in northeastern Peru, particularly in the Department of San Martín and in Chachapoyas, in Ecuador—both in the sierra and in the Ecuadorian Amazon—and in Colombia. Muysken (2011) observes that these varieties of Quechua diverge significantly from all other Quechua languages on a number of features, some of which are shared with neighboring linguistic families, particularly Jivaroan and Barbacoan, and suggests that the divergences are the result of long-term intimate contact (see also Zariquiey Biondi, 2004; Reeve, 2014). Indeed, the sociolinguistics of language contact in the eastern Andes and western Amazon is not well understood, and requires empirical research that focuses on the linguistic repertoires available to communities, and on the speech of individuals who are control two or more linguistic varieties. In this respect, the territory encompassed today by northern Quichua is an instance of inter-indigenous patterns of multilingualism that have been identified throughout South America (Aikhenvald, 2002; Muysken 2012a; Mufwene, 2014; Lee, 2014; Moore, 2014; Epps, 2018, forthcoming). An especially vexing problem is the relationship between the Amazonian varieties and geographically (and sometimes socially) contiguous highland varieties. There are common innovations in the number (plurality) system in Amazonian varieties that suggest that they are not merely projections eastward of highland Quechuas.

Ilc. **Southern Quechua** varieties are spoken in the six southeastern Departments of Peru, from Huancavelica to Puno, in Bolivia, and in Argentina. While the varieties spoken in the south of Peru are relatively well described (at least in

urban cores, with much less attention to regional and register diversity than one would want), there is far less systematic research in Bolivia, and consequently many more unanswered questions, including the specific relationships among Bolivian varieties, the relationships between these varieties and Southern Peruvian Quechua, the effects of contact with other indigenous languages, such as Aymara (but see Hosokawa, 1980 and Narayanan, 2018), and the complex interaction that Bolivian varieties of Quechua have had with Spanish (Albó, 1974; Howard, 2007; Babel, 2018). The administrative language of the Inka state, Tawantinsuyu, was a Southern Quechua language, which continues to be widely spoken in southeastern Peru (and may well be a source of Bolivian varieties). Southern Quechua was the major source of a pastoral register that developed as part of the evangelization of the Andean region, beginning in the late sixteenth century (Durstun, 2007), and was the source of the Quechua overlay discussed in the last section of this chapter. There is a written literature in southern Quechua, both in Peruvian and Bolivian varieties that dates as far back as the sixteenth century, including sermonals and other ecclesiastic works, dramatic poems, other theatric works; formal poetry, and today, novels, song performances, and occasional periodicals. While epistolary sources have been identified in other South American indigenous languages, such as Mapudungun and Guaraní, they have not been identified systematically for Southern Quechua (see Itier, 1991).

The parent language, reconstructed comparatively from the distinct contemporary languages (and where possible from older written sources) is called *Proto-Quechua* (or “reconstructed Quechua”). It is believed to have been spoken approximately 2,000 years Before Present, although the chronology of changes that is established by comparative reconstruction is a relative, not an absolute, chronology. The date should be taken as a very rough estimate. The common ancestor of the Quechua family is distinct phonologically and morphologically from any of the descendent Quechua languages, though the latter retain their shared syntactic characteristics with some exceptions.⁵

There are two broad sources of differentiation among the languages. Phonologically, most of the central Quechua varieties developed distinctive vowel length, meaning that these varieties have six distinctive vowels, rather than three, and have a different rhythmic system from the proto-Quechua (and from the Peripheral varieties); some Peripheral varieties have merged apical spirants and fricatives into their laminal counterparts, and many (but far from all) the Peripheral varieties developed distinctive ejectives (glottalized stops) and aspirates among the stop consonants (Mannheim, 1991, Chapter 8). These changes are relatively recent, both partly taking place in the historical period (post 1532). Because both involve retraction of the tongue root as a key articulatory gesture in their production, there is some possibility that these changes are related to each other. (Indeed, the retracted, apical sibilants and fricatives comprise one of the sources of glottalization in those varieties that have the feature; Mannheim, 1991, pp.175–176, following a suggestion by Alfredo Torero, 1964, p. 463). Morphologically, there are significant differences between the two branches, along with considerable variability within them (especially in the Northern languages).⁶

There is further reconstruction internal to Proto-Quechua that has established an earlier stage of the language, sometimes called “pre-Proto-Quechua” (Emlen and Adelaar, 2017; Emlen, 2017b; 2018). “Pre-Proto-Quechua” pushes back the origin point for the Quechua family chronologically, and perhaps geographically. In Emlen’s reconstruction, pre-Proto-Quechua has a classifier system characterizing classes of actions, things, shape, and other abstract properties, prefixed to the stem, alongside a suffix system denoting properties of action, especially directional properties, resembling similar systems in languages to the north and east of the current expanse of the Quechua family. The reconstruction accounts for recurrent features of the descendent languages in the family, particularly for recurrent form-meaning correspondences in lexical roots that fall far short of morphological productivity, and similar recurrent form and notional properties of the grammar. These are features that are frequently entangled areally—in which, through sustained multilingualism, languages in contact come to resemble each other in syntactic typology, through a process of structural entrainment or *metatypy*. A reconstruction toward an origin point must also be accompanied by a systemic account of the changes that the language has undergone, a *prospective reconstruction* (Saussure, 1915, p. 128; Mannheim, 1991, p. 38). Emlen (2017b, 2018), Adelaar (2009, 2012), and Muysken (2012b) propose that the syntactic consistency of the modern Quechua languages is a consequence of long-term entrainment of the ancestor of proto-Quechua to Aymara, intertwined historically under different social conditions at different moments in their prehistory.⁷ The more recent divergence of the northernmost—Ecuadorian and Colombian—Quechua varieties represent a similar process of sustained multilingualism, fluid and likely egalitarian, with neighboring Barbacoan (Floyd and Norcliffe, 2016; Gómez Rendón, 2017) and Jivaroan (Muysken, 2011) languages.

ECOLOGIES OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

Language contact is grounded in a culturally specific use of social and geographic space. In the Andean region, there are four themes that emerge (Mannheim, 1991, pp. 49–53): geographic noncontiguity, in which social units, from households to entire polities, can be interspersed; local essentialism, in which speech and personal identity are connected intimately with a specific place; non-correspondence between “ethnic” identity and language (Bouysse-Cassagne, 1976, p.99); and organization of social differences on a stable, rather than contingent basis, so that imitating the social identity of another person is *not* a mechanism of linguistic change. A fifth theme, which draws these together, seems paradoxical at first: individuals maintain the essential linguistic (and sometimes other) characteristics with which they were born, so that a speaker of X who marries into a household speaking Y, is often forced to conform to the rest of the household; but for reasons of shifting household composition or local politics a household might shift language from one generation to another fluidly (for example, fully Aymara in generation 1, but Quechua by generation 3); both of these can be projected onto larger scale social units that are ideologically X (by shared, local essence) and appear to have clear social boundaries (but historically did not). These principles play out differently in different social circumstances, which I illustrate with three examples below, one from the early colonial period, from the Colca Valley, and two that are contemporary, from interaction between Quechua

and Machiguenga, an Arawakan language spoken in the westernmost Amazon, and between Quechua and Aymara in Puno, Peru.

Among the late sixteenth century colonial administrative reports collected in the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias* is one by Juan de Ulloa Mogollón (1586 [1965]), describing a system of linguistic differentiation, entwined in an ecologically symbiotic relationship among the Collaguas, who spoke Aymara; the Cavanas, who spoke a local variety of Southern Quechua; and a third language not identified by Ulloa, which he mentions but does not discuss further.⁸ (The third language, may well have been Puquina, which contemporaries placed in Colca and an adjacent valley; the only substantive written source in Puquina is by Luis Jeronimo de Oré, a missionary priest stationed in the Colca Valley.) The Quechua-speaking Cavanas, who occupied agricultural lands in the warmer valleys, were relative newcomers; the Aymara-speaking Collaguas occupied herding lands in the frigid plateaus as well as the poorest agricultural lands in the valleys; with the Inka expansion, they became the nucleus of Inka indirect rule (Wernke, 2006). These units in turn were subdivided, first into two ranked local settlements, then again by a ranked moiety division, then again—for the lower moieties—a ranked tripartite division.⁹

The highest-level distinction in this system of social differentiation was marked by the most indelible of bodily modifications, the binding of infant crania, along with differences of origin myth (and so relationship to the landscape) and dress. The Aymara-speaking Collaguas practiced annular modification of their crania, elongating their skulls toward the back; Cavana crania exhibit a range of variation that suggests that they practiced no modification save for the effects of cradle boarding their infants, although Ulloa thought this to be deliberately aimed toward the production of low, bulging heads. The social boundary semiotically fits the classic definition of markedness: a social mark on one side of a boundary, contrasted with its significant absence (the unmarked form) across the social boundary. These practices likely fell into disuse as the social distinctions that supported it were leveled (Stern, 1982, pp. 59ff.; Mannheim, 1991, p. 60).

The social, and linguistic, distinction—bundled as it is with ecological differentiation and cranial modification—is an ascribed, enduring distinction, one that inheres in the individual person, not in the household or the burial unit. Studies by Miriam Doutriaux (2004, p. 185) and Matthew Velasco (2014) report mixed modifications in both household burials (meaning that then, as now, once could marry across the linguistic boundary) and in funerary structures located in the upper valley, near the geographic point of contact between the essentialized ecological zones. There is no reason to suppose that any of the social groupings discussed earlier were endogamous. Crania modified in the typical Collagua style are not found exclusively in any one burial chamber. Modified and unmodified individuals were apparently buried alongside one another, suggesting that social boundaries marked by cranial modification were not isomorphic with those emplaced by funerary construction. Thus, a pattern: linguistic divisions were essentialized and marked by cranial vault modification at the individual level, households (and likely face-to-face interactions) were fluid in composition, but—in line with Ulloa's description—the social differences were treated as essential again at the most superordinate level.

Indeed, the territorially discontinuous distribution of cranial vault modification suggests that Ulloa's essentialist dichotomy belies a more complex pattern of

interaction on the ground; the kind of fluid interaction among languages that one finds, for example, between modern-day Machiguenga (Arawakan) and Quechua in La Convención, Cuzco (Emlen, 2017a), in which language shift is bidirectional, many households are composites, and every household has a history of its own. The town of Yokiri in La Convención sits at the frontier between Amazonian Machiguengas and Andean Quechuas, the *punku* or “portal” that opens into the Amazon. Although there has been a pattern of interaction between them that likely goes back a millennium, the first-language Quechua speakers are primarily settlers from the Andes. A common pattern is for Quechua men to establish a household with Machiguenga women, with both having access to Spanish as a neutral language, although Emlen notes that “such trilingual households exist alongside other households in which the three languages are represented in each possible combination, so these sociolinguistic associations can vary greatly from one family to the next” (2017a, p. 566). Community meetings are conducted in a Spanish limited to bureaucratic, formulaic expressions. Notice that in economic and political terms, it is Quechua that represents social dominance, not Spanish, and though one would expect that Spanish would expand under such circumstances, if only for instrumental reasons, Machiguenga and Quechua both provide ground for social identification, and so continue to thrive. Household interaction is conducted in either Quechua and Machiguenga, largely depending on the contingencies of household composition. Traditional Machiguenga narratives are told in Machiguenga, traditional Quechua narratives in Quechua, without codeswitching between the two languages. The overall pattern is quite similar to the one that we identified for the colonial Colca valley. Individuals are quintessentially one language or the other, but language is regimented at the level of the household, with intergenerational fluidity in the household language. At a community level linguistic differences are represented as indexing essentially different populations. In the process of contact, the rich Machiguenga nominal classifier system, characteristic of southern Arawakan languages has reduced in scope, with an especially marked reallocation of agentive categories (Emlen, personal communication).

The city of Puno, capital of the Peruvian Department of the same name, is famously divided geographically between speakers of Quechua and speakers of Aymara, with a hispanophone urban core (Narayanan, 2018). Quechua and Aymara speakers have distinct political organizations, are represented as fully distinct in mass media, occupy distinct territories, both within the city and more broadly in the Province, and are said to depend on different water sources—Quechua speakers drink “Quechua water” (Primov, 1974 p. 180), a remark revealing an essentialist identification with place of origin discussed above. The overall pattern, reported by Narayanan is similar to the patterns in Colca and Yokiri: individuals are quintessentially one or another (also see Moya, 2013; Moya and Boyd, 2016), language is regimented at the household level—so that if a woman speaking one of the languages marries into a patrilocal household in which the other is spoken, she is expected to conform to the language of the household. In the public sphere, the two languages are represented as essentialized indices of membership in one or another rigidly bounded ethnic group. In Puno, Spanish plays a much larger, dominant public role, and this has created a countervailing public discourse of indigenous unity vis-à-vis Spanish, and individual ethnic identification with one or the other indigenous language as a matter of heritage, even among individuals who either primarily or exclusively speak Spanish. A second zone of interaction

between Quechua and Aymara, North Potosí in Bolivia is more rural, and transitions between the two languages follow a pattern much closer to that in Yokiri, individual and language essentialism, household fluidity across generations.

THE COLONIAL EMERGENCE OF ELITE SOCIAL REGISTERS OF QUECHUA

The third axis of variability is a surprising one. Discussions of Quechua under Spanish colonial rule and in the contemporary Andean republics have largely rested on two assumptions: that contemporary linguistic domination is continuous with a colonial “imposition” of the Castilian language on the new subjects of the Spanish empire in the sixteenth century; and that the linguistic outcome has been the gradual accommodation of Quechua speakers to the Spanish language. Neither linguistic domination nor contemporary demographic accommodation of Quechua speakers to Spanish are in doubt, but their history is territorially much more uneven, and in southern Quechua areas, the demographic accommodation much more recent. Throughout this region (and though less well documented, in Ecuadorian Quichua as well), the colonial settlers did not have the demographic clout to impose their language on native peoples. Instead an elite register of Quechua regimented to Spanish phonologically, syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically, emerged, which was used by landowners and administrators of rural estates, priests, long-distance traders, political figures, and is used today by NGO workers and translators. In order to understand how this is so, it is useful to compare linguistic practices in the late sixteenth-century diocese of Lima, which included substantial portions of the central Peruvian highlands, with the diocese of Cuzco, largely covering the territory which today are the six southeastern Departments of Peru.¹⁰ In language policy, both were subjects of the same debates and pronouncements, detailed in Mannheim (1991, pp. 61–79; also see Rivarola, 1990, pp. 123–147), but local linguistic practices differed significantly, in response to the demographics of settler colonialism.

Consider the differences between the seventeenth-century Archbishopric of Lima, which included the central coast of Peru and adjacent highland areas—Huaylas, Conchucos, Tarma, Jauja and Yauyos and the Archbishopric of Cuzco, which covered the highlands to the south and east, along with the southern coast. Settlers from the Spanish peninsula were concentrated in the Archbishopric of Lima, which additionally carried out campaigns against native religious practices (Duviols, 1971; Mills, 2009) and established schools in *doctrinas*, native parishes, in which among other things, indigenous children were taught to speak, read, and write in Spanish (Huras, 2016). On the coast, there was a major demographic collapse of native populations during the sixteenth century.

In contrast, in the Archbishopric of Cuzco few Spaniards or descendants of Spaniards were present in rural areas in the late seventeenth century (Garrett, 2005, Chapter 2; 2012). Spaniards (and their Criollo descendants, mainly landholders, administrators, and priests) lived primarily in urban areas, and never in the countryside in any substantial numbers. Even those who lived in urban areas spoke Quechua as well as Spanish (and often to each other, a reflection of their regional allegiances). The priest-jurist Ignacio de Castro wrote in the late eighteenth century that the few elites of Cuzco spoke Spanish, but that they and “people of honor” spoke Quechua

with their servants, and preferred to hear mass said in Quechua (Castro, 1978 [1788], p. 44.) This is a pattern both widespread and enduring during the colonial period and lasted into the twentieth century (for details, see López Lenci, 2005; Méndez Gastelumendi, 2013, Chapter 5; and Mannheim, 2018).

The shift to the contemporary geography of language and of language use—in which Quechua is identified with the highlands and treated as undifferentiated—dates to the middle of the nineteenth century and is fully anchored in Lima (Méndez Gastelumendi, 2011). The contemporary sociolinguistic setting in southern Peru, in which Quechua is rapidly ceding ground to Spanish, in contrast, is relatively modern. In Cuzco, it likely began during the process of rebuilding the city after the earthquake of 1950, when new commercial interests entered the city from Lima and Arequipa. Across Quechua-speaking Peru, the process of language decline was accelerated by the reforms undertaken under the military government of the 1970s, particularly the creation of a fully implemented system of basic rural education, along with the collapse of the estate system under the Agrarian Reform of 1969. Both were fundamentally important to rural Quechuas, but carried with them relatively sudden shifts in linguistic practices. The relationships between Quechua and Spanish languages, and thus among their speakers, described in ethnographic monographs and by educational specialists is thoroughly contemporary, not traditional.

Thus, it should not be surprising that instead of imposing the colonial language in the diocese of Cuzco, the language that emerged among Spanish settlers and their Criollo descendants was a special register of Spanish-inflected Quechua, which developed primarily among provincial elites and traders (a register that César Itier calls “Quechua general” (Itier, 2000; also Taylor, 1978, 2001), but which I call the “overlay register”, in tandem with a specifically religious register of Quechua (Durstun, 2007). These registers are found both in urban settings such as Cochabamba, Puno, Ayacucho, and Cuzco, and among owners of rural estates (Lavallé, 1987; Mannheim 1991; Itier, 1992; Cerrón-Palomino, 1997; de la Cadena 2000). They brought Quechua lexical, morphological, and phonological forms into alignment with Spanish semantics and pragmatics. Indeed, for demographic reasons, Spanish-inflected local registers of Quechua were a much more common “intermediary” between the languages than were Quechua-inflected local varieties of Spanish, at least until the early part of the twentieth century.

For example, this overlay register is found in eighteenth-century dramatic poems such as *Ollanta* and *El pobre más rico*, in nineteenth-century urban theater (Itier, 1995), and in the contested drama, *Tragedia del fin de Atawallpa* (Lara, 1957). It is also the Quechua of the Centro Qosqo de Arte Nativo (Mendoza, 2008), of the distinguished anthropologist of the 1920s Luis Valcárcel and of the novelist and poet José María Arguedas, and of Quechua poetry destined to remain in desk drawers (Noriega, 1993). And today it is the Quechua of “multicultural bilingual education” (educación bilingüe multicultural) and of the provincial non-governmental organizations.

Linguistically, the overlay register can be characterized phonetically, syntactically (including in the expression of social agency), semantically (including “core” cultural terms), and pragmatically (including greetings and gifting). The phonetic indices are rigid both socially and phonetically, and mark the social origins of a speaker as surely as cranial vault modification did. Bilinguals are socially sensitive to the buccal aperture of other peoples’ speech, regardless of their first language and regardless of

the language in which the speech is produced. The distinction is socially rigid and available to social discrimination.¹¹

The differences in sound pattern are accompanied by enregistered differences in syntax, grammatical semantics, lexical meaning, and interactional routines. For example, the agreement system, which expresses and structures notions of causal and social agency, is markedly different in the overlay and monolingual registers (Mannheim and Salas Carreño, 2015, pp. 50–52). In a narrative on which I am working, the phrase *hatun sunqu* is used to describe a particularly greedy landowner. Among Quechua monolinguals, it means roughly “expansive essence,” in other words, a “predator.” In the overlay, which is calibrated to lexical equivalences between Spanish and Quechua (as, for example is the dictionary of the Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua (2005; see Cerrón-Palomino, 1997), it would be translated as “big hearted.” Quechua monolinguals and bilingual speakers who speak Quechua as a first language, introduce themselves by mentioning the place they are from, often before their name. Overlay speakers, in contrast, introduce themselves (as in Spanish) by name only. For monolingual speakers, the default form of narrative is conversational, requiring input, and at least assent from other participants in the speech event. For overlay speakers, it is monological. “*Allin p’unchay*” (Good day), “*añay*” (thank you), and “*allin kaw-say*” (good life) are all innovations in the overlay register. In contrast, for monolingual speakers, it is dialogical, assuming a social relationship: “*Allillanchu/allillanmi*” (Is it good?/It’s good), “*urpi sunqu*” (dove essence, focusing on the social relationship), and “*allin ñan*” (good road, usually wished to newlyweds), respectively. In short, the overlay is regimented to Spanish-language linguistic and social practices, phonologically, syntactically, lexically, and pragmatically.

While the registers look more-or-less equivalent on paper, in fact they are vastly different demographically. In many rural communities, young children speak Quechua monolingually and are exposed to Spanish only in the school system. The overwhelming majority of adults use the monolingual register, and a substantial minority, first-language speakers of Quechua who have learned Spanish as a second language, speak a closely related register. In rural areas, the overlay is limited to a small minority of first-language Spanish speakers, though it is quite common in cities, creating the illusion that it is dominant.

Today, scholars, such as linguists and anthropologists are more likely to find their research intermediated by Spanish-inflected Quechua than by the Quechua of monolinguals, and to not recognize the fundamental differences between them. Pretenses to the intimacy of fieldwork notwithstanding, scholarly knowledge of the Andean languages and cultures is filtered through the overlay, the already “colonized voice of indigeneity” (Silverstein, 2017), meaning that language structure and social practice are both rendered invisible. What we are facing is the flipside of James Scott’s (1998) notion of “legibility” through which populations that cannot easily be shoehorned into the rationality of a state-ordered society find that their language, culture, and social relations are literally rendered invisible in favor of proxies, the Spanish-inflected Quechua that I described above.

Though Quechua is often spoken of as singular, Quechua is a differentiated field—differentiated in a two-millennium history, differentiated through contact with other indigenous languages, and differentiated socially, binding within it the prehistory, the history, and the sociology of its speakers, challenging its facile reduction to a homogeneous indigenous other.

NOTES

- 1 On the situational fluidity of self-identification see Babel 2018, pp. 91–96.
- 2 An alternate account is that the language is named after the province of *Quichuas* but there is no convincing reason that the colonial name of the province would have been adopted for the language as a whole.
- 3 See Albó, 1974; Haboud, 1998; De Granda, 1999; Escobar, 2000; Cerrón-Palomino, 2003; Howard, 2007; Zavala et al., 2016; Mujica, 2017; Zavala and Back, 2017; Babel, 2018; and Huayhua, 2018.
- 4 Of necessity, my discussion of the language classification is brief and impressionistic. For detailed, systematic evidence, I refer the reader to the works by Adelaar, Cerrón-Palomino, and Torero cited above, along with Parker (2013).
- 5 Right-headed, with objects before the verb, adjectives before nouns, possessors before the thing (or the action) they possess, exclusively suffixing, with no grammatical modifications to words other than by means of suffixes, morphological agglutination, with a generally (but not absolutely) consistent order of grammatical affixes. Notable exceptions are the Ecuadorian and Colombian varieties—see Muysken, 2000, 2011.
- 6 Although some specific areas of variability have been addressed we will not fully understand the history or the prehistory of the Quechua languages without systematically addressing changes in the morphology and grammatical semantics, in the tradition of Watkins (1970), Kurylowicz (1973), Silverstein (1977, 2016), and Joseph (2001).
- 7 A similar proposal was advanced earlier on the basis of more modern evidence by Martha Hardman (1979, 1985).
- 8 See Mannheim, Davis, and Velasco (2018) for further details of this analysis and additional references.
- 9 Wernke (2006) takes this as evidence that the lower moieties were the focus of Inka indirect rule of the valley, but also observes that Inka rule likely ossified the boundaries among ecologically differentiated groups.
- 10 A more detailed discussion of the material discussed in this section can be found in Mannheim (2018).
- 11 For a discussion of the phonetics of the register distinction, see Guion, Flege, and Loftin, 2000; Pasquale 2001, 2009; and Pérez Silva, Acurio Palma, and Bendejú Araujo, 2009. The social interpretation is discussed by Huayhua, 2016; and Huayhua, this volume, Chapter 27, in which she provides a detailed explanation of the auditory distinctions that are recognized in light of the use of the buccal cavity and the matched-guise-test she employed called “identity ascription,” to generate identity attribution among primarily Quechua-speaking individuals and primarily Spanish-speaking. She used the test to examine if identity ascription from speech was unavoidable regardless of the language being spoken.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

DOCUMENTS, LAW, AND THE STATE IN THE ANDES



Kristin Skrabut

DOCUMENTARY FUTURES, PAST AND PRESENT

June 2016. “*So you have some curiosities . . . some doubts or questions about the digital ID cards.*” The head of Peru’s new digital registry program asked me this from across a long table, accompanied by four other digital registry experts. When I asked to interview someone at RENIEC (Peru’s National Registry of Identity and Civil Status) regarding Peru’s new e-ID cards—cards that promised more efficient and secure access to the state through the use of “smartchips” with encrypted biometric data and digital signature information—I had not anticipated the personalized panel and slide presentation I was now sitting through. During the 90-minute presentation, I realized RENIEC agents were concerned I would report on the program from what one expert described as an “Anglo Saxon” perspective that fixated on the nefarious potential of government surveillance, rather than draw on their “Roman” tradition, which valued documents as symbols of inclusion in a nation of rights-bearing citizens.

However, several years of research on statecraft in Peru had taught me that documents were invested with meanings and embedded in dynamics far more complex than either of these perspectives allowed. As materializations of law and “the state,” documents were a means through which justice was sought and citizenship produced, but they were also tools of dispossession and capable of separating the letter from the spirit of the law. They represented the state’s simultaneous penetration and distance from everyday life, haunting social relations and promising transparency while producing fear, confusion, and disorder (Das and Poole, 2004; Holston, 2008; Goldstein, 2012). Documents were integral to the construction of social relations and hierarchies (Weismantel, 2001; Lazar, 2008), and sometimes provided ways around them. Finally, documents and the juridical categories they deployed provided the common language through which different actors negotiated power, simultaneously speaking to and past one another (De la Cadena, 2001, 2015). The question then was not simply whether e-IDs and related forms of e-governance were bad or good, invasive or liberating, but rather how these new objects and techniques would intersect with existing social dynamics to reproduce and reshape relations of citizenship and the identity of the state.

In this chapter, I lay the groundwork for analyses of these evolving technologies of statecraft by highlighting the diverse, powerful, and contradictory ways documents intervene in Peruvians' everyday lives. To do this, I follow the story of a single "illicit" land takeover in Pachacútec, an impoverished shantytown in Lima's northwestern periphery, and elaborate on the shifting role of law and documents at every stage in the process. I have chosen to look at property rather than identity, civil status, or any of the other sociopolitical relations in which documents are implicated for several reasons. First, property relations and the documents that certify them are an especially salient and oft-discussed feature of social and political life in this shantytown. Second, property provides a paradigmatic example of how "law" operates more generally in Latin America, not as a clear and singular set of written rules but as an "essentially discursive" form of "integrated sociolegal practice, in which social actors create locally meaningful codes of conduct and systems of values that are derived from multiple—and contested—conceptual sources, including transnational legal regimes, national legal codes, 'customary' legal principles, and . . . a perpetually emergent 'vernacular' jurisprudence" (Goodale, 2008, p. 227). Finally, property has the ability to make documentary dynamics uniquely visible by projecting them onto space, while also highlighting some of their most dramatic consequences.

As a prelude to this ethnographic exploration of documents and property, I begin by providing some theoretical context for an analysis of documents in the Andes. I then delve into an ethnography of a contested land claim to highlight the double-edged nature of state inscription and the role of documents in constituting performances of citizenship, law and "the state" in ways that both reinforce and undermine the existing order. Next, I explore the role of documents in constituting political relationships, the ambivalent identities of individuals adept at navigating the formal and informal aspects of bureaucracies, and the conflicts and anxieties surrounding the necessary gap between lived reality and documentary representation. I conclude by considering the implications of these dynamics for the latest phase in the development of Peruvian statecraft—the rise of digital identities and e-governance infrastructure.

THEORIZING DOCUMENTS

I first became aware of the fetishistic quality of documents in Peru when I encountered RENIEC's "Right to Identity" campaign in 2007. I had just started working in Pachacútec when I stumbled upon an event in which hundreds of women were waiting in line to process birth certificates for the children they had in tow. As one woman explained, "If I don't worry about getting a birth certificate for my child, he would be an animal. My child would be a zero . . . Someone that isn't worth anything because he doesn't have anything [documentation]." My interlocutors likewise described other types of formalization using analogies to birth certificates and idioms of existence. Formalizing a community dining hall or a mother's club was like getting a "birth certificate" for the organization, and land titles were described as "birth certificates" for houses. At a community meeting, one resident declined a nomination to serve as a community representative because, as he explained, "I am not, as they say, a title-holder . . . I don't exist." When my interlocutors acquired documents through

their engagements with different authorities—certificates of live birth, certificates of survival, vaccination certificates, birth certificates, education certificates, marriage certificates, proof of residency, etcetera—they tucked these documents neatly into plastic folders. Compiling and maintaining this dossier helped to certify a life properly lived and gave the bearer a sense of civic engagement and propriety.

The existential importance of documents was based on the original violence of Spanish colonialism, a violence that is reproduced at every “checkpoint” and every encounter where state agents request or receive documents. Peruvian anthropologist and novelist José María Arguedas describes the use of documents as tools of dispossession with frightening simplicity. “The judges and the notaries signed papers of every description; that sufficed . . . The plundering of the ayllus began” (Arguedas, 2002, p. 6). As different authorities came to power in the Andes they demanded written proof to certify native land claims and social arrangements, proof that only they had the “right” to distribute. Documents gave lived relations political-legal weight and, empirically speaking, had a magic that could influence the behavior of others and authorize actions—like theft and violence—that were otherwise prohibited (Weismantel, 2001; Gordillo, 2006). Moving ahead to Peru’s dirty war² in the 1980s, Poole describes state rituals of “reading” lists and “checking” IDs that carry with them both the “ominous uncertainty of war” and “the tangible familiarity of the fluttering, unread, arbitrary and shifting forms of paperwork that mark the . . . lived geography of a state whose form—like the paperwork itself—was never fixed or stable” (Poole, 2004, p. 36). Uncertain about how their documents would be read, in this context, “a personal identity card was simultaneously a peasant’s only guarantee and his source of greatest vulnerability to the arbitrary power of the state” (Poole, 2004, p. 36).

That said, Peruvians have never been hapless victims in this process; instead they learned to use documents and the law to their advantage (see Lobo, 1982; Seligmann, 1995; Thurner, 1997). We might call this embrace of law “hegemony” if we understand this term to mean not rigid domination but rather the “endless motion between contestation and acquiescence” as people strategically draw on a network of signs and systems of meaning to advance their positions (De la Cadena, 2000, p. 317). Indeed, Peru’s ethnographic record provides numerous examples of what I would call “agentic mimicry” between state agents and citizens. Seeking to govern more effectively, the state establishes legal categories and institutions based on misreadings of indigenous populations and lifeways, which populations then appropriate in an effort to effectively engage and negotiate with the state (see Lobo, 1982; Seligmann, 1995; Ødegaard, 2010).

The embrace of law and fetishism of documents as materializations of state authority help explain why Peruvians subject themselves to *tramites*. Although directly translated as “bureaucratic procedures,” *tramites*—which, like documents, help constitute people’s separation from and engagement with the state as well as the reality of “the state” itself—are better understood as ordeals “undertaken at great personal cost . . . a necessary, unavoidable bureaucratic hassle that you have to face if you want to function as a legal and legitimate member of society, but nonetheless an enormous drain on your time, energy and resources” (Goldstein, 2004, pp. 90–91).

Finally, as material objects, papers on which signs have been inscribed, documents introduce particular anomalies into the dynamics of statecraft. Documents bearing the “signature of the state” can be replicated and forged, giving life to “the state”

while imbuing documents with uncertainty (Das, 2007). Documents are also subject to a powerful “politics of *immediation*” (Mazzarella, 2006, emphasis mine) in which their role as mediators is denied and they are expected to be passive conveyers of unmediated truth (Hull, 2012). As a result, Peruvians often interpret documents’ quality of perdurance, which makes them valuable but also necessarily separates them from the ever-shifting realities of the social world, as contributing to the ineffectiveness of government. It is in part this fervent belief, shared by state agents and citizens alike, that “transparent,” unmediated, and perfectly updated information will create a more modern and socially just democracy, that has led to the embrace of new technologies of statecraft, surveillance, and identification in Peru.

AUTHORIZED VIOLENCE AND AMBIVALENT INSCRIPTIONS

In November 2009, I was interviewing Gerald Vega, the lawyer responsible for Pachacútec’s *saneamiento físico-legal*, a legal term that refers to aligning physical realities with official records and otherwise “cleaning up” property relations, when he got a call about a new “invasion” in sector G4. Pachacútec was initially founded as a “self-help” housing project in the year 2000, when 25,000 squatters from the south of Lima, the majority of whom were second and third generation rural migrants, were relocated to a barren desert two hours north of the city center. Squatters agreed to the relocation in exchange for free land on which to build their houses, easy access to land titles, and national government support for installing infrastructure. However, since the relocation Pachacútec has continued to grow, primarily via unauthorized “land invasions” instigated by individuals with few other options for obtaining affordable housing. This dynamic reflects longstanding patterns of urban development in Lima, where law and governance appear to be constantly “catching up” with urban growth (Collier, 1976).

In a land invasion, a group of neighbors identifies a shared need for more housing and organizes a collective, overnight takeover of vacant land on which they can construct homes of their own. Once in physical possession of the land, squatters lobby politicians to legalize their land claims. They combine discourses of autonomy and entrepreneurship with conservative family values to portray themselves as poor but upstanding individuals whose illegal actions are justified by their moral obligations to provide dignified homes for their families. However, politicians must weigh squatters’ desires for “homes of their own” against the threats that these ad hoc occupations pose to the development of the clean and orderly city that many Limeños, including “invaders,” desire. Thus, on many occasions squatters are removed by force. It was Vega’s job to assess whether the new settlement in G4 should be allowed to stay and Pachacútec’s original plans altered, or if the original plans should be respected and the “invaders” violently evicted. As an anthropologist interested in Pachacútec’s development, I was graciously allowed to tag along.

When we arrived at the G4 invasion, a barren patch of sand at the edge of Pachacútec on which precarious homes of straw and plastic now stood, we were greeted by dozens of residents eager to demonstrate the righteousness of their land claims and how much they had suffered to make this land their own. Despite explaining that I was an anthropologist and not technically part of “the state” that could authorize their land claims, settlers still insisted I document their stories and living

conditions, hoping I could relay this information to media outlets or government officials who might champion their cause. A representative led me from one makeshift structure to another:

Just look at these living conditions. It's unfair . . . the kids are getting sick because of our conditions: the air quality, the food, the water. All we want is a little bit of help from the state, from the Regional Government to get land titles or be relocated elsewhere.

So far they had been subject to the harshest repression. One woman explained that police had come with horses to destroy their homes, that they beat one man until he was naked on the ground, that one pregnant woman had lost her baby in the violence. She couldn't get the images out of her head. "Like a scratched record, it repeats and repeats and repeats. I see it again and again and again." All this violence, they explained, even though their goal was to do right by the law: to formalize and regularize their settlement and to pay whatever money was owed to the people it legally corresponded to. But they said that they refused to work with *malos dirigentes* (bad/corrupt leaders) or *traficantes* (land traffickers) who wished to insert themselves into their negotiations with the state and profit from this mediating role. They wanted to work directly with the "correct" people in the state, official state agents who had the power to definitively authorize their land claims. However, with regional, provincial, municipal, and national governments to contend with, and different local leaders spreading misinformation, they did not know who that was. Law and "the state" were so complex as to be illegible to them (Das, 2007).

As I was talking with residents, Vega and the state's attorney who accompanied him were registering them. Settlers stood outside their shacks as they provided the lawyers with their names and ID numbers so it would be easier to link individuals to specific land claims. There were 70 individuals on site, but the *dirigente* (community leader) managing things, a young woman with tawny red hair, promised a list with identifying information for an additional 200 land claimants. As we left, the residents chanted Vega's name, hopeful about the results of the encounter, while Vega ruefully shook his head. "Six months ago, I came here to evict them and they tried to take my head off. This time, I'm like their savior." The state attorney was also conflicted about recording squatters' information, which he said would be used to initiate the "corresponding legal action." However, it remained unclear what that would be. It might mean official recognition of their land claims by the regional government, as the squatters hoped, or it might be used to press charges against settlers for illegally invading lands and defying removal orders. "It makes me sad to take their information," the attorney said. "There were young women there, eighteen and nineteen years old, who now are going to have a criminal record. And the dirigente said she'd give me 200 more names!" (Figures 33.1 and 33.2).

State attention and inscription is always double-edged. The squatters' illegal actions would likely remain on their police records for life, but this record could also serve as official evidence that they had maintained continuous possession of the land, which they could use to further their land claims. At the moment of inscription, it was unclear whether the information gathered would be used to help or harm, whether checking settlers' documents represented a "threat" of punishment



Figure 33.1 Attorneys for the Regional Government register occupants of the new settlement outside their would-be homes

Photo credit: Kristin Skrabut.



Figure 33.2 Settlers chant Gerald Vega's name in the hopes that their inscription in his registry will lead to the formalization of their settlement and an end to violent eviction efforts

Photo credit: Kristin Skrabut

or a “guarantee” that the state would protect their rights (Poole, 2004). Far from a clear set of rules, “law” in the Andes, and in Latin America more generally, is best understood as the unstable space between the legal and the illegal. As they occur, practices like land takeovers may be simultaneously “inside and outside” the law, but the distinction between the legal and the illegal emerges disjunctively (Goodale, 2008). Either the settlement would be authorized and squatters recognized as upright citizens seeking dignified homes and deserving of assistance, or the invasion would be deemed a threat to the existing order and efforts to violently evict and prosecute them would continue. After a week of rumors about more violent eviction efforts, I heard the settlement would be allowed to stay.

PERFORMING CITIZENSHIP AND FASHIONING LAW

“It won’t be long now,” Charo, one of the more loquacious new residents of G4 explained. Within a few short days, architects, engineers, and property tax surveyors would arrive to divide their occupation into legally sanctioned individual lots. “Very soon, we’ll have our *constancia de posesión*”—a certificate that the Regional Mayor had recognized their land claims and a potential precursor to obtaining nationally recognized land titles. Charo and her comrades were proud of their accomplishments, proud that they had dispelled the injurious rumors and proven themselves deserving of land:

They had said we were delinquents, thieves, terrorists, miscreants . . . That is how they described us . . . So we had to go to the authorities, to the press and say “No Sir, we are not delinquents, we are not traffickers. We are respectable people who need a house in which to live . . . in which to raise our children.”

Having witnessed the precariousness of their legalization process, I pressed for more information about how they had tipped things in their favor. Charo responded earnestly. “A person demonstrates that with actions, behaving well in the eyes of society. Doing the documents and everything by the proper channels.”

“Doing the documents.” It seemed so trivial compared to the violence that preceded it. For Charo, though, documents meant the difference between delinquents and citizens, between the enemies of order and the righteous impoverished. “Doing the documents” signaled a commitment to rational order, modernity, and development, while not doing them implied clandestine subversion, even when the act was as public as a land takeover. Even as Charo maintained that the abuses they suffered were a “complete violation of their human rights,” she conceded that, “one also has to recognize one’s own errors, because we entered here without documents to take possession of a Green Area which was set aside to maintain the environment . . . It was something illicit. We took possession illicitly.” In Charo’s description, documents had the power to make actions and actors visible, increasing their “transparency” and willingness to be known in a formal, bureaucratic sense.

Despite Charo’s confession of “illicitness,” other aspects of her story highlighted how settlers had used documents and other trappings of state officialdom to constitute their actions as legitimate from the beginning. She first clarified that the settlement

was not an “invasion,” but an “extension” (*ampliación*) of the existing G4 neighborhood, which residents had agreed to at their monthly community meeting.

We touched on the topic of people who were lodged in houses where other people had land titles, lots that are the property of other people. Since the majority of people were like that, the secretaries of G4 decided to expand housing for those who needed homes of their own . . . and solicit land from the regional government.

They inscribed this purportedly collective democratic decision in a Book of Acts. They also acquired police documents to demonstrate that the G4 dirigentes who opposed the extension had criminal records and thus were “delinquents” who should not have a voice in the decision.³ They then performed this identity as formal, transparent, and morally upright democratic citizens for authorities.

Performing this identity, Charo explained, began with a protest outside the municipality “to request that the authorities listen to us . . . to make them know the truth . . . [and] see our *necesidad* [poverty, legitimate need].” Once granted a meeting, however, they had to change their tone. “When you go to the office to talk . . . you have to speak with delicacy, with education. If you speak, they understand you. If you yell, they don’t understand anything. Not even if you yourself went, Kris.” In implicating me, Charo indicated that the social capital granted to me by virtue of my whiteness would not matter if I did not behave in a stately, respectful manner. Being acknowledged as a rights-bearing citizen depended on the embodied performance of formality, a performance that was partially constituted by documents. Paradoxically, documents indicated a “pretense at obeying the rules [and] following the law” (McFarlane and Waibel, 2012 p. 6), even as they undermined “the law” by deriving it performatively and outside of official systems of authorization.

“NO TE PODRÍA DECIR”: MEDIATORS AND “THE MAFIA”

Sra. Maria, the Vice President of the G4 extension, had a slightly different interpretation of why the settlement had been allowed to stay. “We’ve suffered so much . . . but finally we are processing our documents, getting the proper documents . . . A gentleman arrived and he is going to support us with the documents and everything.” When I asked if she knew the man’s name, she replied: “No te podría decir” (I couldn’t say). When I asked if anyone else in the settlement might know his name, she clarified, “There are some internal problems right now. I really couldn’t tell you his name.” It seemed that the help G4 received was a delicate matter; a political arrangement that abutted the dynamics of clientelism and corruption that characterized many political relations in the Andes, but were nonetheless typically discussed furtively.

The complexity of Peru’s bureaucratic apparatus and the proliferation of tramites required to access the state has prompted the emergence of human mediators, morally ambiguous figures who monopolize access to “the state” and embody its contradictions. These mediators have had different names at different stages in Peru’s history. For instance, De la Cadena describes the *tinterillos* (unscrupulous lawyers) of the late nineteenth century who, along with priests and landlords, formed the “numbing trilogy” of *gamonalismo*, a “pervasive system of local control imposed by large estate

owners . . . which deterred the development of a national state” by impeding direct connections between the central government and citizens (De la Cadena 2000, p. 79). Tinterillos were depicted as racially impure bureaucrats who used legal sleight of hand to usurp Indian lands.

Similarly, in Pachacútec, acquiring land rights required mediators who understood both the written and unwritten rules of land law. When these mediators emerged from the bottom up, they were called *dirigentes* (leaders). They were elected in neighborhood assemblies, given credentials by the municipal government to certify their representativeness, and over time, developed knowledge of tramites and social relationships with government employees that allowed them to shepherd documents through the bureaucracy. Successful dirigentes also had the capacity to “move people,” to rally popular support or protest in the event that political pressure was required to advance the tramites. Dirigentes’ legitimacy within Pachacútec could be contested if community development stalled, or if they seemed to derive too much personal profit from their public position. In these moments, dirigentes would be reconfigured as “malos dirigentes” or “land traffickers.” Yet even if dirigentes lost legitimacy among their neighbors, they might retain their mediating roles due to the knowledge and relationships they acquired while working with the state bureaucracy, and because bureaucrats continued to recognize them, either formally or informally, as speaking for their communities.

On occasion these mediators appeared to be more top-down functionaries who would “follow documents” through an institution, ensuring that constituents’ demands were met in exchange for political support. Lazar (2008, p. 114) contends that this dynamic, too frequently dismissed as clientelism, in fact represents the “sound Andean logic” of reciprocity. Through clientelism, the regular exchange of gifts and favors becomes the foundation for sustained, if hierarchical, political relationships that provide an important “hedge against what is often perceived not as democratization but as bureaucratic indifference and exclusion” (Gay, 1998, p. 16; quoted in Lazar, 2008, p. 114).

The patron of the G4 extension was this sort of “top-down” mediator; a functionary of the regional government with a sagging face and graying hair who settlers described as their dirigente’s *marido* (husband). As engineers etched lines in the sand to mark where houses should be built to align with the recently revised urban plans, the functionary approached several women chatting on the sidelines and asked who would be supporting the Regional Mayor’s next political event. They needed hot chocolate and cake prepared for an audience of 2,000 people. A woman stepped forward and promised that she and her associates would take care of whatever he needed. Having made it past the violent arm of law and local authority, the settlers of G4 were quickly learning to navigate the formal and informal practices that constituted “the state” in this context.

If they were lucky, their dirigentes might soon be absorbed into what some of my interlocutors described as “the mafia”—the network of people whose personal connections and knowledge of tramites gave them what seemed like privileged access to a state that was supposedly democratically open to everyone. One such “mafia” member, an established dirigente known as Vicario, had successfully led an illicit land takeover in sector K1 at the same time that settlers in G4 were battling police. In the K1 land takeover, Vicario encircled a would-be “Green Area” with plastic tarp ostensibly

to protect it from “invaders.” After several weeks, he removed the tarp revealing a settlement of houses constructed of old wood, so that outsiders might assume it had been there as long as any other settlement in Pachacútec. One upper-level functionary in the regional government admitted to me that he had not opposed the invasion because: “Sometimes, for friends, I play the fool.” Other dirigentes described the action as “bien vivo” (very clever, wily), with a mix of disdain and admiration.

According to many of my interlocutors, *viveza* (cleverness, guile) was a quality endemic to Peru that allowed some to succeed at the expense of the broader society. When Peruvians complained that a situation was governed by the “ley del más vivo,” (law of the swindle), they intended to describe something like the “law of the jungle,” where the jungle was inundated with paperwork and intricate social-bureaucratic networks, and succeeding required the agility to navigate informal bureaucratic relations and the ingenuity to exploit the distance between lived realities and documentary representations. As I show in the next section, this distance was a source of conflict in Pachacútec that people nonetheless sought to use to their advantage.

GHOSTS AND VIVOS: MANIPULATING DOCUMENTARY DISJUNCTURES

Viveza was a quality attributed to people who used documents to lay claim to multiple houses that they did not “need,” or more accurately, were not using in accordance with dominant norms about how shantytown homes should be used. Since the 1960s, a particular normative moral framework has governed who Peruvians feel are supposed to receive land in “self-help” housing settlements like Pachacútec. In this framework—which is supported by laws, housing policies, political discourses, and the language squatters use bolster their land claims—land is supposed to go to people deemed “truly needy” because they have nowhere else to live and who will therefore live in the houses full-time and contribute to the physical development and social life of the community.

Peruvians generally believe that these ideal-type residents should receive land titles, documents that certify their ties to land and community, and transform them into *propietarios* (property holders), special types of socio-legal persons who are accorded a greater degree of civic virtue and who, housing experts believe, will have a greater stake in the community. Like other documents, land titles give legal life to identities and social relations, allowing them to do social work in expanded spheres of interaction like “the justice system,” “the state” and “the market” (De Soto, 2000; Poole, 2004). In fact, Peruvians partially constitute these spheres by imagining their documents flow through them (Poole, 2004).

However, as Appadurai argues, land titles also “partially unyok[e] people and property from the complex local structures of accountability in which they would otherwise be embedded” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 126). In other words, someone can be a property holder in the eyes of the state, even when they are not effectively performing property relations in the eyes of neighbors. Indeed, several of my interlocutors felt land titles were distributed too readily in Pachacútec, and without the proper oversight. One long-time resident suggested, “it was a mistake to give a property titles to those people . . . because once they got them they closed up and left.” She went on to describe Pachacútec as a *pueblo fantasma*, a ghost town haunted by documentary shadows rather than a thriving community.

For most of my interlocutors, the solution to this problem was not to dissolve the system of formal, commodified property, but to perfect it; to redistribute land to people who would use it in accordance with dominant ideals, and to give those people title. In their view, the problem was not documents per se, but that the documents and thus “the state” were out of touch with reality. The state needed to *actualizar* (update) its records and govern based on this corrected image.

Importantly, the popular clamor for more accurate, up-to-date information as a route to creating a more just society was not limited to housing. It was the source of calls for increased auditing of food assistance programs, which news reports frequently claimed had been “infiltrated” by “non-poor” people, and it led some residents of Pachacútec to question the wisdom of policies based on census and survey information that, at three years old, was already considered out of date.

The irony is that the audits, recounts, updates, and other efforts to give “the state” unmediated access to the population created a more complex and impenetrable system that gave greater advantages to mediators and “vivos” who knew how to navigate it. The frequent calls for recounts and reassessments of who was “really living” in Pachacútec had even led to a form of punctuated living; residents made sure to be home when state agents were surveying, or at least made sure a sympathetic neighbor would show surveyors their documents and vouch for their membership in the community. It was a style of residency that corresponded precisely to the state’s punctuated forms of surveillance, perpetuating the “ley del más vivo” and anxieties about the state’s inability to know the reality of the population.

BACK TO THE FUTURE: DIGITAL IDENTITIES AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES OF STATECRAFT

Imagine that instead of waiting in line at an institution to tramitar, now you can do it wearing pajamas, sitting in bed with your laptop and a cup of coffee. You plug your e-ID and biometric scanner into the USB port, insert the smartchip side of your e-ID into the reader, verify that it’s you by scanning your fingerprint, and process your documents.

This was the vision of modern state-citizen engagement offered by the head of RENIEC’s digital registry program. It was a vision broadly promoted by the World Bank and the IMF who believed it would support a good governance agenda—making the state more accessible and efficient, and reducing corruption by reducing the number of human mediators. It also perpetuated the project of a streamlined, centralized state, initiated under Fujimori’s notoriously neoliberal administration and continued by his more “democratic” presidential predecessors. In the first few months of his administration, President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski appeared in newspapers flaunting his new e-ID card, a symbol of the latest efforts to “modernize” the Peruvian state (Meléndez, 2016). Peru even received industry awards for its e-IDs and e-Passports, which were deemed the pinnacle of “high security technology” and thus signaled Peru’s engagement with a particularly “global” post-9/11 form of modernity (Comercio, 2015; Comercio, 2016a).

The RENIEC agent’s vision was one of instant connection and *immediation*. But like the *immediation* of paper documents, it is an illusion, an effect of power that draws attention to what is mediated rather than to the various tools and

complex processes of information transfer (Eisenlohr, 2011 in Hull, 2012). It ignores the programs, encryption keys, and codes devised by people and thus necessarily invested with cultural assumptions and prejudices. It also ignores the infrastructural and class conditions required for these state-citizen engagements: signal towers; electric hookups; houses that can protect against the dirt, heat, and humidity that could disrupt the workings of computers and biometric readers; and the resources to acquire and maintain both these apparatuses and the bodies that supposedly provide unmediated access to the self. Thus, rather than equalizing access to the state, forms of e-governance may reproduce or exaggerate existing inequalities.

Although much research remains to be done on emerging technologies of statecraft, early signs point to continuity with older documentary regimes. As mediating technologies, e-ID cards and the information infrastructures that support them seem likely to reproduce the issues associated with efforts to connect state and society in previous eras. In the first few months following the release of e-IDs and e-passports, news reports showcased images of people waiting in long lines, critiquing them as evidence of the state's inability to serve citizens efficiently and effectively (Comercio, 2016b). There were also stories of e-passports being misprinted, potentially exposing travelers to detention and violence at international checkpoints, where they had to navigate different racial regimes and, being Peruvian, were doubly at risk as the racial and non-modern identity of their state would be refracted onto their bodies (Comercio, 2016c).

Likewise, and as has been the case with all of the Peruvian state's efforts to "modernize" its identity (see Seligmann, 1995; Thurner, 1997; Ronsbo, 2008), new mediators with different constellations of expertise have emerged to help people access high demand documents more efficiently (Comercio, 2016b), navigate modernizing bureaucracies (Berg, 2015), and generally manipulate the space between official registries and lived realities while confounding the state's dreams of perfect control. To take a mundane example, by 2016 Peru's national government had mandated that every SIM card be associated with a national ID number. When I tried to purchase one, my foreign status and lack of a Peruvian ID number posed a problem. Without any prompting from me, clerks began asking other customers to if we could "borrow" their ID numbers, something they assured me they did all the time. Several customers declined, citing incidents where well-meaning citizens had been duped by "vivos" who used their ID numbers in unauthorized ways. Eventually the clerk realized he could sell me a phone the old-fashioned way, by recording my passport information. Nonetheless, upon returning home, members of my host family apologized for forgetting to "lend" me their ID numbers, a continuation of a relatively common form of assistance that signaled trust between kin while undermining state efforts at tighter control.

In a different vein, while e-governance technologies promise the elimination of paper documents, paper is in fact being combined with digital registries in new ways. Paper is still required to mediate between institutions with different computer systems, to the point that, for certain tramites, Peruvians must provide certified printouts from institutions evidencing their absence from that institution's digital registry. Obtaining government land requires paper certificates of "zero property" from the public registry, obtaining a birth certificate or ID card for someone over twelve months old

requires certificates of non-inscription from other civil registries, and applying for jobs requires paper evidence of “no police record.”

Based on the evidence we have so far, the most novel or unexpected effect of the rise of e-IDs, biometric databases, and digital registries may be the increased salience of *habitus*—that is, bodily comportments that accrue from and index one’s upbringing and class position (Bourdieu, 1977)—and other forms of embodied race and class distinctions. As Rao found in her study of how India’s poor are incorporated into biometric databases, “technology is programmed to recognize mainstreamed bodies,” such that the marred and indistinct fingerprints of laborers are rendered illegible and unfit for the electronic age (Rao, 2013, p. 74). As enrollment in the biometric database becomes the norm, the unenrolled or the illegible become “categorically suspicious” (Rao, 2013, p. 74). In her study of Peruvian migrants, Berg has likewise found that increasing reliance on biometric security for travel, while not eliminating the need to assemble an extensive file, has prompted greater emphasis on the visa interview and on migrants’ abilities to embody both the ease of movement that accompanies elite, mobile cosmopolitanism, and the particular race and class positions their visa documents encode (Berg, 2015, p. 77). In this case, a primary role of mediators in the “migration industry” is to teach Peruvians the bodily and affective components of travelling “like a folklore artist”, “like a tourist”, or even “like a Japanese.” As financial institutions begin competing to give microloans to informal entrepreneurs, with some offering in-person assessments of informal assets within 24 hours of applying, we can detect hints of how embodied identities might become especially salient in other realms of life as well.

Although technologies of statecraft and surveillance are developing rapidly, it is important to recognize how social context and longstanding patterns of engagement with law and documents shape the ways these technologies are appropriated (Rao, 2013). It seems likely that documentary fetishism and contested mediators will remain critical features of Andean states for some time, even as embodied identities take on renewed salience. Even at RENIEC’s administrative center, a soaring glass and concrete building at the forefront of Peru’s move into the electronic age, we find good reason to keep old and new mediating technologies in the same analytic frame. For, even though I received a barcoded ID badge and had my fingerprints scanned twice to enter and exit the room housing RENIEC’s computer server, I still had to put pen to paper six times, signing separate rosters to enter and exit the building, the elevator, and the digital registry office.

NOTES

- 1 This and all other quotations were translated from the original Spanish by the author.
- 2 Peru’s dirty war, often referred as the “*época de terrorismo*” (era of terrorism) or “*manchay tiempo*” (time of fear), began in 1980 when a Maoist guerrilla insurgency calling itself *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) sought to bring about revolution through the bloody destruction of everything relating to the existing national order. Peru’s national government met this violence with violence, terrorizing villages suspected of harboring terrorists and killing thousands. Most scholars agree that the rise of Sendero Luminoso resulted in part from pervasive and racialized political-economic inequality. Capitalist development had accentuated breaches between urban/coastal/white populations and the rural/Andean/indigenous populations,

while simultaneously creating a pool of radicalized young people of “amalgamated rural/urban identity” (Starn, 1991, p. 64). The end of this war is generally traced to 1992–1993 when Abimael Guzmán, the head of Sendero Luminoso, was captured and called for peace. Nonetheless, as of 2017 remnants of Sendero Luminoso persist, often associated with narcotrafficking in the VRAE (Valley of the Apurímac and Ene Rivers). When the war’s casualties were tallied for Peru’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2001, the deaths numbered approximately 69,000. Seventy five percent of these casualties were Quechua speakers, suggesting that the physical violence followed well tread lines of racialized, structural violence (LaPlante and Theidon, 2008).

- 3 Ironically, these criminal records were based on their participation in illegal land invasions and on assault charges likely incurred while resisting eviction. Following Vega’s inscription of G4 settlers, they might have similar records.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

EDUCATION, POWER, AND DISTINCTIONS



Patricia Oliart

INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the social, political, cultural, and intellectual dynamics behind the development of the school system and the tensions that have characterized state-funded school systems in Andean countries over the twentieth century. It draws on sources from the fields of history of education, state formation, critical pedagogy, and intercultural bilingual education. State-run education projects in Andean countries entail the interaction of educational laws and government initiatives with vested interests that, in turn, reflect in local practices and power relations in towns, administrative offices, and in the classroom. Schooling has played an important role in nation and state formation processes in the Andes, but within a context of intense interplay between, on the one hand, the histories and political cultural narratives of the central states and provinces, and on the other, the strategies of local political actors (Wilson, 2013). To account for that interplay, this chapter outlines the social tensions and struggles around the contradictory nature of the expectations raised by schooling in the region until the 1980s. Education promised to be an instrument for integration and a social leveler, but at the same time it offered the opportunity for social mobility and with it the production and reproduction of distinctions and hierarchies. It offered recognition and citizenship to all, but at the cost of losing ethnic identities. And as an instrument for the expansion of the state, it also became the breeding ground for radicalism and transformative ideas.

The first part of this chapter examines how the implementation of the liberal project for education was met with opposition and resistance. Conservative elites and the middle classes opposed this project, which they perceived as a threat to their social and economic order, based as it was on racism and patrimonialism. The second section addresses ethnic resistance and gender struggles. It provides examples of initiatives carried out by provincial and Indigenous leaders, including women, who demanded transformations in the school system. These education projects promoted Indigenous and women's education agendas and alternative forms of schooling.

The final section, which concentrates primarily on Peru during the second half of the twentieth century, presents emerging educational projects that confronted

traditional conservative oligarchies in the region. New social and political actors gained legitimacy through the association of education with discourses of development, liberation, and political transformation, fueling new imaginaries and intercultural utopias for Andean societies.

EDUCATING INDIANS AND WOMEN FOR THE NEW NATIONS

Formal schooling was a concern for Latin American governing elites soon after independence from Spain. However, nation-wide educational programs took off mainly in the early twentieth century. This occurred amidst intense and widespread debates and expectations around the role that schooling could play in the social and cultural conformation of the emerging republics and their place in the world economic order (Contreras, 1996; Helg, 2001; Larson, 2002; Itzigsohn and vom Hau, 2006; Castro Carpio, 2013; Espinoza, 2013; Bermúdez Escobar, 2015). Nineteenth-century liberal rhetoric viewed education as instrumental for the development of civil society, citizenship, and democracy in the new republican order, and embraced the direct association between education and progress. Such prospects crucially challenged the entangled and violent relationships among race, gender, class, culture, territory, and nationhood in postcolonial Andean societies, and generated active resistance among conservative forces across the social spectrum (Espinoza and Aljovín, 2015, p. 188).

While Argentina and Uruguay had had strong liberal education projects in place since the 1850s (Larson, 2011; Hentschke, 2012), it was only at the turn of the century that liberals and conservatives in Andean countries engaged in debates about the need to establish a central educational system catering for the whole population. The much later establishment of central schooling systems in the Andean countries in the twentieth century, was partly due to the challenges of confronting Indigenous political resistance and control of territory, as well as figuring out how to consolidate a new political and social order after Independence (Helg, 2001).

The reorganization of the relationships with the Indigenous world after independence was a violent and tense process, particularly in Bolivia and Peru. Nevertheless, the importance of Andean exports to the US and Europe in the early twentieth century contributed to what Brooke Larson calls a second conquest cycle. It was led by the US and European countries, and fueled by an aggressive search for raw materials, markets, and knowledge. The Catholic Church and the State led massive “civilizing” campaigns to mobilize the labor force, mainly Indigenous men, recruiting them into the army, road building, and mining (Sulmont and Valcárcel, 1993; Larson, 2002). The first three decades of the century witnessed a considerable growth in primary and secondary education, mainly in cities and small provincial towns throughout the region (Contreras, 1996; Helg, 2001; Espinoza, 2013; see Figure 34.1).

The political justification for the increase in public expenditure for developing national education systems was to strengthen democracy in the emerging nation states. Delivering *instrucción pública* (as public education was named at the time), however, was a mandate hard to implement because those in charge did not necessarily believe in its transformative power or in meritocracy. In the minds of the most conservative sectors in society, Indians, Afro-descendants, the urban poor, and



Figure 34.1 Girls' multigrade school of the Sarconta, Abancay, Peru

Photo credit: Rosa Villafuerte.

women had all inherent characteristics that education could not change, and therefore, they needed to receive an education that was appropriate for them. Education was linked to progress rather than to social transformation (Mannarelli, 2013).

The key political contradiction that emerged at the turn of the century was how to develop a centralized curriculum along with a naturalized notion of the inferiority of Indigenous populations that was crucial to maintaining their oppression. Complex local scenarios trampling the liberal education agenda included the predominance of conservative elites in public institutions, and the deeply rooted racism in the white and mestizo population that was integral to nation state formation processes throughout the nineteenth century. For the political cultures in the region, Indians and Afro-descendants could not be entitled to full citizenship, despite the acceptance and relevance that liberal ideas had gained during the struggle for independence from Spain (Jacobsen and Aljovin de Losada, 2005). Conservative oligarchs, wrapped in their local cultures, were more comfortable with what Alberto Flores Galindo called “republics without citizens” (Flores Galindo, 1994).

In the course of accepting the link between education and progress, conservative elites challenged liberal ideas, sometimes engaging in debates regarding the possibility of franchising Indians through education (Portocarrero and Oliart, 1989). The presence of conservatives in positions of state authority allowed them to apply their own understanding of hierarchical divisions among the population to propose a diversified and stratified education system. In Bolivia and Peru, for example, they justified the need to educate the Indigenous populations in order to train them as agricultural

workers and soldiers, removing the national curriculum from rural schools to produce barely literate Indigenous students (Larson, 2011).

Although conservatives did not openly challenge plans for *instrucción pública*, they favored a model of education for Indians and Afro-descendants that promoted assimilation of hygienic habits, basic literacy skills, and patriotic values. In the case of women, primary education was accessible to all, but secondary education was only available in expensive private schools. Higher education was further limited to certain professions. The emphasis on primary education was tied to liberal discourses that emphasized women's social role as mothers, in which knowledge acquisition was linked to the responsibility of providing a modern upbringing to their children, one that corresponded appropriately to the respective social groups to which they belonged (Mannarelli, 2013; Bermúdez Escobar, 2015). As Aline Helg's pioneering work aptly summarized for Colombia, the view of the role of education was to "civilise the people and educate the elites."¹

Beyond the formulation of education models at the local level and in everyday life, conservatives also ensured that authoritarian rule and segregating practices thwarted the democratic promise of schooling. This was accomplished, for example, by not allowing registration of poorer students in well-equipped public schools (Espinoza, 2013) or by hampering the work of liberal European pedagogues in teacher training colleges (Helg, 2001; Larson, 2011). It was common practice to prohibit hacienda peasants from sending their children to nearby schools throughout the region (Salomon, 2004; Gonzales Terreros, 2015), and testimonies of landowners committing arson to destroy rural schools neighboring their haciendas were not rare (Montero, 1990; De la Cadena, 2015).

Because power shifted between different controlling political groups, policies and budget allocation to education were erratic and inconsistent, particularly during the first half of the century. However, education did grow in the first decades of the century. Even if it did not cover the entire region, it expanded significantly throughout the territory. The presence of schools went hand in hand with notions of citizenship among the popular classes and, in particular, among Indigenous peoples.

EDUCATION FROM BELOW

Alphabetical literacy came to the Andes with Spanish colonization, constituting both a central instrument of power and domination and a crucial resource for the Indigenous world. Indigenous authorities in the Andean colonies were active and creative in finding their own ways to learn how to read and write from very early on,² and used any opportunity they had to have access to "the empire of letters" built by the colonizers (Salomon and Niño-Murcia, 2011). The history and anthropology of literacy have been shaped, but not subsumed, by education and state-funded schooling in the Andes.³ After independence from Spain, almost a century and a half passed before state-funded schools arrived in the Andes. There is nevertheless ample evidence that Indigenous communities made persistent and diverse efforts throughout the twentieth century to have access to literacy. For example, they sought support from religious organizations for the creation of independent schools, or managed to fund the presence of one or two teachers in their communities, or when those resources were not available, committed literate community members, such as former soldiers, to share their skills (Salomon, 2004).

Because of liberal ideologies, the importance of universal access to education increased considerably in the region in the 1900s. For instance, although they were not enforced, Peru and Ecuador passed laws that ordered landowners to provide basic education to the Indigenous peasants who worked for them. Until 1940, successive regimes in Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, and Bolivia supported the growth of state-funded education, but a decisive regional impulse took place two decades later, in the context of the US-based Alliance for Progress, when funding to education grew significantly across the region, to achieve higher levels of basic education and the gradual elimination of adult illiteracy. Research on schooling in Andean countries shows how, in general, the expansion and current size and reach of the education system is in great part the result of a sustained demand and intense struggle to have access to this service from Indigenous groups, peasants, and the provincial and urban poor (Alberti and Cotler, 1972; Degregori, 1986; Ansión, 1989). However, as state-run schools reached wider groups of the population, the cultural and symbolic violence that came from teachers and state authorities through the schools, yielded not only criticism, but diverse projects or bottom-up versions of what different populations wanted from the education system and the state (Gustafson, 2003; Arnold and Yapita, 2006; Ticona Alejo, 2011; González Terreros, 2015).

The influence of positivism in Latin American liberalism linked education projects to the establishment of an export-led economy governed by an oligarchic elite in charge of a homogenizing national state apparatus (Hentschke, 2012). State-funded schools were homogenizing institutions, but they also discriminated against women and Indigenous groups, and some among them became critics and reformers of these institutions in the early decades of the century.

The homogenizing education model, unchanged in its mono-cultural and monolingual definition since the nineteenth century, imposed Spanish as the language for instruction in Indigenous areas, even in Bolivia and Peru, where a large majority of the population spoke languages other than Spanish (Zavala and Trapnell, 2013).⁴ Until the 1970s, monolingual speakers of Indigenous languages received school education in Spanish, and in many places physical violence from teachers towards students was frequent.

In Bolivia the struggle for education that was respectful of difference and relevant to the interests of Indigenous peoples, started soon after critics exposed the “ethnocidal” nature of schooling. In September 1929, after a long process of organization, experimentation, and advocacy, Aymara teacher and activist Eduardo Nina Qhispi inaugurated the *Centro de Educación Indígena* in La Paz to guarantee the participation of Indigenous Quechuas, Aymaras, and Guaranis in their educational process (Ticona Alejo, 2011). This project was devoted to serving the needs of Indigenous Bolivians who had been expelled from rural areas to La Paz because of a very violent land-grabbing process in the first two decades of the century. Nina Qhispi’s aim was to create an alternative for Indigenous education that preserved the ethical and ideological principles of their cultures, and where literacy and education had a clear link to the search for justice and liberation from oppression. Because of his persistence and political ability, Nina Qhispi received support from the charismatic president Hernando Siles (1926–1930), some intellectuals, and the press. Importantly, there are a number of instances in Bolivia where access to education was linked to securing land rights, a crucial issue in Indigenous struggles over the century (Lyukx, 1999).

In Ecuador, the 1906 constitution had declared Ecuador as a secular state, taking away the almost exclusive control that the Catholic Church had of education in rural areas. The state ruled that landowners should be responsible for creating schools to educate the Indigenous groups that were under their control, but that was a very slow process, leaving vast areas with no formal education until well into the second half of the century. When Dolores Cacuango was around 60 years of age, she promoted the creation of clandestine schools for the education of Indigenous peasants (Gonzalez Terreros, 2015). An Indigenous peasant leader from Cayambe, Pichincha, in the highlands of Ecuador, she had decades of experience in the peasant movement fighting against the exploitation of the haciendas when she embarked on the clandestine schools project. Similar to Nina Qhispi's project, but with no official endorsement, these clandestine schools provided access to literacy and at the same time resisted an education that promoted Western values and imposed Spanish with no regard for the speakers of Indigenous languages. The clandestine schools promoted Indigenous values and languages, as well as the defense of the rights of the Indigenous peasants to land. They were clandestine because landowners not only rebelled against the state mandate that they had to provide for education in the haciendas, but they actively discouraged and forbade access to education by setting schools on fire, and physically punishing peasants who either attended or sent their children to schools.

In 1906 under the rule of the Partido Civilista in Peru, the state took primary schools under its responsibility. As Minister of Education Jorge Polar remarked in his report to Congress that year, redeeming the illiterate was the ultimate responsibility of the state (Contreras, 1996). The civilistas implemented a vigorous program to expand schooling, and consequently the number of teacher training programs increased, in turn promoting the opening or revitalization of secondary schools. Despite this movement, which lasted for about two decades, in many areas of the country, access to education remained dependent on the power of the landowners. Even among the landowning elite, however, there were allies for the cause of Indigenous education. For example, Margarita Espejo de Romainville went to Lima in 1936 to study education against her father's will. He was a rich landowner in Cusco. Upon her return to Cusco in 1941 she started teaching at the Educandas School, founded by pioneering feminist educator Elvira García y García. She married the following year and left her job to live in her husband's hacienda in Calca. Unbeknown to him, she created a school to teach children who resided on her husband's haciendas as well as others. She would drive the family truck collecting the children to teach them how to read and write. Taking advantage of a ruling during President Bustamante y Rivero's regime (1945–1948) that created a regime of local schools within the haciendas, Margarita made her school public and promoted—not without opposition—the creation of schools in other haciendas in Calca (Oliart, 2011).

A distinctive group of middle- and upper-class women in Peru were also critical of the limits that the education system imposed on women. The group constituted an influential and strong feminist movement of teachers and intellectuals who advocated for an education that would make women better homemakers and mothers, but who also sought to educate women so that they could support themselves, independent of their marital status. These women questioned and resisted the patriarchal education model and created schools and experiences that challenged the existing assumptions

about the place of women in state-run education programs. Mercedes Cabello, Elvira García y García, Teresa González de Fanning, María Alvarado, were some of the many women who created schools for women or worked in education projects that opened women's horizons to the world of politics, qualified jobs, and intellectual activities (Mannarelli, 2013).

DEVELOPMENT, TEACHERS, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND INTERCULTURAL UTOPIAS

The discourse of economic development that encouraged social transformations in the 1950s targeted rigid social structures, criticizing the role that traditional oligarchic elites had played in the “underdeveloped” world. Through international organizations such as the United Nations, development discourses gave education a prominent role in bringing about what were deemed necessary changes in those societies (Escobar, 1995, p. 4). The new middle-class political forces that had renewed the electoral options in most Latin American countries after the 1940s were committed to being leaders in bringing about those transformations. In fact, the twentieth century saw the emergence of new educated middle classes and political groupings in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, who viewed oligarchic racist regimes as burdensome obstacles to the development of capitalism. Motivated by a range of ideological inspirations, they participated in political anti-oligarchic movements, and eventually, assumed power in the decades to come.

For nearly four decades, the nature of state-funded education was at the center of political debates and reforms involving wide groups of the population. Concurrently, peasant and Indigenous movements in Andean countries continued to link their struggle for land rights and citizenship with their drive to access education (De la Cadena, 2000; Arnold and Yapita, 2006; De la Cadena, 2015). This represented, in some cases, an opportunity to imagine a different role for education in the region, and for the renovation in pedagogy, particularly in the 1970s, when a profound political and academic critique of schooling took place in the Western world.

The post WWII scenario and the implementation of Keynesian policies played an important role in the expansion of state-funded teacher training programs, as well as state-funded schools and higher education institutions, radically transforming the relationship among class, race, and attained levels of education (Alberti and Cotler, 1972; Luykx, 1999; Oliart, 2011). A very significant actor in the growth and direction of the education system has always been teachers. They are at the same time representatives of the state in remote places and employees of the state in a subordinate position, and often, they have been in the political opposition to the governing political parties. Teachers benefited from the social mobility that comes with education, but at the same time, through their very practice and social position, they have become agents for the confirmation and reproduction of a system of racism and exclusion of the poor by providing them with an education that has prevented them from accessing social mobility and cultural capital (Oliart, 2011).

Teachers are exposed to a great variety of discourses and ideas about society and teachers' place within it. They elaborate them in diverse ways and pass them onto their students (Wilson, 2001). It would therefore be too simplistic to see teachers as mere reproducers of power structures. In her study on a teachers' college of

predominantly Aymara students Luykx (1999) argued against making easy assumptions about Indigenous teachers as clear-cut state agents in rural Bolivia. In her work, she shows how students of education resisted mainstream assumptions about their future role as teachers. At the same time, teachers can embody cultural prejudices and racist ideas that legitimize local and regional hierarchies. In Peru, the Maoist Peruvian Communist Party (the Shining Path movement/Sendero Luminoso) that declared war on the state in 1980 had an important contingent of rural teachers who, in some Indigenous areas under their control, used the same racially based methods to establish their authority that were employed by the landowners and mestizo authorities (Del Pino, 1996). In an insightful approach to teachers' ideology in rural Cochabamba in Bolivia, Regalsky (2003) reminds us of the importance of individual processes teachers go through to position themselves in terms of their own ethnic and class identities. Joanne Rappaport's ethnography about the Nasa education project in Colombia shows the complexity and political relevance of these processes for the consolidation of an alternative Indigenous education project, where the actors involved are not just Nasa, but a much wider combination of people, united around an education project (Rappaport, 2005).

When assessing the importance of the social changes that the expansion of schooling catalyzed in twentieth century Peru, Giorgio Alberti and Julio Cotler (1972) made two important observations. First, schooling in rural areas had been the result of persistent struggles to access this service from the most remote rural communities and urban marginal populations. Second, in such cases, the struggle for education was framed by the struggle for land and citizenship, in turn crucial for the wider political goal of fracturing the power of the traditional oligarchic system. Thus, the social and political crisis of the oligarchic regime had been accompanied by a vigorous growth of the education system, showing a consistent increase of almost 10 percent of the national budget for education from 1955 to 1965 (Portocarrero and Oliart, 1989). In 1958, President Manuel Prado, elected in 1956, encouraged communities to build their own schools. By law, it was established that once a community had built a school, the Ministry of Education would staff it with teachers and grant it official accreditation. The next president in office, architect Fernando Belaúnde (1962–1968) continued supporting this trend by providing communities with the drawings for a simple school design, and once it was built, a bronze plaque would grace the school with the inscription “Made by the People” (Oliart, 2017).

President Belaúnde was overthrown by a progressive military regime that radically politicized discourses of development. For the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces (RGAF), modernization and progress could only be achieved by transforming social structures of domination and by gaining economic and cultural liberation from imperialism. In the presidential address to the nation on June 24, 1969 to announce the Agrarian Reform, General Juan Velasco Alvarado said:

We wanted to give Peru a government capable of undertaking with resolution and courage, the savior task of authentic national development. From the start, we were aware that such an endeavor would demand sacrifices and effort from all Peruvians; because we knew that in a country like Peru, characterized by dramatic social and economic imbalances, development had necessarily to be a transformative endeavor. Overcoming national underdevelopment means,

therefore, to achieve a reordering of Peruvian society, altering the structures of social, political and economic power in our country.

Following these principles, the education reform of 1972 promoted support for the political transformations that the state was pursuing through all cultural institutions under its jurisdiction. School textbooks, a radio station, a TV channel and one of the expropriated newspapers, all became vehicles to disseminate an anti-imperialist position, along with the idea of necessary social change. The education reformers consisted of a coalition of military men and progressive intellectuals and professionals of diverse political trajectories and generations. In their books, articles, and public interventions Emilio Barrantes, Augusto Salazar Bondy, Leopoldo Chiappo, Ricardo Morales, and many others, frequently referred to previous Peruvian and Latin American political movements and individuals who had sought to transform education into a political tool to pursue social transformations. From the Argentinian reform movement in 1918, they took the mandate that education had to be committed to both the development of the sciences and the reaffirmation of democracy, understood not only as a political system, but as a guarantee of access to citizenship. They recalled the emphasis that José Antonio Encinas ([1888–1958], an activist, social scientist and Deweyan pedagogue from Puno) had placed on the social role of the school, the importance of teaching in democracy, and the need to respect learning processes linked to concrete experiences of the students. These ideas, common among progressive pedagogues, had a definite influence on the discourse and practices of reformers in 1972 (Oliart, 2011). The discourses and practices of these educational reformers were also influenced by the Cuban revolution education project, which assigned teachers and students a crucial political role in supporting the revolutionary project. Even though this reform failed for reasons explained elsewhere (Oliart, 2017), its political approach to education and pedagogy highlighted crucial issues that have inspired discussions, struggles and policies in other countries.

In 1953 UNESCO recommended that teachers use students' first languages. They argued that this would permit children to acquire alphabetic literacy more quickly and would more efficiently increase literacy rates in underdeveloped countries. The techno-pragmatic and efficiency framework of this recommendation avoided the political underpinnings of the economic, social, and linguistic subordination of Indigenous peoples in societies with a colonial past. The situation of Indigenous peoples' exclusion and invisibility is dramatically illustrated in the description of Peru in a school textbook from the 1960s:

All Peruvians from the Coast, the Highlands, and the Jungle form the Peruvian nation, we all speak Spanish, profess to Catholicism [and] celebrate the same heroes (*Venciendo*, 1960, p. 531 in vom Hau, 2009, p.131). When lack of national integration was mentioned, another school textbook stated that Indigenous peoples were to blame because of their insistence on maintaining their own autochthonous cultures.

(vom Hau, 2009, p. 139)

In a pioneering move, the Peruvian education reform of the RGAF politicized the incorporation of Indigenous languages in schools. It established that schools should

use Indigenous languages when necessary, and, for that purpose, should employ teachers who were native speakers of both Spanish and the Indigenous languages. It further stipulated that at least 30 percent of the curriculum should be dedicated to fostering recognition and appreciation of the cultures and languages of the country. Furthermore, the RGAF made Quechua an official language in Peru. Bringing together the questioning of the cultural neutrality of schools, the mandate to appreciate national cultural diversity, and an anti-imperialist stance, the Ministry of Education was charged with the mission of ensuring that schools would not be “instruments of cultural imposition” (Ministerio de Educación, 1970, p. 200).

The 1972 Peruvian education reform played a pioneering role in the search for alternatives that could address multi-lingualism in rural education. Some of the ideas that resulted from experimentation with these alternatives have influenced the development of similar processes in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Guatemala, several decades later (Zuniga and Anson, 1997; Hornberger, 2000; Howard, 2007; Lopez n.d., among others).

Ironically, though, Peru is the country where Intercultural Bilingual Education has been less attractive to Indigenous communities than in other Andean nations. According to Hornberger (2000), Garcia (2005) and Lopez (n.d.), the reason behind this is that Peru’s Bilingual Education initiatives resulted from primarily a top-down political formulation that never involved consultation with Indigenous organizations. This was not the case in Ecuador in the 1980, or Bolivia and Colombia in the 1990s,



Figure 34.2 Parade of children on National Independence Day, Cotabambas, Apurimac, Peru, 1994

Photo credit: Dante Villafuerte.

where linguistic and education policies pertaining to Indigenous peoples had representatives of Indigenous organizations at the negotiating tables. Those negotiations opened up processes that are still developing with very diverse political dynamics that depend on the political relationships among Indigenous organizations, teachers, Indigenous populations and the political authorities (Figure 34.2).

CONCLUSION

Beyond the relationship with Indigenous populations in the Andes, the formulation of national education projects has radically changed in the last century. Official discourses use global rankings based on performance indicators to define education policies, now measurable in terms of exam results. But this does not mean that expectations of access to full citizenship, respect for cultural diversity and prospects of social mobility have been decoupled from education among the population.

The critiques and alternative projects that questioned the violence inherent to discriminatory and homogenizing education models in the first half of the twentieth century still resonate in the struggles for more democratic, inclusive forms of schooling. The role of education in the elimination of racism and all forms of discrimination is still integral to the political agenda and education, as a mode of state presence in society remains a source of cultural difference and social stratification in Andean societies.

NOTES

- 1 The French title of *La educación en Colombia 1918–1957* (Helg, 2001) was *Civilizer le peuple et former les élites*.
- 2 Historian Teresa Vergara found a sixteenth century work contract where an Indigenous cacique from the highlands of Lima employed himself as a servant in Lima in exchange for learning how to read and write (personal communication).
- 3 There is a fascinating and growing research field on textual practices and literacy in Andean societies that provides the wider context for examining the relationship between Indigenous societies and nation states in the Andes. See for example Zavala, Niño-Murcia, and Ames, 2004; Arnold and Yapita, 2006; Salomon and Niño-Murcia, 2011, among others.
- 4 Furthermore, the existence of diverse forms of Andean Spanish where indigenous languages have modified Spanish syntax and pronunciation for centuries is not recognized. They are considered bad Spanish and their speakers are socially sanctioned with discrimination.

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PART XI

LANDSCAPES OF
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CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

HIP HOP AND GUINEA PIGS

Contextualizing the urban Andes



Eric Hirsch and Kyle Jones

INTRODUCTION: THE ANDEAN CITY

What is the Andean city? Does it make sense to designate a genre of place we might call the “Andean city”? If so, what makes it Andean, and what makes it urban? In this chapter, we highlight three Andean cities, Cusco, Arequipa, and Lima, and the processes through which they are connected as a way to better understand the economic, cultural, and ecological dynamics of Andean cities more broadly. Though it is situated on the Pacific coast and often differentiated by its Spanish influences, Peru’s capital Lima has become Andeanized over many waves of urban migration and cultural diffusion by virtue of the *pueblos jóvenes* (literally, young towns, many seeking official recognition) located on dusty hills on Lima’s outskirts, as well as the restaurants and art galleries of its high-income neighborhoods. More fundamentally, these three cities share certain features of their spatial layouts that condition diverse forms of expression that emerge in political engagement, economic and ecological activity, and the creative, artistic, and adaptive networks that bind each city to its hinterland, just as they link Peru’s coastal regions to its mountains (*sierra*) and rainforest (*selva*).

Through two ethnographic cases drawn from people and ideas in motion through these cities, we explore practices of exchange and cultural production by zooming into the specific forms of *association* that occur across the “invisible walls” of the urban Andes (Gandolfo, 2009, p. 11). Distinctions of race and ethnicity are best understood as relational concepts rooted in place rather than as rigid or clear categories in Peru and much of Andean Latin America (Orlove, 1998; Romero, 2001). Given that, we inquire how urban associational spaces in these cities configure, and in many cases help to remake, the ways people relate and belong to their Andean communities.

We also zoom out to consider what urban nodes mean for the broader Andean region, describing several scenes in which urban spaces organize people’s economic lives, their ecological networks, and the way their livelihoods are physically distributed in space. Cities, we find, are revealing sites for learning about “the emerging new spaces of associational life” that are redrawing the boundaries and meanings of urban lives and livelihoods across the region (Fernandes, 2010, p. 161). As the Andes underwent transformation from a site of Inca domination to a key productive hinterland for Spain’s American colony and, later, a region encompassed by

independent republics like Peru, the diversified use of resources afforded by distinct altitudes magnified. Emerging channels of exchange connected newly dense *reducción* (colonial-era population consolidation) settlements and cities, incorporating kin networks, professional opportunities, industries, commodity chains, vertically distributed resources, and cultural connections.

Today, many urban Andeans describe their living spaces as divorced from the rural economy, liberated from its arduous labor and icy mountain air, and newly encumbered by its expenses, congestion, and pace. Yet cities in Peru embody not just economic and geographic differences, but also racial ones. While it is not easy to “de-indigenize” and thus alter one’s class status, as many urban residents aspire to do in different ways (De la Cadena, 2000), cities represent the promise of social mobility through a combination of labor, education, and a greater number of opportunities to become class-mobile in one location. Multiple forms of difference dispersed throughout urban space create what the anthropologist Daniella Gandolfo calls “a world of ‘parallel cities’” and “invisible walls” (2009, p. 11, citing González Cueva, 1995). This means social difference in these places has come to revolve less around ancestry and physical appearance than one’s dress, occupation, language, education, music, and other cultural and expressive practices, and more on one’s place of birth or residence and movement in and across places (Weismantel and Eisenman, 1998).

Young people in particular seek multiple forms of mobility in urban spaces.¹ They are tied to cities in unique and important ways that reveal those cities’ role in the broader Andean region. Many young urbanites tell of everyday experiences of being both marginal and central, sometimes silenced, and sometimes heard. As fundamental, and therefore contentious, subjects of social reproduction, young people bear a unique relationship to aspirations for upward urban mobility and societal change (Bucholtz, 2002; Cole and Durham, 2008). When young Peruvians move from villages to cities, participate in globalized cultural production, or start business ventures, they reposition themselves and the signifiers of racial and class hierarchies. As a result, certain tensions and issues—such as employment, political stability, criminality, and cultural change—have become magnified among Peru’s youth population (Jones, 2016).

We focus on the ways highly mobile young people experience, use, and remake Andean cities, and in doing so, argue that the city and the country are co-produced. We take the city itself to be both a physical entity and an organizing leitmotif in everyday Andean life. Building on works concerning the spatial dimensions of race, class, and gender across urban and rural lines (De la Cadena, 2000; Weismantel, 2001; Seligmann, 2004), here we focus on the ways the city itself is experienced, used, and remade.

Today’s economic lives and kin ties in the Andes depend on regular mobile exchange between urban and rural areas. The broader, largely rural Andean region is a socio-ecological system in which cities play an integral role. And elements of that rural life emerge through the pores and cracks of the city. In fact, rural prosperity and even rural resilience has historically required ecological networks and itineraries that thread lives together across the urban-rural divide. At the same time, the meanings and practices of urbanity and ruralness can be historically defined in contradistinction within the contemporary symbolic economy of Andeanness. They come into relation in public spaces, in activities such as markets, *desfiles* (parades or processions), the art of gastronomy, and the visual and musical elements of hip hop, an example we address below.

It is this important relationship between urban and rural spaces that defines what it feels like to live in Andean cities. In what follows, each of us will take the reader on a seemingly mundane urban journey with our interlocutors. We turn first to a discussion of hip hop in Peru, focusing on how hip hop events and organizations afford insight into young people's livelihoods and popular culture in the urban Andes. We follow that with an analysis of the guinea pig as both the animal and the humans who engage with it travel between Andean cities and their hinterlands.

Focusing on cities as part of a broader urban-rural regional ecosystem can also offer an interpretive model for understanding the way Andean people move, exchange, and build relationships across spaces and between regions in general, from coastal connections to seasonal migrations to the selva. While our focus is on what is specifically Andean about this urban-rural co-production, we also show that the way each genre of space creates the other reveals a great deal about what being urban entails anywhere in today's world.

ANDEAN HIP HOP: CONFIGURING URBAN COLLECTIVE LIFE

Festivals, parades, concerts, and other events that bring large and diverse crowds together are cornerstones of city life around the world. In the Andes in particular, some combination of raucous bands, bright costumes, or disciplined dance steps are staples of these public happenings, elements that are perhaps as expected as the accompanying street vendors selling snacks and drinks, or on-lookers snapping photos. As the energy of these performances fills crowded streets and sidewalks, snaking through an entire city district or occupying a plaza for days on end, the concentration of so many sights and sounds draws focus on the here and now. Urban dwellers' focus is collectivized, trained on a shared set of sounds, images, and *dramatis personae*. Immediacy fills the gaps between beats and performances.

Yet traces of what it takes to realize an event always poke through its vibrant choreographed displays: someone handing out refreshments to sweaty performers; a long list of thank-yous during the ceremony's ritualized inaugural speech; the name of a village or city many hours away painted onto a booming bass drum as it drives a regional dance style; the proudly carried standards that identify dance groups, parade floats, or fireworks towers with the names of cultural, occupational, or neighborhood associations neatly sewn onto them. Micro-level histories point beyond the seemingly immediate moment of the performance and the constrained urban space currently being occupied to a vast ecology of underlying networks of people, relationships, resources, and environmental systems that make these events possible. They offer reminders that these events live as much in their planning as in their execution, shaped in myriad ways by those who have a stake in them. They draw on past preparation and condition a future of collective memory. As such, the organization of these concentrated realizations of popular culture provides a revealing lens through which to explore lives and livelihoods in Andean cities.

Like many other parts of the world, Andean countries in recent decades have become home to thriving hip hop musical and cultural scenes. In Peru, hip hop experienced sporadic waves of popularity beginning in the mid-1980s, as hip hop movies such as *Beat Street* and *Breakin'* appeared alongside other American and international pop culture imports. Owing to several economic, technological, and social factors, by the late-1990s hip hop had begun to coalesce as a cohesive and deliberate "culture" consisting of four main performative elements—rapping, breakdancing,

deejaying, and graffiti writing—among young people in Peru’s working classes from across many of the country’s urban centers. Despite patterns of internal migration and the ways that mass media facilitated communication and access to the sights and sounds of hip hop, awareness of hip hop in other cities often remained limited. As a result, and combined with localized histories and circumstances, the material and musical styles, meanings, and practices of hip hop evolved somewhat differently across Peru’s larger and smaller cities.²

In addition to honing their artistic skills, *hiphoperos* (“hiphoppers”³) also began to arrange their activities through various kinds of youth-led grassroots organizations. These self-described federations, associations, movements, consulates, collectives, and conferences drew on the unifying discourses of “real hip hop” and the experiences and efficacy of popular organizing in urban Peru from the neighborhood to the nation. Different kinds of events, such as regular gatherings, concerts, and workshops, became the cornerstones of these hip hop collectivities, playing a fundamental role in creating hip hop’s emergent audiences and in claiming its place in Peru’s cities. While *hiphoperos* often credited hip hop with uniquely low barriers to participation, securing various resources was nonetheless an essential element in putting on many kinds of events. The bigger the event, the more important obtaining these resources became. As a result, attending or putting on events became a way in which a younger generation of urban residents navigated the resources, relationships, and opportunities available and inaccessible to them.

A rapper by the name of Inferno had been organizing hip hop events in Cusco for nearly a decade when one of the authors (Jones) met him in 2011. He also had set up one of Cusco’s first dedicated rap studios, Ukhu Pacha Records (of the same name as his rap group), in a corner of his bedroom in 2006. Additionally, over the years he worked to transform the common designation of “Cusco hip hop” (often abbreviated as C2H) into a more formalized entity called the *Asociación Cultural Cusco Hip Hop*, adopting the iconic seal of the city of Cusco (the *placa de echineque*, an ornately carved Incaic golden disc) as part of the association’s logo and trying to get the association listed in various cultural center registries.

Inferno’s and many other Peruvian rappers’ use of Quechua in their lyrics and group, song, or event names, alongside an array of other historical or place-based signifiers of Andeanness, forms part of the broader societal and generational shift to reverse anxieties about embarrassment, racism, and backwardness that have long overshadowed Quechua’s use in Peru (Seligmann, 2004, p. 140; García, 2005; Tucker, 2011). The name of Inferno’s early studio and rap group takes on further significance in the subcultural context of hip hop. Ukhu Pacha refers to a subterranean world in Andean cosmology, and is often symbolized by a serpent (Webb, 2012). “So we would be the *underground crew*, and therefore Ukhu Pacha Crew,” Inferno explained, maintaining the English for the words “underground” and “crew.” “The same ‘underground,’ but returned to Cusco, the Cusqueño underground, called Ukhu Pacha.”

In a similar manner, the Asociación Cultural Cusco Hip Hop put on a recurring concert called Llakta Rimay, Quechua for “the people speak,” conveying the common sentiment that hip hop represents everyday voices and experiences. After numerous iterations,⁴ the flyer for the Llakta Rimay concert that took place in 2013 utilized a drawing by the Quechua colonial chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala depicting a gathering of representatives from the four suyus (administrative quadrants) of the Inca empire (Figure 35.1). In the same way that the coming together



Figure 35.1 Flyer for the 2013 Llakta Rimay concert that utilized a drawing by the Quechua colonial chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala depicting a gathering of representatives from the four suyus of the Inca empire

Photo credit: Kyle Jones.

of the four suyus represented the union of the Inca empire, the coming together of the four elements of hip hop for this event represented the unifying formation of hip hop as a veritable culture. As many scholars have described, hip hop as a musical genre and broader cultural field obtains much of its discursive power and measures of authenticity directly from the experiences and struggles of everyday life that emerge from very specific cultural histories, social environments, and meaningful places (Rose, 1994; Forman, 2002; Pennycook, 2007). By interweaving Quechua and English, as well as Incaic history with today's hip hop ideologies and terms of authenticity, Inferno and others like him strategically worked to stay true to both the storied, essentialized roots of hip hop as well as those of their city or region.

It was a sunny afternoon in early 2014 when Inferno and I (Jones) set out to secure sponsors for an upcoming concert featuring nationally-recognized rap groups from Lima alongside many Cusqueño groups. As usual, funds were already tight and many of the event details were in flux; the venue was still up in the air (and as a result the event's publicity had yet to be designed), and an acquaintance had yet to find any good prices for participants' bus or airline tickets. However, discounted lodging for the visiting performers and extra sound equipment had already been secured through similar friend and extended family connections. With the goal of just trying to break even on the event's expenses that Inferno, myself, and several others had fronted, the plan for that day was to visit some of the clothing and accessory shops in the city's touristic center, hoping to strike a deal in which the shops would contribute money to cover event expenses in exchange for advertising.

After we entered each store and found the manager or owner, Inferno introduced himself as being from the Asociación Cultural Cusco Hip Hop, and identified me as an anthropologist from the U.S. studying hip hop culture in Peru. Continuing in a soft, serious tone of voice, he described his past successes organizing well-attended events, stating that the popular rap group coming from Lima for the upcoming event would draw even bigger crowds, thus providing an excellent advertising opportunity. In one store, where we were surrounded by racks filled with international brand clothing, shoes, and accessories such as DC, Element, Ecko, and Dunkelvolk, Inferno implied that the concert's audience would largely consist of the store's target market: those who were young, urbane, and internationally-minded. The name of the business would be featured on all the banners and flyers that would appear across the city and in social media alike (such as in Figure 35.2), and the business would be thanked throughout the concert over the PA system for its much-appreciated support of Cusco's growing hip hop culture. At other times, such sponsorship pitches included putting on nicer clothes or carrying a business-like folio and, in addition, young hiphoperos would often have with them some physical documentation—an eye-catching glossy flyer from a past event with the association and sponsor logos on it, or in some rare cases a certificate of recognition by a government agency.

We were unsuccessful in obtaining sponsorship during those particular visits, but Inferno's and many other hiphoperos' efforts to realize events and coordinate action through self-managed organizations resemble practices found across and between Andean cities. Organizing an event, hosting visiting performers, and getting out of one's own town to perform required the thoughtful deployment and coordination of relationships, resources, and knowledge. Particularly for someone seeking support



Figure 35.2 Hanging the banner for the 2013 Llakta Rimay concert

Photo credit: Kyle Jones.

for an event in a city such as Cusco, it became crucial to work across different (often competing) social contexts, negotiating the disparate worlds of informal everyday urban life and the polished professionalism of business or government (Anderson, 1999; Seligmann, 2004; Gandolfo, 2009).

As these young people sought to open new social, artistic, and economic opportunities for themselves, they rearticulated time-tested strategies for social mobility and economic opportunity. Many hiphoperos interpreted broader ideologies about “getting ahead,” “improving oneself,” and “progressing” through their involvement in hip hop organizations and events. They saw their activities as being productive of social relationships and of offering opportunities for economic gain, personal education, and meaningful expression (Leinaweaver, 2008). Growing themselves and their capacity to perform hip hop were often two sides of the same coin. Horizontal relationships among friends and hiphoperos of similar backgrounds afforded highly valued chances for performing in other cities to gain meaningful new experiences, and helped build new relationships to call on in the future. Vertical relationships, such as those developed with foreign, better-off, or higher-status individuals, provided additional ways to access social or material resources that would have otherwise been out of reach.

As an extension of Andean forms of social and economic relationships, these ties were framed in terms of mutual support and flexible expectations of reciprocity.

The exchanges hiphoperos seek to cultivate often involve invitations to perform at each other's events, as well as collaborations on music recordings, video clips, and visual art, putting someone in touch with a useful contact (e.g., event promoter, well-known studio, or governmental official), or logistical or material support for an event, workshop, or other endeavor. Given that most young hiphoperos typically had little additional spending money, it was far less common for exchanges to directly involve cash than it was for them to consist of services or non-monetary resources. In this way, hip hop, especially for young men (Fuller, 2003), became a way to navigate the generational demands of status and mobility in a context consisting of shifting cultural media and economic opportunities within a globalized Peru.

When we conceptualize populations and their locus not as a single dot on a map, but rather, as nodes in a complex network, the reciprocal processes of hip hop's associational practices become visible. Such a perspective enables us to understand things as commonplace as event flyers as indicative of the dispersed social and symbolic networks hiphoperos drew on to carve out and showcase their place in Peru's cities. Hip hop associations such as the Asociación Cultural Cusco Hip Hop represented less formalized, structured organizations than they did flexible networks of people that performed or otherwise participated in or contributed to the world of hip hop. Moreover, the events that animate hip hop's associational life comprise rich nodes of mediation and circulation where the provisional alignment of a range of social projects results in heightened, often self-conscious, productions and contestations of value and meaning (Mazzarella, 2004). In ways similar to those of radio DJs or parade organizers, hiphoperos worked as cultural "intermediaries" or "media workers" who grew their audiences as they reorganized the ideas and signs of the city and regional identity through their organizational activities and performances (Seligmann, 2004; Baker, 2011; Tucker, 2013). It is these intertwined processes that we suggest constitute the Andeanization of cities and the simultaneous "urbanization" of Andean villages. As we show below, the gourmet chefs of Peru's gastronomy boom contributed to the structuring of the variegated Andean ecosystem in much the same way.

GUINEA PIG GOURMET: A RURAL–URBAN ECOLOGICAL NETWORK

The nearly one-million-person city of Arequipa, some 160 km from the dense network of the rural villages that make up the Colca Valley, is a key figure in daily life in those villages. It is hard to imagine Colca without the presence of Peru's second city looming in the background of every exchange, from the biweekly produce market to the consumption of the locally preferred *Arequipeña*-brand beer. For many rural businesses, agricultural fields, family farms, and other livelihood contexts, Arequipa city is the region's administrative, supply, economic, and jurisdictional center. Since Peru's national vote to administratively decentralize in the early 2000s, Lima has devolved budgetary and policymaking power to regions and municipalities. This might seem, at first, to be a democratizing move. However, in practice, decentralization has effectively meant an elaborate, highly bureaucratized set of hubs and spokes that often structure "simultaneous engagements" in city and village economies (Paerregaard, 1998, p. 398). Those actors that frequently travel between cities and villages approach each not as a self-contained social space, but as an extension of

the agricultural “vertical archipelago” model of using multiple elevations, geographical zones, and multiple, simultaneous dwellings to ensure continual productivity and continuously strong social relationships (Murra, 1972; Brush, 1976; Hirsch, 2018).

For eighteen months, between early 2013 and mid-2014, the NGO Desco (Center for the Study and Promotion of Development) invested a small amount of seed capital in fifty young, village-based entrepreneurs in the rural Colca Valley. Participants were between the ages of 18 and 29. The NGO imagined these young people as uniquely situated to deploy some aspect of their rural ecological expertise and cultural and human capital to create innovative businesses. All they required was a small amount of financial support to start their businesses, along with basic capacity-building in branding, market diagnostics, and business formalization.

Given that these young people’s ears were to the rural ground, the NGO understood them as able to corner the market in many kinds of local resources, from eco-tourism, to organic quinoa cultivation for international export, to guinea pig breeding. A defining condition of investment was that aspiring entrepreneurs had to remain in their village homes. However, constant mobility and shifting residence between rural and urban nodes of life has historically defined the way many people sustain themselves in the Colca Valley. So the initiative’s mandate, in the guise of support for a “typically” rural way of life, sought to reconfigure Andean indigenous identity with a new spatial agenda centered upon an exoticized, touristic image of a primordial people tightly tied to their land.

That Desco project, and many other initiatives like it, suggest the need for clarifying that many Andean people do not situate their livelihoods in either rural or urban space, exclusively. In this section, we use the guinea pig to contextualize urban life within a broader social ecosystem that encompasses the city’s hinterland, suggesting that the city is not its own autonomous or sovereign space, but rather penetrates deeply into the pueblos and fields around it. Those pueblos and fields are also integral to the making of lives and livelihoods within the spaces of what many readers might imagine as a “city proper” with seemingly simple boundaries visible on a map.

Rogelio Taco was one of the young Andean entrepreneurs that received a Desco seed capital investment. With his 3,650 soles (\$1,147.26 at the time), he sought to buy guinea pig studs and building materials for a small barn. The site of his business was his home in the Colca Valley village of Lari. He was the NGO’s success story, growing an initially unpromising business idea into one of the largest guinea pig breeders in Colca’s Caylloma Province, winning regional prizes and reaping significant profits (Figure 35.3).

I (Hirsch) met Rogelio in Arequipa, where he was taking care of an elaborate suite of errands, including meeting with an attorney to discuss the procedure for authorizing his business with juridical personhood (*personería jurídica*) necessary for tax payment, purchasing new guinea pig (*cuy*) studs, and making other small-scale investments for his business.

We met in Arequipa’s elegant *plaza de armas* (central plaza) at the historic city center and traveled together by taxi to examine the inventory of one of the city’s guinea pig livestock merchants, from whom Rogelio would occasionally purchase new animals. Rogelio was dressed in his city clothes: his best pair of jeans, a crisp button-down shirt, and dusty black wing tip leather shoes, having just come from the meeting with his attorney. The cab took us out of the center to a three-story cement block home in José Luis Bustamante y Rivera, a sprawling and economically diverse neighborhood in the city’s southeast.



Figure 35.3 Rogelio Taco, entrepreneur who became one of the largest guinea pig breeders in Colca's Caylloma Province, Peru

Photo credit: Eric Hirsch.

Rogelio liked to surprise the merchants where he made his more substantial purchases so that they would not have time to obscure or beautify the everyday conditions of their farms and cages, which were an essential measure of the health of these cuyes. This strategy mirrored the work of the Desco NGO's urban-based professionals in their rural site visits: they would frequently conduct surprise inspections of the participating entrepreneurs' businesses, to ascertain an honest sense of their progress and commitment.

We rang the doorbell and waited. After a pause, the unkempt business owner came downstairs. Realizing the visitor was Rogelio, a customer, he swiftly brought us up through his cool, dimly lit home to the urban guinea pig farm he kept on the three-story residential building's rooftop. The farm was configured according to the limits imposed by the flat rooftop shape and the neighborhood's high urban density, built tall and long into three rows of ten by ten cages. From the edge of the rooftop, we could look out and see other rooftop spaces at various heights being used for small informal gardens, hanging clothing out to dry, and tiny patios where guests could gather. We looked at each guinea pig, ultimately selecting a stud for 140 soles from one of the cells.

Rogelio brought his new cuy back to Lari, where he expected to almost immediately reap the returns on his investment. Given guinea pigs' frequent and prolific copulation, he explained, these animals represent ideal investment pieces. As Rogelio put it, laughing, "The guinea pigs pay for themselves!"

But those guinea pigs had help. They would not have been able to "pay for themselves" without an interconnected highland ecosystem that encompassed both rural and urban spaces. Rogelio's trip to Arequipa positions the city as an indispensable dimension of Colca's rural business infrastructure. The city is the site of Rogelio's investment and expenditure. It is the administrative center in the nation's bureaucratic system, where he met with a tax attorney to formalize his enterprise. If urban hiphoperos draw on their connections to and reflections on the rural Andes to legitimate their artistic expression, here, the city's presence provides young people like Rogelio the basic conditions for a legitimated rural entrepreneurship to emerge. Just as rural-urban exchange relationships historically configured what it meant to be indigenous in Peru's Andes, Rogelio's journey between these spaces today was an effort to define his own identity as a committed, connected, indigenous producer.

Accessing Arequipa requires a time commitment of some three to four hours spent riding each way on the Chivay-Arequipa bus (see Hirsch, 2018). Additionally, for Rogelio and most of the other young Desco entrepreneurs, the entrepreneurial obligation to travel to Arequipa almost universally meant deploying already existing kinship connections, however tenuous, to access food, shelter, and aid in avoiding other potential expenses when the urban stay had to last longer than a single exhausting workday. In this way, the city's organizing position in the rural economy was self-sustaining, as Arequipa and Colca co-produced each other.

Using the city in this fashion requires a transurban kinship network: it requires a place to stay, a suite of economic contacts, and knowing where to go and whom to ask for help. It means, for the Lari-born Rogelio, knowing Arequipa intimately. That deep embodied knowledge of the city as bulk supplier, legal center, and site for accumulating expertise and exchanging ideas about entrepreneurialism through urban markets, vendors, and offices, was key to determining how far Rogelio's entrepreneurial—and thus personal—investments could go.

One of the reasons Rogelio won seed capital for his breeding business was that the guinea pig has emerged as an important signifier of Andean culture in Peru's recent gastronomy boom. Indeed, this little animal has helped to redefine Peru as a mecca for foodies. Lima is now seen as a gastronomic equivalent to Paris, in no small part because chefs have incorporated the guinea pig, and other Andean staples such as quinoa and diverse potato varieties, into their innovative dishes (García, 2013). This emergence of the guinea pig on the national and international scene shows us how cities play a key role in anchoring and reproducing images of Andeanness based on its rural zones.

What might the political ecology of the guinea pig tell us about the Andeanness of Andean cities? Guinea pigs have long been considered a delicacy in the Andean region. If non-Peruvian tourists see in guinea pig consumption an exotic practice that is strange because of the animal's role in other places as a pet, many Andean communities see cuy meat as the marker of a special occasion, the food for an honored guest, and the keystone dish in a festival.

In recent years, it has become clear that cuy consumption is no longer confined to rural Andean consumers. The anthropologist María Elena García (2013) has provocatively described guinea pig meat as a constitutive dimension of Peru's urban-centered *novoandino* ("new Andean," in the Italian-dominated idiom of food expertise) gastronomic boom that has taken off over the last decade. This cuisine's signature innovation is a chef's ability to incorporate elements of Andeanness into a dish. Andeanness, for this newly popular cuisine, means symbolically significant components like the cuy. Ideas about Andeanness are also conveyed on plates and in bowls through various other symbols to represent the idea that a given dish is uniquely rural and quintessentially Andean, while also cosmopolitan. The imperative to balance these values has led to the emergence of a class of cultural intermediaries able to travel and translate between Peru and the rest of the world, and between villages and cities, to discern how to make an elaborately produced but recognizable Andes palatable to a sophisticated diner.

For the *novoandino* gourmet guinea pig meal, the eyes, nails and fur, conventionally included in a cuy dish, often must be removed from view. García (2013, p. 511) describes an interview with a childhood friend of Gastón Acurio, Peru's most celebrated chef, in *Gourmet* magazine. The friend spoke about the meaning of guinea pig cuisine while consuming an opulent meal that exemplifies the mediated fusion of the world-famous *novoandino* cuisine. "'When I grew up, if you ate guinea pig you were a savage,' [he] says, biting into a leg of roasted organic guinea pig nestled in its bed of oca ravioli in a pecan sauce with Pisco." Now, that idea has been completely reversed: guinea pig meat, when composed in just the right way, has become a symbol of urbane refinement. Lima, in Acurio's view, is the new Paris, the world's latest destination for the foodie cutting edge. And Lima was able to become "Paris" because, as García puts it, people travel there "for 'a taste of Peru,' or 'a culinary journey to the land of the Incas'" (2013, p. 511).

So guinea pigs have become trendy, engaging Lima as a consolidated urban site of mediation between its Andean and international influences. Analogous to the way Arequipa structures prices and norms of exchange, the city of Lima regulates and fixes ideas about what Andean cuisine means on the global stage, serving the world a definition of "Andean culture" just as it serves up its innovative cuy plates. Lima is also, crucially, a source of demand for guinea pig breeders and farmers like Rogelio in rural Lari, who is one of the many primarily village-based Andeans involved in the complex transformation from a living guinea pig eating alfalfa in a village pen to an extravagant menu item at the Andes' global edge.

CONCLUSION

While Peru and its cities have changed rapidly in recent decades, scholars have been wary of overstating the newness of these transformations, seeking instead to draw attention to their imbrication in deeper historical legacies, viewed as permutations or embodying aspects of continuity (Panfichi, 2009, p. 158; see also Grillo Fernandez, 1998). This is, of course, not to imply the sense of timelessness or cultural authenticity heavily criticized by Starn (1994), or to suggest (contra Keeler, 2009), that maintaining "tradition" is the prevailing impetus behind young people's uptake of globalized media. Rather, we offer this take on cities to make sense of what at first may seem like dramatic changes brought about by the recent

intensification of economic and cultural globalization. As we discussed above, contrary to the overstatements of rebellious agency often characterizing ideas about youth and globalized media, the strategies Peru's hiphoperos have devised to imagine and achieve their desired futures do not necessarily entail a radical break from the aspirations of past generations (Durham, 2008; Cole, 2010; Jones, 2016). Nor does the guinea pig sit statically in spaces of timeless Andean tradition. Both of these cultural symbols are dynamically translated and transformed as they circulate physically and conceptually; they are constantly being "customized," rewritten, and renewed (Greene, 2009).

Through its entrepreneurial hustle and emphasis on one's socio-geographic location, hip hop aligns with other musical styles as part of a broader shift in Peru in recent decades to valorize the livelihoods and cultural productions of the country's Andean urban working-class majority on their own terms, rather than through those of upper class mestizo respectability, cleanliness, and ease (Tucker, 2013; Butterworth, 2014). The everyday experiences and working-class values of hard work, humility, struggle, perseverance, and suffering find renewed articulation in hiphoperos' own lives, artistic creations, and associational practices. These highly personal and visible activities illustrate the continued importance of popular culture as an avenue through which residents encounter and reconfigure signifiers of racial and class difference in Andean cities. By intertwining markers of locality with globally-aware urbanism, as well as nationwide and trans-Andean networks of communication and movement, hip hop comprises a domain that complicates the rigid boundaries underpinning long-standing ideologies about people and places in the Andes. The project to create a new generation of young gastronomy and other cultural entrepreneurs emerges out of a similar dynamic of networked rural-urban connections and personal values and symbols that animate today's era of Andean cultural and economic revitalization. NGOs like Desco and municipal organizations like those in Lima, Cusco, Arequipa, and elsewhere are drawn to young people because of their ability to mediate between village and city life, and between Peru and the world. Because of that ability, these young intermediaries help to set the terms, the economic rhythms, and the timbres and tastes of the urban Andes.

Tracing hip hop and guinea pigs into and out of cities points to broader forms of urban-rural connectivity within the Andes. The forms of mass communication that have proliferated in Andean cities since the 1990s, from various kinds of pay-by-the-minute phone centers, to internet cafes, and inexpensive cell phones and other mobile devices, to today's proliferating use of social media, offer intensified and more immediate modes of communication for Andean residents. Increasingly adopted over the years, these expanded lines of communication have buttressed the twisting roads that have historically connected cities to the countryside, and each other. They have brought people across the Andean region closer together, fostering new forms of commerce, consumption, and production, new kinds of associations, new renditions of taste. Yet while these forms of communication have added to the "porousness" of Andean cities (Orta, 2004), the normative meanings of the city as a particularly important social, economic, and cultural place do not dissolve so easily (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). If the power of place remains a pervasive part of everyday life, this chapter has sought to offer two glimpses into what it means and looks like to negotiate the boundaries within, between, and beyond Andean cities today.

NOTES

- 1 Peru follows the demographic trend of many other industrializing countries with people aged 15–29 constituting 27 percent of the population, and people under the age of 14 comprising another 22 percent (INEI, 2013). Also following global trends, approximately 75 percent of Peru's youth demographic lives in cities (UNFPA, 2013).
- 2 For a fuller discussion of the many ways in which hip hop has emerged and circulated in Peru, see Jones (2016, pp. 59–119).
- 3 Here we use *hiphopero* as a general way to refer to those who practice hip hop's performative elements, or who otherwise identify or affiliate with hip hop culture. While not employed by everyone, it was nonetheless a common term used to describe themselves or others involved in hip hop in various ways. In this sense, our usage also follows the sentiment of Pardue (2008).
- 4 See Jones (2016, pp. 251–269) for a fuller analysis of the semiotics and practices behind the flyers for this event and the media products for hip hop events in Peru more broadly.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

PLURINATIONALITY, INDIGENEITY, NEOLIBERALISM, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS



Sergio Miguel Huarcaya

INTRODUCTION

In June 1990, across Ecuador, tens of thousands of *indígenas* (indigenous people) from several ethnic groups came out to protest, and non-*indígenas*, witnessing such unprecedented indigenous mobilization, could not believe their eyes: “millions” of *indios* (Indians) still existed! (Guerrero, 1997, p. 98). Blocking highways, and occupying not only plazas but also television screens, the *indígenas* shattered the social invisibility to which they historically had been subjected. The ideologies of *mestizaje* (racial and/or cultural mixing) and national building had predicted their inexorable assimilation into “national,” mestizo culture, and non-*indígenas* therefore considered that the *indios* were already disappearing.

Certainly, such a massive, well-organized, and countrywide mobilization did not fit the stereotype of the *indio*, which characterized indigenous Andeans as submissive and passive. Taking for granted that *indígenas* could not be leading such a protest, President Rodrigo Borja and the military claimed that external, leftist agitators were behind it. These and other similar accusations only diminished when a group of articulate and well-informed *indígenas* clearly demonstrated that they were the leaders.

Ironically, the protest surprised not only the non-indigenous audiences but also the indigenous demonstrators. Many expressed their astonishment at experiencing a new collective strength as *indígenas*. In the city of Ambato, one of them said:

We were all together, as we had never been. We came from everywhere . . . All of us united, we were different. Nobody could stop us . . . In Ambato, at least, we surprised everybody. The streets were full of *indios*. What could they [non-*indígenas*] do? Rather, some of them clapped their hands. Let's see, when have they applauded an *indio*?

(León Trujillo, 1994, p. 53)

The protest paralyzed the country for a week and at its height, the leaders presented the government with a set of 16 demands that included not only indigenous rights—such as the legalization of indigenous territories, the recognition of indigenous medicine, and the funding for bilingual education—but also the re-writing of the first

article of the Constitution to declare Ecuador a plurinational state. This implied that Ecuador was not *a* nation but a state made up of several nationalities each with its own language, culture, and history.

Vocal non-indígenas interpreted these demands as an affront to Ecuadorean nationality. Newspaper editorialists criticized the indígenas for daring to question national identity and to demand rights that did not apply to all Ecuadorians. Affirming that Ecuadorians descended from both conquistador Sebastián de Benalcázar and Inca Atahualpa—the last ruler of the Inca Empire—the editorialists affirmed that Ecuador was a nation and as such, mestizo.¹

If in the past, when they made demands on the state, the indígenas presented themselves as poor and submissive; in the 1990 uprising, indigenous leaders articulated a political identity that emphasized ethnic difference as a source of pride and moral legitimacy. Ultimately, denouncing the assimilationist policies of the state, the indígenas questioned the Ecuadorian “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983), which from the beginning of the republic had denied a future to indigeneity, the condition of being indigenous.

The last decades of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of indigenous movements not only in Ecuador but also in many other Latin American countries, from Mexico to Chile. In Andean countries, in the 1990s and 2000s, such mobilizations achieved impressive achievements, such as the granting of indigenous territories to Ecuadorean Amazonians, the constitutional recognition of indigenous rights in most countries, and the election of the first indigenous president in Bolivia.

However, for several analysts, this wave of indigenous mobilization has waned since about the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. The organizational impetus of the communities has worn out, many states have failed to implement legally recognized indigenous rights, and indigenous leaderships have lost focus and unity (Martínez Novo, 2009; Betancur, 2011; Tuaza Castro, 2011; Pajuelo, 2014). In addition, since neoliberalism offers no escape from “the resource curse”—the pathologies that accompany economic-development models that depend heavily on natural resources—states continue to cater to extractive industries that trample on indigenous rights (Bebbington, 2009, p. 14). What is certain is that indigenous movements have had significantly different impacts across the Andean world.

In the analysis of indigenous mobilization, the quest for indigenous autonomy and the strategic dimension of indigenous identity are prominent. Scholars claim that indigenous peoples have mobilized to counteract neoliberal policies that affect their autonomy, and that they have strategically shaped their identity in struggles for land, natural resources, and/or NGO development projects. While recognizing the relational nature of social categories, most research lines do not explain the ways in which indigeneity is constructed as a social reality.

In this chapter, I study the implications of acquiring ethnic conscience and mobilizing politically as indígenas, focusing mostly in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. In the analysis, I consider that identities, alterities, and cultures emerge dialogically, in power-laden processes in which none of the parties have full control of the emergent meaning of their actions (Bakhtin, 1981; Van Cott, 2006, p. 10), and examine the ways in which mestizaje and indigeneity construct each other. Finally, attending to regional differences, I ask if indigenous movements, reconstituting social categories, have given a future to indigeneity.

For many scholars, contemporary indigenous movements mark the transition from mestizo nationalism to neoliberal multiculturalism. Rather than building

nations through promoting *one* national, mestizo identity, states have opted to constitutionally recognize cultural difference. This recognition, however, tells little about the ways in which mestizaje as an ideology survives, not only because mestizaje has been considered as the foundational trajectory of many Latin-American nations, but also because it is “a means, always provisional, of thinking reality” (Lienhard, 1997, p. 189).

Indigenous Andeans have a long history of revolts and uprisings across the colonial and republican periods, but indigenous mobilization has never been an automatic response to oppression. Mobilization always responds to specific conditions of possibility that determine how opposition is articulated and performed (Eyerman, 2006, p. 193). In addition, in contrast to everyday hidden resistance (Scott, 1985), open political confrontation demands the articulation and activation of a clear political identity, because it enables certain demands, rights, and alliances.

Scholars disagree in considering contemporary indigenous movements as continuations or breaks from the past (Becker, 2008; Baud, 2009). This issue might be examined by comparing contemporary indigenous movements with a prior wave of indigenous mobilization. In Peru, during the early 1960s, about 300,000 indigenous peasants mobilized and took 350–400 haciendas in the departments of Junín, Pasco, and Cusco. According to Howard Handelman, “the peasant mobilization of the early 1960s was unquestionably one of the largest peasant movements in Latin American history” (1975, p. 121).

These mobilizations differed significantly from earlier ones because the peasants formed unions and federations for the first time, allying with urban leftist activists. These activists included radicalized students whose parents were indigenous peasants. In earlier mobilizations, for the most part, indigenous peasants rebelled against specific aspects of non-indigenous oppression, such as external forced labor schemes or the usurpation of community lands and waters, but in the 1950s–1960s mobilizations, they managed to establish formal organizational structures through which they could channel their interests to the political system. In other words, they turned the invasions into a movement—until they were repressed (Handelman, 1975, pp. 126–128).

The mobilized peasants did not articulate demands emphasizing their indigeneity. On the contrary, those who made indigeneity salient were the *hacendados* (landed estates owners) and the government. In the areas considered as more Indian, in the department of Cusco, the repression of the government of President Fernando Belaúnde was far more violent. State forces evicted the indígenas from the occupied haciendas and killed about 300 of them; whereas in Junín and Pasco, where peasants were more “integrated” into national society—they had union experience working in mines, spoke Spanish, and demonstrated higher literacy rates—the government opted for a conciliatory policy and often allowed the peasants to keep the lands they had occupied (Handelman, 1975, pp. 121–123).

Contemporary indigenous movements likewise differ from the 1960s mobilizations in Peru. First, emerging cadres of indigenous intellectuals have displaced non-indigenous activists from leadership positions, ending the “ventriloquist representation” of the indígenas, by which non-indígenas spoke for the indígenas, and mediated their interest and concerns (Guerrero, 2010).

Second, contemporary indigenous movements are at once a local and a global phenomenon, the outcome of the agency of both indigenous peoples and international support networks (Brysk, 2000; Niezen, 2003). The promulgation of Convention

169 by the International Labour Organization in 1989 is a milestone in the internationalization of indigenous rights. It recognizes indigenous rights—such as those over territories, cultures, and systems of justice—and envisages the right to prior consultation in activities which may affect indigenous communities directly. In conjunction with these rights, indigenous activists have articulated a broad imagined community of indigenous peoples, which transcends regional and states boundaries.

Third, if in the past non-indígenas were those who emphasized indigeneity to legitimize their exploitation and repression of indios, today politicized indígenas are those who emphasize indigeneity, now re-articulated in positive terms. Indigenous activists have built indigenous movements through organizing politically as well as through revitalizing their cultures. They are self-conscious of the political power of indigenous cultural performance, not only to substantiate their political identity and occupy a higher moral grounding, but also to rally support from sympathetic national and international audiences. In contrast, a few decades ago indígenas were not aware that they could articulate a sense of ownership and political power over their cultural practices.

Finally, contemporary indigenous leaders base their demands not only on a narrative of indigenous historic dispossession and resistance, but also on the rejection of the ideology of *mestizaje*. Arguing that they have their own cultures, histories, and epistemologies, indigenous leaders have explicitly questioned the hegemony of *mestizaje* as an assimilationist ideology. In addition, politicized indígenas criticize prejudiced mestizos as alienated individuals who deny their indigenous descent and want to be more and more *blanco* (white). Furthermore, through self-conscious cultural performance, politicized indígenas provoke in local mestizos “feelings of uncertainty about cultural belonging, ownership, and authenticity” (Huarcaya, 2015, p. 820; see also Hale, 2006, p. 114).

These features of contemporary indigenous activism have been emergent rather than foreseen. As a political foundation, indigeneity is a work in progress, a tentative political horizon of emergent possibilities. As Mary Louise Pratt claims,

one can imagine indigeneity as a bundle of generative possibilities, some of which will be activated or apparent at a given time and place while others will not. Different settings and historical junctures will activate different sources of energy, with effects that are unpredictable beforehand but decipherable in retrospect.

(2007, p. 402)

NEOLIBERALISM AND CONTEMPORARY INDIGENOUS MOVEMENTS

Strong indigenous movements at the national level have developed in Ecuador and Bolivia but not in Peru, although Peru has more indigenous population, in relative and absolute terms, than Ecuador. In Bolivia, indigenous mobilization led to the election of the first indigenous president, Evo Morales, in 2005. In Ecuador, where the indigenous movement was considered as the most powerful and organized in Latin America during the 1990s, it has lost strength. In Colombia and Venezuela, indigenous organization led to significant advances in indigenous rights legislation, but there have been fundamental problems of implementation. In Chile, the protests of Mapuche people demanding the

return of indigenous lands have generally been suppressed by the government. There are also regional differences: in Peru, indigenous Amazonians have mobilized as *indígenas*, but most indigenous Andeans, who are Quechua speakers, have not.

In the global context of neoliberal multiculturalism, contemporary indigenous mobilization has led to the constitutional recognition of ethnic diversity in all Andean countries except Chile. The constitutions of Bolivia (2009) and Ecuador (2012) have embraced plurinationality, whereas those of Colombia (1991), Peru (1993) and Venezuela (1999) have adopted multiculturalism. Something unnoticed in most studies is that indigenous movements have also transformed social categorization.

Prior to the emergence of contemporary indigenous movements, “indio” was the predominant term employed to categorize indigenous Andeans. Self-identification as indio was not common because the term has been viewed, since colonial times, as a pejorative that stigmatizes a person as ignorant, rustic, and submissive, owing to his or her autochthonous origin. As Xavier Albó argues, no one “belongs” to the indio category “but rather are ‘imputed’ to it by others” (1994, p. 121). Trying to uplift indigenous Andeans, nationalist governments that explicitly promoted *mestizaje* replaced the word indio with *campesino* (peasant) in their state lexicons in Bolivia in 1952, Peru in 1968, and Ecuador in 1972.

In Bolivia, today, indigenous Andeans self-identify as *originarios* (native)—a colonial term that has only recently come to signify entire peoples or cultures²—and indigenous lowlanders self-identify as *indígenas*. In Ecuador, both indigenous Andeans and Amazonians self-identify as *indígenas* but only since the late 1980s. In Peru, indigenous Andeans continue to self-identify as *campesinos*, whereas Amazonians self-identify as *indígenas*. Aymara peoples, in Peru and Bolivia, emphasize that they are Aymaras rather than *indígenas*. The same is true for the Mapuches in Chile, who emphasize that they are Mapuches. A contemporary trend is that many ethnic groups, especially in the lowlands, are self-identifying with the name of their own as a people and not with the dominant, imposed name (Albó, 2008, p. 237); for instance, Shuar instead of Jívaro, and Awajún instead of Aguaruna.

Contemporary indigenous movements have voiced “an explicit critique of neoliberal globalization,” and in the analyses of the causes leading to indigenous movements, neoliberalism occupies center stage (Canessa, 2012, p. 203). In her influential analysis of indigenous mobilization in Latin America, Deborah Yashar has argued that indigenous peoples have mobilized because neoliberal citizenship regimes have threatened the local autonomy of their communities (2005, p. 29). In addition, many scholars rightly consider that neoliberal restructuring helped trigger indigenous politics and mobilization, and neoliberal ideology opened political space for multicultural policies (see, for instance, Assies, 2006, p. 298; and Van Cott, 2006, p. 294).

However, broad cause-and-effect linkage between neoliberalism and indigenous movements downplays historical specificity and brings forth more questions than answers. In March 2006, in Otavalo, Ecuador, I witnessed the efforts of indigenous organizations to recruit communities to protest over talks for a free trade agreement between Ecuador and the USA. The task was difficult because it involved extensive explanations of the way in which the agreement could hurt indigenous economies. Many *indígenas* doubted whether they should participate in the protest. Slowly, the protest got going, but it was not as strong as previous ones, and it collapsed before achieving any tangible success.

The talks came to a halt not because of indigenous protest but because of disputes between the Ecuadorian government and a US oil company. At that time, indigenous leader Blanca Chancoso explained to me that the uprisings of the recent past had been more successful because the demands were more concrete: land, respect from non-indígenas, and participation in the public sphere and national politics (Interview, March 12, 2006). In analyzing what has moved people to mobilize as indígenas, it is important to consider that people “do not experience ‘neoliberalism’ or ‘globalization’ in a strict sense” (Auyero, 2012, p. 11). They experience their lives, not as the outcome of general and abstract processes, but in specific social universes (Piven and Cloward, 1978 cited in Auyero, 2012, p. 11).

Neoliberalism differs from liberalism not in the promotion of capitalist enterprise, commodification, and free markets but in the “rolling back of the state,” or the dismantling of the welfare state. Nonetheless, neoliberalism depends on state policy, not only for purposes of reorganizing legal and political institutions but also for ideologically constructing the market as the foundation of state legitimacy (McCormack, 2011, p. 282). Historically, most Andean states have been weak and poor, with little presence outside urban areas, at best yielding a “stunted and miserly version of a welfare state” (Assies, 2006, p. 318). Neoliberal structural reforms implied reallocating government expenditures towards debt payment; however, indigenous peoples were the last to receive, if at all, welfare assistance and benefits.

On the other hand, Veena Das and Deborah Poole have argued that rather than taking for granted that neoliberal reforms have shrunk the reaches of the state, we should focus on the ways in which the “practices and political life” of its territorial and social margins constitute “that thing we call ‘the state’” (2004, p. 3). Until the 1960–1970s land reforms, hacendados and local authorities exerted violent, extrajudicial forms of private power over the indígenas, while also represented “the supposedly impersonal or neutral authority of the state” (2004, p. 14). Considering such biased state sanctioning, it makes little sense to speak of a neoliberal rolling back of the state as a supposedly impartial mediator between land owners and indigenous peasants.

The issue of indigenous autonomy is also not clear-cut. Until the land reforms, Andean indigenous communities were not autonomous but rather were subject to exploitative regimes run by hacendados and local non-indígenas. This institutionalized exploitation included forced labour schemes and a series of forms of economic dispossession. On the other hand, indigenous communities occupy a unique space in national civil society: they are state-authorized but not under systematic state control. In Ecuador and Bolivia, after the land reforms, indigenous communities channeled development projects, propelled indigenous careers, escalated institutional networking, and served as vehicles of opposition to the state (Blair, 1997; Colloredo-Mansfeld, 2009, p. 103). This autonomy, rather than being threatened by the decentralization policies of neoliberal regimes, was instead stirred up by them.

Contemporary indigenous mobilizations might be viewed as community-based movements. However, it is important to consider that contemporary indigenous political networks include many politicized indígenas and indigenous leaderships that are “deterritorialized.” They live in cities and are displaced from their, or their parents’, communities of origin (Canessa, 2000, p. 119).

In Ecuador and Bolivia, indigenous movements gained strength at a time of contingent and profound crises of institutional politics. Both countries had a long history

of political instability, but it was particularly acute at the end of the twentieth century. From 1996 to 2007, Ecuador had six presidents, three of whom were ousted by popular revolts. From 1997 to 2006, Bolivia had five presidents, two of whom were ousted by popular revolts. In many of these, the indígenas were leading social actors, but discontent with the government was generalized across indigenous and non-indigenous populations. The point here is that in Ecuador and Bolivia indígenas have re-constituted indigeneity through their participation in protests. Political victories at the national level have transformed their notions of agency. A few decades ago, it was literally unimaginable that indígenas could challenge national governments and unseat and seat presidents.

As a form of governance, neoliberalism has been criticized for its professed multicultural neutrality because it glosses over “issues of race, power, and privilege” (Jackson and Warren, 2005, p. 553). According to Charles Hale, neoliberal multiculturalism allows indigenous rights but impose limits to indigenous political actors. Calling this condition the “indio permitido” (authorized Indian), Hale argues that neoliberalism allows certain rights “on the implicit condition that others will not be raised” (2004, p. 18). Those others are demands that would call into question the inviolability of the state as a guarantor of the political order or the integrity of the globalized productive regime.

Along these lines, Fiona McCormack argues that the “spaces opened for indigeneity under neoliberalism reflect market rather than democratic rationality” (2011, p. 290). The neoliberal project, on the one hand, essentializes the representation of indigenous peoples; on the other, it converts common property “to private property or, when recognized, is stripped of the social dimensions which make this type of ownership meaningful” (McCormack, 2011, p. 283). An example of this is the Peruvian constitution of 1993, which adopted multiculturalism, declaring that the state recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural plurality of the nation, but also ended the non-alienability of communal land of indigenous/campesino communities.

Certain appropriations of multiculturalism, however, might subvert neoliberal state rule. Studying the Zapatista movement in Mexico, Shannon Speed has argued, on the one hand, that the neoliberal, state adoption of multiculturalism does not translate into a multicultural approach to governance. The Mexican state promotes human rights and multiculturalism while it also enacts laws that serve to limit indigenous peoples’ rights and self-determination. On the other hand, indigenous appropriations of multiculturalism might be reasserted outside the reach of the state, and recognized “by the fact that they exist in their exercise” and not in their recognition by the state (2005, p. 44).

Considering the current resurgence of indigenous societies across the world, James Clifford has claimed that conceptualizing indigeneity as “articulated” rejects two claims often made about contemporary indigenous movements. The first is the essentialist view of indigeneity as consisting of primordial, transhistorical attachments. “Such understandings miss the pragmatic, entangled, contemporary forms of indigenous cultural politics.” The second is to view indigenous claims as the result of postmodern identity politics, as “appeals to ethnicity and ‘heritage’ by fragmented groups functioning as ‘invented traditions’ within a late-capitalist, commodified multiculturalism” (2013, p. 54). Indigeneity, Clifford argues, is an articulation because

indigenous peoples articulate their identities through constructed but concrete connections from a broad range of experiences, influences and encounters. As a corollary, the “whole question of authenticity is secondary, and the process of social and cultural persistence is political all the way back. It’s assumed that cultural forms will always be made, unmade, and remade” (2013, pp. 61–62).

According to Sian Lazar, it would be a mistake to consider indigenous protest solely as “a response to poverty” aggravated by the neoliberal assault (2008, p. 253). Neoliberalism does not explain why indigenous movements have developed in some places but not in others. In Peru, Quechua-speaking communities often protest over the detrimental activities of extractive industries that affect them. These protests, however, are not framed under indigeneity. This might change in the future. As Wright and Martí i Puig argue, “there is a degree of soul-searching” regarding which political identity, peasant or indigenous, to activate (2012, p. 265). The protests, however, are reactive rather than proactive, and they do not constitute a movement.

Neoliberalism also fails to explain the emergent articulations of indigeneity shaping contemporary indigenous movements. In Ecuador and Bolivia, indigenous demands articulating land or territory with cultural reproduction preceded neoliberalism. Indigenous students who constituted indigenous intelligentsias, Kichwa and Aymara, conceptualized those articulations. The Kichwa intelligentsia emerged in the canton of Otavalo, Ecuador, and the Aymara intelligentsia developed in the province of Aroma and the city of La Paz, in Bolivia. The Aymara intelligentsia called themselves *Kataristas*, after Tupac Katari, the Aymara leader who, following Tupac Amaru II, led the most important indigenous rebellion against colonial rule in 1780–83.

Emerging in the 1970s, both groups of intelligentsia were the first generations of indígenas who attended higher education without disowning their indigenous identity. Both founded cultural and political organizations, broke with leftist organizations, and developed a language of empowering ethnic difference. Linking cultural renewal to historical consciousness, they constituted a new indigenous moral “we,” and articulated new indigeneities, freed from the stigma of the past (Canessa, 2000; Huarcaya, 2010). They conceived the social struggle as a cultural struggle, and questioning mestizo personhood and the assimilationist policies of the state, they adopted the ideas of indigenous nationalities in Ecuador and indigenous nations in Bolivia (see also Becker, 2008, p. 171).

In Ecuador, according to Tanya Korovkin, the indigenous intelligentsia of Otavalo provided the “ideologies that shaped the nature of the national indigenous movement” (1998, p. 126). In Bolivia, according to Salvador Schavelzon, *katarismo* was the origin of the ideas that redefined the composition of the “Bolivian people” in terms of class and indigenous nations (2012, p. 90).³ Notwithstanding these historical leaderships, leaders from other indigenous groups in these countries have also participated in the articulation of contemporary indigeneity. Certainly, contemporary indigenous activism has transformed Ecuadorian and Bolivian imagined communities. Both countries have incorporated the indigenous principle and articulation of “the good life”—*sumak kawsay* in Kichwa, and *suma qamaña* in Aymara—as foundations of their new constitutions. Proposed as an alternative to capitalist development, this principle “embraces the broad notion of well-being and cohabitation with others and Nature” (Gudynas, 2011, p. 114).⁴

MESTIZAJE AND ANDEAN INDIGENEITIES

A few years ago, Adam Kuper (2003) criticized the recognition of indigeneity as a legal category, claiming that such recognition could lead to politically dangerous, essentialist positions that have little to do with indigenous everyday life. Such predictions have not been fulfilled, since indigenous peoples in many parts of the world embrace indigeneity by virtue of its emerging political possibilities “rather than an essential category of personhood” (Graham and Penny, 2014, p. 2).

Apart from this debate, I want to examine the dominant understanding of the social category of indigenous peoples. Arguing that indigenous means tribal, hunting, and nomadic, Kuper criticizes the contemporary political use of the category because it restores to life the “ghostly category of ‘primitive peoples’” (2003, p. 389). Even former Secretary of the United Nations Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali referred to indigenous peoples as “nomads or hunting peoples,” who had been “relegated to reserved territories or confined to inaccessible or inhospitable regions” and in many cases “seemed doomed to extinction” (2003, p. 389). According to Kuper, such views respond more to a dominant wish for “a world in which culture does not challenge nature” than to the social reality on the ground (2003, p. 395).

Kuper might be right in arguing that such a framing is too homogenizing, static, and ahistorical, and that it dogmatically implies that indigenous peoples are in tune with nature. The fact is that, all over the world, most tribal, nomadic hunters have changed their lifestyles dramatically in the last decades. By now it must be obvious that such an understanding of indigenous peoples is not adequate to describe Andean *indígenas*, who have been sedentary farmers subject to a centralized power since time immemorial.

Since the sixteenth century and until the land reforms of the twentieth century, Andean *indígenas* had been subjected to a series of institutionalized forms of forced labour and/or economic exaction that included the distribution of labor to the conquistadores (*encomienda* and *repartimiento*), the provision of labor for colonial mines (*mita*), swindling indebtedness through forced distribution of goods, the per-capita Indian tribute, debt peonage (Ecuador: *concertaje*, Peru: *enganche*), the provision of servile labour in exchange for a hacienda land plot (Peru and Bolivia: *pongaje*, Ecuador: *huasipungo*), the provision of servile labor in exchange for hacienda resources (Ecuador: *yanapa*), agrarian and domestic servitude (Colombia and Ecuador: *huasicamia*, Peru: *pongaje*), the forced consumption of *chicha* (corn beer) before civil registry services and ceremonies, the *faenas* (tasks) of forced cleaning and construction work in urban centres, road building conscription, the seizure of animals by non-*indígenas* in markets, the extra payment to state officials for any services, and the swindling pledge of animals and land as securities for loans for festive expenses.

Andean republics were founded following egalitarian ideals, but after the abolition of the Indian colonial tribute, some decades after independence, the states delegated the administration of the *indígenas* to the paternalist sphere of the hacendados and the blurred authority of local petty functionaries. This system of domination was based on the construction of racialized subjects who did not “deserve ordinary treatment as equals” (Guerrero, 2010, p. 161).

In their communities, *indígenas* became respectful adults and achieved status through the *cargo* system, the sponsoring of festivities to assume political and religious offices; but they, as *indios*, did not have access to the public sphere, the realm of social

life where citizens form public opinion and influence state policy (Habermas, 1974; Huarcaya, 2014). In other words, being an indio was a dead end. Incorporation as citizen meant ceasing to be indio, to become *civilizado* (civilized), and this depended on acquiring the necessary cultural capital—literacy, formal education, acquisition of dominant language, ability to deal with state institutions—to do so.

This dynamic of national incorporation, or *mestizaje*, through which many turned from being discriminated against to being discriminators, has been the predominant form of structuring society and constituting people in the Andes. Studies of indigenous movements in the Andes, for the most part, have paid little attention to *mestizaje*. An exception is Raúl Madrid, who has argued that *mestizaje* “has profoundly shaped ethnic relations in the region” (2012, p. 20). More than this, the argument here is that *mestizaje* and indigeneity mutually constitute each other.

Analyses have failed to recognize that ethnic categories are abstractions whose meanings and norms of belonging/exclusion are always political and change dialogically over time. In practice, ethnic labels—such as indio, indígena, mestizo, and blanco—do not exist independently of their historic hierarchical connotations. Today, mestizo and blanco are categories bereft of ethnicity, unmarked and without content, used to assert that one is not an indio (Beck and Mijeski, 2000, p. 124). However, half a century ago, mestizo was a stigmatized category, akin to the pejorative *cholo*, designating a person too socially close to the indios; and blanco referred more to status than race. Categories were—and are—also performative and contextual. Racial ambiguity dictated that newcomers could not be categorized unequivocally as blanco. They had to perform blanco-ness convincingly, speaking Spanish without indigenous accent, demonstrating literacy, and wearing the right clothes (Huarcaya, 2015, p. 815).

In contrast to Andean indígenas, Amazonian indígenas have historically been hunters/gatherers and horticulturists, who were settled in permanent villages by missionaries, mostly in the twentieth century. In times of extractive booms, such as the rubber era at the beginning of the twentieth century, many of them were brutally enslaved, killed, or displaced. Considered as wild, they have been excluded from the national imagined communities. However, because of their historic relative isolation, they have not been subjected to the quotidian discrimination that have propelled many Andean indígenas to assimilate into mestizo culture.

Accordingly, political organizing in the lowlands, in contrast to the highlands, did not center on ideological debates over class or ethnicity. “In the lowlands,” as José Antonio Lucero argues, “even the earliest efforts at organizing in the 1960s seemed to have little trouble in privileging ethnicity over class” (Lucero, 2008, p. 100). From the start, indígenas in the lowlands constituted their political identity on ethnic grounds.

For Andean indígenas, the highly stigmatized term indio meant, rather than ethnicity, marginalization, illiteracy, and material lack. Indio was also a category whose members were subject to exploitative practices, which non-indígenas legitimized by making indigeneity salient. Significantly, indígenas feared the word “indio.” According to indigenous intellectual Ariruma Kowii:

How could we overcome the fear of the word indio? Because the word indio was used as a mechanism to flagellate you, to frighten you. The mere word, right? Because the word . . . had a connotation that automatically told you that you were inferior, and this idea was very rooted in the minds of both the

person who used it and the person who received it. Thus, it gave a power of superiority to the person who used it and a sense of inferiority to the person who received it.

(Interview, November 14, 2006)

Certainly, the greatest impact of indigenous mobilization in the Andean countries has been the election of the coca growers' leader Evo Morales as the first indigenous president of Bolivia. Morales' first term started in January of 2006, and he has been re-elected twice. After ten years in power, his government has radically transformed Bolivia, increasing state control of the oil and gas industries, redistributing wealth, and seeking to construct a new hegemony through the theatrical performance of indigenous culture (Howard, 2010).

However, reflecting the ambiguities of indigeneity, the Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa, literature Nobel laureate, wrote that "properly speaking," Morales is not an indio, "although he was born in a very poor indigenous family, and was a llama shepherd boy. It is enough to hear him speak good Castilian (Spanish) of roaring and sibilant rr's." For Vargas Llosa, Morales is "opportunistic as a squirrel, a social climber, and a bore." His "astute modesty" and "calculated and wise ambiguities" demonstrate that he is not an indio (Vargas Llosa, 2006; See also De la Cadena and Starn, 2007, p. 9).

Vargas Llosa is a vocal critic of Latin American leftist governments; however, what is at stake in his opinion of Morales goes beyond electoral politics. What authorizes Vargas Llosa to say that Morales is not an indio? Since colonial times, throughout the Andean region, the term indio has been used to categorize a person as dumb, stupid, submissive, and poor; in opposition to cholo, which has been associated with talking too much, deception, and false refinement (Gotkowitz, 2003, p. 97)—the characteristics that Vargas Llosa attributes to Morales. For the writer, Morales, besides speaking good Spanish, is not mute, stupid, submissive or poor; therefore, he, "properly speaking," is not an indio.

Behind the opinion of Vargas Llosa is the assimilationist ideology of *mestizaje*. Following Ronald Stutzman's influential article, "El Mestizaje: An all-inclusive ideology of exclusion," many scholars have considered *mestizaje* as an ideological project of national homogenization, concealing a reality of racial and ethnic exclusion behind a mask of inclusiveness. *Mestizaje* provides for discrimination by means of a strong subtext of *blanqueamiento* (whitening), meaning that members of a national culture aspire to whiteness as the highest symbol of civilization, as the moral, aesthetic, and sociocultural norm (Stutzman, 1981).

The ideological premise of *mestizaje* is that change among indígenas equates to acculturation, to assimilation into dominant culture. If an indígena does not have the proper markers of indigeneity—for instance, he wears a jacket instead of a poncho—he is no longer indígena. The ideology of *mestizaje* thus empowers non-indígenas to invalidate an indigenous subject position. The indígena is either archaic and therefore does not deserve political representation in modernity, or he is no longer indígena, as his Spanish speaking skills and use of modern clothes and technology demonstrate. This is how Vargas Llosa disqualifies Morales as indígena. In addition, depending on context, non-indígenas might switch from culture to race to re-establish non-indigenous domination.

Similarly, in Otavalo, non-indígenas consider that the first indigenous mayor, Mario Conejo, is acting the role because he is too sophisticated, and is married to a *mestiza*.

Still associating indigeneity with marginalization, non-*indígenas* consider that a poor, monolingual, Kichwa speaking peasant is more indigenous than a rich multilingual trader, or a savvy politician. In Peru, mining businessmen and state authorities have disqualified Andean communities from exercising legally their right of prior consultation claiming that their populations are too assimilated to be *indígenas*. In addition, reflecting dominant attitudes, former first lady Nadine Heredia has claimed, “An *indígena* who has a mobile phone is no longer *indígena*” (Ramos, 2013). Acting upon the ideology of *mestizaje*, non-*indígenas* consider themselves legitimate national citizens who have the prerogative to define who is and who is not *indígena*.

Questioning dominant categorization, contemporary indigenous movements aim at transforming the ways in which indigeneity is constructed and felt as a social reality, and this necessarily implies challenging *mestizo* personhood and the ideology of *mestizaje*. In addition, politicized *indígenas* work on constructing modern indigeneities, in which change is not equated with assimilation into *mestizo* culture, in which *indígenas* might be urban, global, and cosmopolitan. At the same time, however, neoliberal and *mestizaje* ideologies constrain the indigenous subject position to essentialized representation.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In Bolivia, according to Andrew Canessa, one of the great successes of Evo Morales “has been to open the possibility of identifying as *indígena* for a large majority of the Bolivian population.” Indigenosity is no longer only folklore; it is also “an aesthetic, modern, progressive, and authentic at the same time” (2009, p. 41). In Ecuador, according to Manuel Espinoza Apolo, “the most telling evidence of the failure in leadership of the main indigenous organizations is people’s rejection of self-identification as ‘*indios*’ or ‘*indígenas*’” (2014, p. 281). Not only did the 2001 census give a surprisingly low percentage of indigenous population, 6.8 percent, but also in the 2010 census only 0.2 percent more Ecuadorians—a total of 7%—self-identified as *indígenas*.⁵

Notwithstanding the constitutional recognition of multiculturalism, the ideology of *mestizaje* lives on in the attitudes and sentiments of the people. We could argue that in Peru, where no country-wide indigenous movement has developed, *mestizaje* reigns supreme; in Ecuador, in the 1990s and early 2000s, the indigenous movement challenged *mestizaje*, but non-*indígenas* have fought back to reaffirm “their unique claim upon unqualified political citizenship and majoritarian status in Ecuador” (Krupa, 2011, p. 150); and in Bolivia, indigenous mobilization has led to a new social reality, in which indigeneity has successfully challenged *mestizaje* hegemony. As Canessa argues, “the indigenous is now the paradigmatic citizen” (2012, p. 204).

In Ecuador, the political disappointment of indigenous political organizations and parties does not mean that indigenous mobilization has been inconsequential. In contrast to the past, indigenous mobilization has transformed interethnic interaction. Demonstrating political leverage and initiative, and performing their culture self-consciously, Ecuadorean *indígenas* today command respect from non-*indígenas*. *Indígenas* have also changed social reality undertaking positions of authority as majors, ambassadors, and ministers. This was unthinkable a few decades ago, and it is still unthinkable in Peru.

Opting for indigeneity, politicized indígenas reject participating in the hierarchized dynamics of mestizaje that is comprised of a triangle with whiteness at the top, in which non-indígenas negotiate their status according to their markers of indigeneity (see also Whitten, 2007). Such “choosing” is not merely strategic; it involves embodied sentiment and power-laden re-negotiations of identity/alterity vis-à-vis non-indígenas. In Bolivia, and to a lesser extent in Ecuador, indigenous mobilization has transformed indigeneity from a stigmatizing to an empowering condition. Peruvian indigenous Andeans might follow suit, but first they need to articulate a new indigeneity and challenge mestizaje.

NOTES

- 1 In 1532, when the Spaniards reached the Inca Empire, the sons of deceased Inca Huayna Capac, Atahualpa and Huascar, were fighting a cruel war of succession. The war ended when Atahualpa’s northern forces defeated Huascar’s southern forces. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ecuadorian intellectuals constructed Atahualpa as the supposed Ecuadorian Inca in opposition to Huascar, the supposed Peruvian Inca. They argued that Atahualpa was the origin and basis of Ecuadorian nationality (See Foote, 2010).
- 2 During colonial times, “originarios” were tributary Indians who resided in their towns of origin, in contrast to “forasteros” who were those who had moved to other Indian towns, mines, haciendas, or cities.
- 3 In the development of the Ecuadorian indigenous movement, a few other prominent leaders emerged from the Saraguro people, of the Andean province of Loya, and from Amazonian Kichwa people, of the province of Pastaza.
- 4 In her ethnographic study in the Andean community of Sonqo, in Peru, Catherine Allen found that villagers spoke of *allin kawsay* as the well-being that humans, and humans and sacred places, exchanged through ritual practices of reciprocity (2002, pp. 73–74). In Quechua (Peru) and Kichwa (Ecuador) *alli* means good, and *sumak* means beautiful or distinguished. *Kawsay* means to live. The Aymara concept of *suma qamaña* is apparently a contemporary articulation. According to Gudynas, “there is strong evidence that *suma qamaña* is not found in the everyday life of aymara rural communities, but that the terms were a recent creation, by the aymara sociologist Simón Yampara” (2011, p. 444). Gudynas emphasizes that “the good life” is best understood as an umbrella term that relates to various indigenous concepts of harmonious living among humans, and among humans and nature.
- 5 Such low numbers were unexpected. For an analysis of the ways in which the state and society in Ecuador minimize indigenous numbers, see Martínez Novo, 2014.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

CITIZENSHIP AND RIGHTS



Miriam Shakow

CITIZENSHIP: “SENSES OF SELF AND POLITICAL AGENCY”

In the Andes, conflicts over how to define citizenship and how to decide who is a full citizen of the nation can be traced back to the Spanish conquest, as we have seen in prior chapters. This chapter focuses on Andean debates over the boundaries of citizenship and rights since the late twentieth century. One can examine citizenship and rights from various perspectives. Comparing citizenship “from above” and “from below” poses several key questions: which categories of people does the state recognize and which rights does it grant to each category, on the one hand, and how do people define their own social status and demand rights, on the other hand? We can also understand citizenship and rights through economic, social, cultural, and political frames. Sian Lazar, in her book *El Alto, Rebel City*, defines citizenship as “senses of self and political agency” (Lazar, 2008). Meanwhile, Nancy Postero, in her ethnography of eastern Bolivian indigenous activism, *Now We Are Citizens*, argues that citizenship should be thought of as “a seat at the table” (Postero, 2006, p. 223) of political, social and economic life. Building on the work of sociologist T.H. Marshall (1963), scholars working in the Andes encourage us to move beyond narrow definitions of citizenship that rest on the right to vote, for example, to instead examine the interplay of various forms of belonging and expectations of rights that emerge in different contexts. In the Andes, the first years of the twenty-first century have seen struggles to make citizenship much more inclusive. This chapter focuses on my analysis, based particularly upon my ethnographic fieldwork in central Bolivia from 1995 to present, of local experiences in these multiple modes of defining and practicing rights and citizenship: formal and informal; bottom-up and top-down; collective and individual; social, political, and economic.

We have seen in prior chapters that the liberal principles of individual rights and equal citizenship that replaced the colonial regime were, in the Andean countries, severely circumscribed to a tiny, elite minority. These deeply unequal citizenship regimes were frequently challenged, however. Following the Bolivian government’s disastrous mismanagement of the war with Paraguay between 1932 and 1935, Bolivians of lower and middle classes, Indians and self-defined mestizos, began forging political and social relationships with each other.¹ Peasant farmers began mobilizing

to gain better treatment and take back land from encroaching landowners, while urban factory workers began reaching out to rural folk to share union organizing strategies. Rural organizers began both peaceful and violent takeovers of elite haciendas, finally forcing the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) government to enact an agrarian reform in 1953 (Calderón and Dandler, 1984). The immediate outcome of the 1952 Bolivian Revolution and the 1953 Agrarian Reform directly addressed many subaltern claims for citizenship recognition and rights, including public education and healthcare in some rural areas, as well as universal suffrage.

Yet the 1952 Bolivian revolutionary government immediately began subverting many of these gains in citizenship and rights. While formally responding to some of the demands of subaltern Bolivians for economic rights (land reform in western Bolivia), political rights (universal adult suffrage), and social rights (declaring all Bolivians to be racially equal “mestizos”), MNR government leaders and subsequent Bolivian governments worked primarily to shore up the power of urban and rural elites. With respect to social aspects of citizenship, particularly ideologies of race, the MNR regime’s rhetoric of social and racial equality was not coupled with legal or policy initiatives to subvert the lived realities of deep inequality. While government and political leaders frequently affirmed Bolivia as a mestizo nation and declared all Bolivians, of all skin shades, to be “mestizos,” racism remained widespread on the streets, in government offices, in schools, and in the bosoms of families.

As a result of these contradictions in Bolivia, popular demands for economic, social, and cultural citizenship came together in the 1973 Tiahuanacu Manifesto (*Manifiesto de Tiahuanacu*). The opening lines of the manifesto read:

Inca Yupanqui told the Spaniards “A people who oppress another people cannot be free.” We, the Quechwa and Aymara peasants and other indigenous peoples of the country say the same. We feel economically exploited and culturally and politically oppressed . . . Bolivia is entering a new stage in its political life, one characteristic of which is the awakening of peasant awareness . . .

(Unión Puma de Defensa Aymara et. al., 1973, p.169)

The coalition of student, farmer, and laborers’ unions that produced the Tiahuanacu Manifesto was one of several social movements emerging in the 1970s to demand more substantive cultural, social, and economic rights as well as equality in all of these realms.

These growing demands for economic, cultural, and social citizenship had been centered in western and central Bolivia until the 1980s, when popular protest ended a period of Bolivian dictatorship and ushered in presidential elections in 1982. A massive economic crisis in the mid-1980s led to hyperinflation, to which Bolivian governments, with strong support from international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, responded with economic austerity. Miners in state-owned mines were laid off *en masse*, banks no longer gave loans, and government price controls on the food basket were ended. The cost of food and basic living supplies rose, even as cheap imports flooded in from neighboring countries, making farming untenable for many Bolivian farmers and putting many Bolivian factories out of business. While the crisis and government response caused immense economic disenfranchisement and suffering, movements of indigenous people in eastern Bolivia built strength and joined forces with

a growing global indigenous rights movement. These movements gained traction from the United Nations International Labour Organization (ILO) International Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in 1989. Many governments, including Bolivia's, signed the Convention. In the Preamble, it recognized "the aspirations of [indigenous] peoples to exercise control over their own institutions, ways of life and economic development and to maintain and develop their identities, languages and religions, within the framework of the States in which they live" (ILO, 1989). Signatory governments would need to guarantee "equal footing from the rights and opportunities which national laws and regulations grant to other members of the population . . . respect . . . their social and cultural identity . . . [and] . . . eliminate socio-economic gaps that may exist between indigenous and other members of the national community" (ILO, 1989, Article 2). These affirmations were then used by newly-emerging indigenous organizations, which, like their counterparts in Ecuador, carried out a highly-publicized March for Territory and Dignity from eastern Bolivia, up the eastern flank of the Andes, to the capital, La Paz, in 1990. Marchers were met by cheering groups of indigenous activists and supporters from the general populace along the route in central and western Bolivia, including throngs that greeted them at the entrance to La Paz. Thus was a national indigenous rights movement born in Bolivia.

Bolivian rights movements also built upon a new, though depoliticized, language of multiculturalism that had emerged in Bolivia, as well as in many other Latin American countries, alongside economic austerity and free-market economic policies. The World Bank and other international institutions promoted multicultural policies centered on the premise that Bolivia was "multicultural and multilingual" (*pluricultural y multilingüe*), to reduce some social inequality without challenging deeply entrenched racism and the barriers to full economic citizenship (Kohl, 2003). Yet some of these shallow reforms had unexpected consequences. In particular, the 1994 Law of Popular Participation established local municipal governments and local electoral systems. This allowed several new political blocs to emerge, including the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS), which built up strength in local governments in the tropical Chapare region, home to many small-scale coca farmers. By 1998, the MAS and affiliated parties had won several congressional seats, sending self-identified indigenous and working-class congressional representatives to La Paz. Indigenous and other social movements began gaining strength through a series of national conflicts, from the 1999–2000 "Water War" over privatization of drinking water to the 2003 "Gas War" that erupted in response to the government's decision to sell Bolivia's chief export, natural gas, to foreign companies via a pipeline to Chile. As Postero and others have pointed out, the diverse coalitions of indigenous, union, Afro-Bolivian, women's, and neighborhood organizations that formed during these protests helped forge a new, bottom-up, inclusive model of citizenship that emphasized economic, social, and cultural rights while rejecting European descent as a basis for belonging and privilege (Postero, 2006).

The popular uprisings that shook Bolivia from 2000–2005 held the promise of a significant transformation in political, economic, and social citizenship in Bolivia. As Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar shows in her book, *Rhythms of the Pachakuti* (2014), the protagonists of the uprisings were attempting to create a new form of participatory democracy by working outside state channels. As loosely-organized coalitions of industrial workers, miners, indigenous organizations, farmers' unions, Bolivian

social movement activists similarly attempted to forge political power and redistribute wealth from outside the state.

In 2005, Evo Morales of the MAS won the presidency with the support of this diverse coalition, receiving the highest percentage of votes of any presidential candidate in modern Bolivian history. The MAS platform emphasized economic rights via the equitable distribution of profits from Bolivia's natural gas exports as well as social and cultural rights, centered on affirming most Bolivian citizens as indigenous and worthy of full social and cultural citizenship. Many political leaders conveyed the new political and cultural model of citizenship through the notion of Bolivia as "plurinational," intending to replace the neoliberal, top-down model of Bolivia as "multicultural and multilingual" (López, 2009). Building on Ecuadoran social movements' promotion of plurinationalism in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Sawyer, 2004), Bolivian social movement leaders allied with the MAS government used the concept of plurinationalism to convey the idea that indigenous and other ethnic groups (such as Afro-Bolivians) retained a degree of autonomy, self-determination, and political power not enjoyed under prior state regimes. Yet the enactment of these lofty goals has been uneven and contested.

CITIZENSHIP AND RIGHTS IN CENTRAL BOLIVIA, 1995–2017

During my own cultural anthropology field research in central Bolivia over the past two decades, people called for rights and citizenship in the modes described above: formal and informal, bottom-up and top-down, collective and individual, and focused on social, political, and economic arenas, respectively. The shift in state rhetoric and policies between 1995 and the present—citizenship from above—has in some cases reflected definitions of citizenship and rights demanded by grassroots organizations and everyday citizens, in other cases shaped those demands, while in yet other cases sparked local opposition. My fieldwork focused on Sacaba, a provincial municipality (county), which included rural, provincial, and urban districts, where people of diverse wealth, education, and racial and cultural self-identification regularly rubbed shoulders. Many of my research participants constituted a new middle class in the region: they were newly prosperous and first-generation professionals whose parents had frequently been impoverished peasant farmers. Their definition of themselves as belonging to a superior class, race, and ethnicity than their parents led to ambivalence about the value of equality of citizenship and rights.

As a center of support for President Morales (commonly called by his first name, Evo) in 2005 and 2006, many Sacabans were delighted to be included in the model of citizenship of the nation. "After a thousand years, there has to be a peasant president!" remarked a seventy-year-old rural woman proudly. "People in the cities have thought too highly of themselves [*mucho se han creído*]," similarly remarked a local MAS official, grinning, on Election Day in 2005, exclaiming how surprised those city folk would be if Evo won. When Evo was inaugurated, he wore a custom-made leather and woven wool jacket instead of the suit and tie worn by prior Bolivian Presidents. This jacket, in addition to Evo's visibly indigenous physical features and his swearing his oath of office to the Andean Earth Mother (*Pachamama*), symbolized the official shift toward indigenous citizenship promoted by the government.

At the formal level of social citizenship that counters overt prejudice, it is clear that many people in the rural districts of Sacaba see a dramatic change in the top-down, state-sanctioned model of citizenship and belonging. In 2009 local people's analyses regarding the degree of racism had begun to change. For example, some people asserted that the backlash against MAS's anti-racism platform sparked intensified daily discrimination. Nearly a decade later, many rural residents believed that five hundred years of entrenched racism in all sectors of Bolivian society had been eliminated. Of the dozen people I interviewed in 2017, all but one affirmed that "discrimination" had declined dramatically and most suggested that it had "disappeared."

A major factor contributing to this local perception was the media's attention to Bolivia's Law against Racism and All Forms of Discrimination, and particularly, a well-publicized suit brought under this law (Plurinational Government of Bolivia, 2010; e.g., Oporto, 2011; Ejú, 2011). Within months of the law's passage in October 2010, a student at one of Bolivia's public universities, Amalia Laura Vilca, had brought a lawsuit against two of her classmates. She had endured, she said, years of racist insults from faculty and fellow students during her tenure as a law student because she had continued to wear the *pollera* (a gathered, indigenous skirt worn with petticoats) and braids that in Bolivia identify a woman as indigenous. High school students had long been prohibited from wearing polleras and so had changed their daily clothing to pants or straight skirts before arriving at the university. Even following the 2009 MAS regulation change that allowed high school students to attend wearing polleras (or while visibly pregnant), few students have chosen to wear a pollera during high school or college. Amalia Laura Vilca had, according to her 2011 newspaper interviews, decided to be at the vanguard of a shift (Somos Sur, 2011). As a former rural community leader and activist in social movements, she was firmly committed to the new model of indigenous citizenship. But just before her graduation, two of her classmates PhotoShopped her pollera and braids out of their class graduation photo, inserting instead a graduation cap, gown, and loose hair held back with a barrette. Vilca promptly denounced them to the police. Her case clearly made an impact on many rural Sacabans, several of whom cited this story in 2017 when explaining to me why racial discrimination had disappeared (the 2010 law), as well as how they knew this to be true (Vilca's well-publicized lawsuit). As a vivid symbol, enacted in real life, of the MAS and social movement watchword of "interculturality" (López, 2009), Vilca's case resonated widely.

Yet the most intimate modes of citizenship and belonging exist within families and households, communities and neighborhoods. And at this intimate level, significant racism persists. Middle aged as well as young people continue to affirm the desirability of lighter skin and eyes. Throughout the mid-1990s and the 2000s, I encountered a barrage of comments about the desirability of my pale skin, eyes, and hair. My infant son provoked similar statements, often preceded by gasps, such as "Give me your eyes, baby! He looks like a little doll!" This proved no different in 2017. When I showed photos of another redheaded son, a toddler, to friends and acquaintances, I encountered the same delighted exclamations, word for word, from half a dozen people: "He is so light-skinned! His father must love him so much!" (*¡Libri yuraqcito! Munasqachá papasunpaq*). While viewing my photos, some people also commented didactically to their own children that light-colored eyes were better than darker ones. A woman in her fifties remarked to me in 2017 upon greeting me for the first

time in ten years: “Miriam! So wonderful to see you after all these years. And here I am, so dirty!” When I replied, “Don’t worry, I’m dirty, too!” she retorted: “but I’m so dark and you’re so light.” This ubiquitous refrain, conveying that light skin was associated with racial superiority and cleanliness while dark skin was associated with racial inferiority, had not changed during the previous 22 years.

Similarly, a young woman from a rural community who had graduated from a public high school in 2016 commented, while showing me a photo of her graduating class, that her lighter-skinned classmates were “snobbish” (*altaneras*) because of their pale skin; they treated the darker-skinned students (*morenas*), herself included, with “disdain” (*desprecio*). She added gleefully that one of these snobbish young women had received her come-uppance, because she became pregnant before graduation and had not studied for a university degree, as my friend had.

Yet, perhaps the formal register of rights, framed by anti-racist rhetoric in which the 2010 Law Against Racism and All Forms of Discrimination looms large, may have begun to impact the more informal and intimate register of color and status. For example, after telling me about the injustice of her classmates’ ill treatment of her and other darker skinned classmates, I asked: “But isn’t there supposed to be more respect nowadays?” Once I mentioned the word “respect,” her teenaged brother’s face lit up and he exclaimed immediately that things had changed in that “racism” was not allowed anymore: “There’s a law—what’s it called again?—against racism.”

Meanwhile, quite a few members of Sacaba’s new rural middle class, who might be expected to celebrate this new model of Bolivian citizenship, claimed that they did not feel included (See also Canessa, 2007). While some first-generation professionals—lawyers, teachers, and agronomists—expressed euphoria at the advent of a political party in power that affirmed Bolivian as an indigenous country, others expressed concern and disgust. “How can we have a President with such a face?!” wailed a lawyer the morning after the Presidential election. She lived in a rural community with her small-scale farmer parents, her skin tone matched the President’s, and her native fluency in an indigenous language was at least as good as the President’s own. Three years later, a rural high school teacher from a similar background complained that everyone ought to be treated equally (*por igual*), but that Evo was instead giving preference in public sector jobs and legislation to people without professional degrees: “Evo is favoring the people from the countryside [*campo*].” When I asked her, “Don’t you also count as being ‘from the countryside?’” She replied, “No! He wants to push the professionals aside [*poner a un lado*].” Some new middle-class Sacaba residents thus expressed that they did not feel included in the government’s definition of national citizenship as indigenous. Their logic appeared to be that they had left behind the formerly stigmatized, racially inferior category of “Indian” through their process of professionalization and economic upward mobility. Their homes were in the countryside and they spoke fluently in the indigenous language, Quechua, when relaxing at home with each other. Yet their identity and sense of belonging to Bolivian society were emphatically not indigenous.

These new middle-class Sacabans also expressed a feeling of threat from the formal redefinition of citizenship as indigenous. This could be seen among several public schoolteachers, born and raised in the countryside, native Quechua speakers, and members of families who identified themselves as rural, peasant, indigenous, or all three. Two schoolteachers expressed their resentment of their students’ parents

in terms related to citizenship, rights, and belonging. One teacher complained that, under the Morales administration, “people in the countryside have gotten snobbish!” (*La gente del campo se ha vuelto mas altanero*). Her complaint stemmed from pushback and criticism she felt she was getting increasingly from her students’ parents. Another rural teacher used the same term, “snobbishness,” (*altanería*) when complaining that parents were misunderstanding the intention of a recent education reform. While the reform was intended to empower parents in a constructive way, he said, these parents were instead “snobbish” (*altaneros*) in their use of the reform to try to monitor teachers’ on-time arrival and departure from work. He resented parents’ close attention to his comings and goings. Among rural schoolteachers with family roots in rural areas and extended families possessing qualities very similar to those of the families of their students, the concern about rising social equality reflects both their precarious upward mobility and structural conflicts between teachers and parents. While teachers would like to be able to arrive late every so often, parents’ sense of citizenship is tied to the quality of education their children receive, which has been historically compromised in part because rural schoolteachers commute from urban areas and view being posted to teach in rural areas as an unfair burden.

Meanwhile, many members of Bolivia’s tiny class of super-wealthy and well-established urban middle classes, who had for many generations formed their identities in opposition to the “Nation of Indians” conceptually mapped on to rural areas, were even more adamant that the new discourse of rights did not include them. Racialized fears among those people who occupied elite racial or class positions persists and shape their beliefs about the justice of equal citizenship for all Bolivians. Lidia, a 30-year-old schoolteacher with a professional degree in journalism, who has always lived in Bolivian cities, throughout the course of her adulthood has defined herself explicitly in contrast to indigenous peasants. She remarked to me in 2017 that “the Indian hordes” (*la indiada*) had been loosed under the government of Evo Morales. Lidia and her mother complained that “every peasant now wants to become a political leader,” and that indigenous and rural people had demanded—and gotten—an unfairly large portion of economic resources and political leadership positions. Her statements express the clear threat that many urbanites perceived regarding the prospect of equalizing social and economic citizenship. Her racist opposition to equality also, like that of many other urban Bolivians, reflected concern about her own precarious economic position in Bolivia’s fragile economy.

Discourses of equality have long coexisted in Bolivia with discourses and practices of inequality. What does appear novel is the depth of perplexity that some new and more established middle-class Bolivians conveyed to me about social status and substantive citizenship inflected by race and class. For example, A Bolivian sociologist friend described to me her own sense of bewilderment on both a personal and professional level as we ate brunch in her beautifully decorated home in Cochabamba city. She exclaimed: “In this moment . . . we don’t know who is who!” While she and her family had long criticized Bolivia’s stark inequalities, she explained, the new era of aggressively empowered rural leaders was discomfiting when they directed their criticisms at middle- and upper-class Bolivians such as herself.

ECONOMIC RIGHTS

Meanwhile, within a few years of Evo's election, many Bolivians who were firmly committed to the new rhetorical model of indigenous citizenship and rights began protesting that the substance of rights had in fact not changed enough. They pointed to significant inconsistencies between the MAS government's language of culturally and socially inclusive citizenship and the fragility of their own economic gains since 2006. The yawning chasm between the language of indigenous citizenship and the substance of local autonomy and redistribution of wealth was revealed, in many social movement activists' analyses, by a major conflict in 2010. This conflict centered on the question of whether or not to build a highway through an indigenous reserve and national park, the TIPNIS (Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro-Sécure—the Isiboro-Sécure Indigenous Territory and National Park). As local indigenous groups, who had held collective legal title to the park since 1990, organized large protests over the government's plan to build a transnational highway through their land, the government cracked down on protesters and attempted to discredit them (Fabricant and Postero, 2015). While Evo and other government leaders eventually abandoned the highway project in response to these protests, many Bolivians argued that the rhetoric of new rights and citizenship was masking significant continuity with prior economic models of natural resource extraction and political models of top-down decision-making. (Agencia de Noticias Fides, 2012; Fabricant and Postero, 2015). Not only had state power corrupted political leaders, they argued, but elite sectors and patronage seekers had been able to subvert the radical elements of social movements' platforms and practices.

Another Bolivian framework of citizenship and rights is defined through an assessment of state resources channeled to communities and neighborhoods via *obras*: public infrastructure projects like schools, health clinics, roads, and covered soccer courts. In this framework, as with other categories of citizenship, Bolivians' analysis of their society's transformation is equally variable in regard to how much change and how much continuity they see and whether these changes or continuities are good or bad. The distribution of public works infrastructure has long been highly unequal in Bolivia; since colonial times most infrastructure was built in urban areas. The Law of Popular Participation began to channel some infrastructure projects to rural localities in 1994, and the pace of obras construction increased further following Evo's election in 2006. Yet, within Sacaba, the local assessment of citizenship through public works remains variable.

An example of this variability can be seen in the locality of Choro, in Sacaba municipality's rural zone. Choro residents built many infrastructural projects between 2005 and 2017, with funding and often technical support from municipal and regional governments as well as local NGOs and international organizations: a covered soccer court; a sewer system; an agrarian union hall; a three-story brick school complete with library and computer lab; a brand-new hospital; and numerous paved irrigation canals. They had also begun construction of a small community college campus (see Figures 37.1 and 37.2).

Many Choro residents remarked in amazement in 2017 that this represented a flood of government support and recognition, the likes of which they had never seen. Other residents, however, complained that the new public works were of poor quality (the sewer pipes broke frequently; the health clinic funneled rainwater into



Figure 37.1 Male and female community leaders walked together to the site of a proposed new community irrigation well and collectively-owned land in the rural locality of Choro, Sacaba Municipality, Bolivia, January 2017

Photo credit: Miriam Shakow.

neighbors' houses). Still other residents argued that Choro had received few public works projects compared to neighboring communities, marking the persistence of fierce competition for limited funding and infrastructure. For example, while a neighboring community had received an ambulance, Choro had not.

Certainly, the economic and social enfranchisement that one gains from a stable job that provides a dignified wage is a critical register of citizenship and rights. As with public works, people's perceptions and experiences in the Cochabamba region were strikingly mixed in 2017. A teacher who had tenure at his public high school expressed an optimism and confidence about his career prospects not shared by another public schoolteacher who had taught under a temporary contract for several years. A young man who had secured a relatively well-paid job as a laborer in a mine expressed more confidence in the economy and his place in it than did his father, whose prospects for farming had been deeply compromised by the extreme drought that afflicted much of central and western Bolivia throughout 2016 as an effect of global climate change. Furthermore, as mentioned above, complaints abound in Bolivia that most of the new jobs generated under the MAS government were patronage positions from national, regional, or municipal governments. President Evo Morales has himself complained repeatedly that union leaders and local community leaders are focusing



Figure 37.2 Choro's new clinic was completed in 2016, becoming the community's first building with an elevator

Photo credit: Miriam Shakow.

on getting patronage jobs (*pegas*) in his administration and has publicly urged them to re-orient their attention toward community and union rank-and-file needs (e.g., La Razón, 2011). Critics have retorted that Morales has deliberately shored up his own power through a strategy of patronage job distribution.

Yet Bolivians' complaints about patronage coexist with claims to patronage as an economic right. In Sacaba, while some complain that only relatives of the local MAS mayor get jobs and that the mayor is thus nepotistic like many other Bolivian politicians, there are some very impoverished people who hold out the hope that a faint relationship of blood or friendship with the mayor will allow them to get a job. For example, Janeth, a young woman in her early twenties who worked as a part-time trumpet player in the municipal band playing for the festivals celebrating the inauguration of public works, had gotten her job through the intercession of the mayor, a distant cousin of her mother. She was a part-time secretarial student. Her family had struggled economically since her father had been killed in a car accident. In 2017, Janeth and her sister, a low-paid security guard, were the primary breadwinners of their extended family. Janeth hoped fervently that the mayor would offer her a secretarial job in City Hall—which paid better than private employment—as soon as she graduated from secretarial school. "I hope Don Humberto [the Mayor] can help me!" she exclaimed several times. While she

believed that her distant family connection with the mayor had helped her secure her current job, certainly her situation does not conform to the classic image of nepotism, within and beyond Bolivia, in which the unqualified, well-heeled, close relatives of a public official receive jobs while less well connected, better qualified people are shut out from them.

The centrality of employment opportunities to bottom-up definitions of citizenship had shaped the Sacaba municipal government's employment policies in what was variously described by locals as nepotism, a quota system, or recognition of the right to work. A system of one year-term job positions, organized and vetted through local peasant unions, had been set up in response to prior complaints that patronage hiring in the municipality only went to the mayor's and city council members' close relatives. When this system was in its infancy in the early 2000s, rural Sacabans complained that they received the worst paying and lowest status jobs, sometimes despite possessing professional degrees. As a low-level elected municipal official told me bitterly in 2005 about the limited municipal government hiring of rural folk, "just drivers, night watchmen: the lowest of positions. That's where a *campesino* can work; nothing more." By 2017, this employment system had been refined so that each local agrarian union would nominate three applicants for select positions in the municipal government, each of whom would be granted a one-year work contract. A woman who had worked as a hospital cook for several years was frantic in 2017, because her term was up and she was suddenly jobless. While more transparent, and arguably more equitable than before, this rationing of scarce local public sector jobs was clearly not enough to satisfy local needs for employment.

SECURITY AND RIGHTS

Security, the freedom from fear of crime, is another crucial arena of rights that has been subject to much debate in the Andes. Since the 1990s, both the incidence and the fear of crime in the region have risen (Barclay, 2010; Olson and Martin, 2017). In my fieldwork, I witnessed concern about crime rising sharply in the early 2000s. At that time, new stories circulated. Thieves had begun grabbing babies so that mothers would drop their purses. Children and adults were mugged at night on city buses. Young men killed each other in territorial disputes, even in rural areas. Women were left with bloody ears when their earrings were yanked out as they shopped in the market.

As Daniel Goldstein has shown, theft and violent crime became a major concern among poor residents in Bolivian cities, particularly since the 1980s, when urban neighborhoods burgeoned with miners and other industrial workers laid off amid neoliberal austerity, as well as with farmers seeking better livelihoods, and schooling and access to social services in cities (2012). In his 2012 book, *Outlawed: Between Security and Rights in a Bolivian City*, Goldstein has detailed the widespread frustration of desperately poor people in peripheral neighborhoods of the central Bolivian city of Cochabamba. Residents faced the loss of their livelihoods from thieves who stole their hard-earned blankets, food, and cooking gas canisters from their homes, as well as the threat of rape or murder. Their deep concern regarding public safety ("citizen security"—*seguridad ciudadana*) was particularly acute because most residents not only lacked access to

stable employment, but were also the subject of malign neglect by state agencies, including those that were supposed to provide policing, water access, street paving, and access to legal title to their homes.

Concurrent with the elevated fear of crime was the rise of citizens' lynching of suspected criminals. As many Bolivians claimed that the government was not ensuring their right to live free from crime, they clamored for crackdowns on criminals via tougher sentencing and more immediate retribution. Dozens of lynchings carried out by neighborhood residents occurred in Cochabamba's poor neighborhoods throughout the 1990s and 2000s; protagonists and sympathizers argued that they were enacting justice "with our own hands," in contrast to the ineffective and uncaring state. Goldstein argues that despite the MAS government's rhetoric of "postneoliberal" citizenship and rights, the precariousness of poor Bolivians' lives had not eased (Goldstein, 2012). Many poor Bolivians argued that the respect for due process leads only to criminals being let off scot free—in direct opposition to their own rights to security and livelihood. As Goldstein argues, the root problem is that citizenship in Bolivia has long been deeply unequal. Poor residents of peripheral barrios "outlawed" by the state are well aware that they are effectively non-citizens by virtue of their extreme poverty and indigenous social status.

This concern about the relationship of rights to security, I would argue, goes beyond the most vulnerable Bolivians. In September 2005, I accompanied a diverse group of women in the provincial town of Sacaba—ranging from very poor to provincial elite and professional—on a March Against Rape and Rapists. Their officially stated aim was to "gain respect" (*ganar respeto*) of the local police, of employees in the public prosecutor's office, and of would-be rapists themselves. A local taxi driver had recently raped an impoverished young woman who had attempted to hail his cab. Several regional women's unions planned the protest in response to urging by the employees of two foreign-funded feminist NGOs. Marchers carried home-made posters that targeted rapists as well as local government: "Death penalty for rapists," "Castration for rapists," "We will lynch rapists," "We must burn up rapists [*a los violadores hay que quemarlos*]," "Free DNA Test," and "Corrupt Police: Accomplices of the criminals [*malhechores*]." Women peasant union leaders burned an effigy of a rapist in front of the provincial public prosecutor's office. The protesters thus implied that they were all vulnerable to rape because of their gender, but by asserting collective strength they hoped to deter rape. Notably, the professional NGO employees and rank-and-file participants drew from feminist arguments against blaming rape victims and asserting women's strength. At the same time, many of them invoked extrajudicial action as part of the process of "making ourselves respected" and "making rapists tremble."

This ambivalence about rights as defined by law extended beyond criminal matters. Since the 1990s in Bolivia, with the passage of new laws protecting children from abuse, including from corporal punishment by their parents or teachers, many adults complained that the lack of freedom to whip (*chicotear*) or hit children and youth had led to their immorality and disrespect. The emergence of what was perceived as new and disturbing youthful misbehaviors—increased crime, adolescent pregnancy, lethal fights among groups of youths, alcoholism, dropping out of school—was often coupled in conversations with nostalgia about prior generations who got into such trouble much less because their parents "controlled them" through corporal punishment.

CONCLUSION

Bolivia is not alone in the Andes in respect to these contradictory transformations of rights and citizenship. Poverty has declined dramatically in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador during the past ten years—a notable achievement made possible by a twenty-first-century boom in the prices of minerals and crude fossil fuels on the world market. Yet Andean states' abilities to continue to redistribute wealth from taxes on exports is uncertain, as other chapters in this volume attest. In Bolivia natural gas, the country's highest-value export, is plagued by volatile prices, while the government has been unable to create more stable sources of revenue (Bebbington and Humphreys Bebbington, 2010). Even as the Morales government's dependence on the extractive economy to bestow economic rights has created significant conflicts with people living close to extractive infrastructure, such as in the TIPNIS conflict, the prices for these primary commodities have declined sharply since 2014. And although Evo campaigned on the promise of forging an industrial economy—building battery factories for Bolivia's lithium reserves, for example—the necessary expertise and capital remains in the hands of multinational companies. As Bebbington and Humphreys Bebbington point out, “international capital shows little proclivity to engage” in helping the Andean countries gain more value added from their primary products, including minerals and hydrocarbons (2010, p. 13).

These twin problems of the capricious world market prices for primary commodities and the authoritarian, anti-democratic measures that aggressive extraction often requires bedevil Ecuador and Peru, as well (Becker, 2015). In 2015, Ecuador depended on natural resource exports for 42 percent of its annual state budget, slightly less only than Venezuela (Oxfam International, 2015, p. 13). As in Bolivia, Ecuador's government has redistributed many of the proceeds from mineral and hydrocarbons exports widely, reducing poverty by 30 percent and extreme poverty by 50 percent (Wilpert, 2017). And like Morales in Bolivia, Rafael Correa, Ecuador's president from 2007–2017, touted environmentalist ideals and indigenous rights while increasing oil extraction and crackdowns on indigenous and environmental groups who protested land seizures and environmental contamination. The Peruvian economy benefitted the most from the commodities boom. Ironically, Peruvians have seen a similar reduction in poverty as the other two Andean countries even though their government has not emphasized indigenous rights, redistribution of wealth, or citizenship in its rhetoric or policies (de la Flor, 2014). At the same time, however, Peru has seen more violent state repression than the other two countries over mining companies' contamination of local environments and land seizures (Poole and Rénique, 2010). And since 2014, the Peruvian economy has also suffered from the decline in world prices of all primary commodities.

Nonetheless, significant transformations in social citizenship have taken place. The mere fact that many Bolivians believe that overt racism has disappeared during the decade since Evo Morales' election is astonishing and cause for celebration. The resentment among urbanites who don't identify themselves as racially indigenous, as well as among rural and provincial middle classes, reflects the depth of this shift. That more intimate forms of discrimination persist—including self-hatred based on skin color—is not surprising, as relationships with family are at the core of most people's existence.

Perceptions of changes in economic rights are even more variable among Bolivians and other people in the Andes. While some people express delight at the mushrooming of health clinics in their communities and claim that these public works represent

the extension of rights to rural folk never before granted, others grumble at the lack of an ambulance or the shoddiness of a clinic's construction. And while those with secure jobs express confidence in the future, those without work or with insecure work express resentment at a government which they claim is not responding to their right to a decent livelihood. Given the history of the past ten years and the fragility of the Andean countries' place in the global economy, these tensions regarding economic and social rights are likely to persist.

NOTE

- 1 The Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay (1932–1935) was fought over disputed territory adjacent to Bolivia's arid southeast. In the incredibly brutal three years of fighting, approximately 100,000 soldiers lost their lives, most of them indigenous and impoverished conscripts. These immense losses, coupled with Bolivian military leaders' gross mismanagement of the war, led to widespread protest against the dominance of Bolivian elites.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHT

TRANSNATIONAL CIRCUITS

Migration, money, and might in Peru's Andean communities



Karsten Paerregaard

INTRODUCTION

Peru has experienced a massive exodus of people from a broad range of social classes, ethnic groups, and geographical regions over the past three decades. Even though the country's recent economic growth has slowed down this emigration, almost 9 percent of its population is currently living abroad (Paerregaard, 2015). Women have spearheaded Peru's exodus, in contrast to what is found in many other migration flows, such as that from Mexico, in which male migrants predominate (Paerregaard, 2012). Among the first Peruvians to emigrate was a group of young Andean women who had worked as domestic servants for American families in Lima and who had traveled with their employers when the latter returned to their home country. Several of these women continued to work as domestics after their arrival in the U.S. and with the support of their employers have obtained permanent residency and, in many cases, also American citizenship. Over the years they have also helped their close relatives in Peru to come to the U.S. either legally as invited family members or undocumented, which has triggered the formation of large and thriving Andean migrant colonies in a number of American cities (Paerregaard, 2008a).

This aim of this chapter is to investigate how community of origin, gender, and indigeneity intersect in a context of transnational migration. It explores the development of two Andean migrant colonies and their links to their home communities in the Peruvian highlands. More specifically, it examines the transnational networks that the pioneer female migrants of the two communities forged in the 1970s and that their relatives and co-ethnics later have used to emigrate to the U.S.; it then discusses the challenges the two migrant colonies faced when they created their own organizational structures and engaged in transnational activities in their communities of origin. The focus of the analysis is on how migrants negotiate their divided stakes in their old and new places of settlement and how this conflict of interest is reflected in the power relations that emerge between old and new migrants in the U.S., on the one hand, and the migrant colonies and their native communities in Peru, on the other. My data suggest that the women who founded the two colonies and the relatives they have helped to come to the U.S. continue to control the transnational networks that enable new community members to emigrate. They also show that the pioneering families exercise

this control by demonstrating their economic power in their home communities where they finance prestige projects and sponsor extravagant fiestas. In these activities, I propose, the families not only reveal the hierarchical structure of their transnational networks, but also encourage further out-migration from their communities of origin and deepen the economic divide between migrants and non-migrants. My conclusion is that transnational activities are a means for migrants to affirm their status as successful immigrants and display the mobility they have achieved in their new country of settlement, more than to prepare the grounds for their future return to and re-incorporation into their home communities. My research supports the argument of migration scholars who claim that transnational engagement in sending societies and integration in receiving societies should be viewed as complementary rather than exclusive processes (Itzigsohn and Giorguli Saucedo, 2002; Portes, Haller, and Guarnizo, 2002; Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004; Smith and Bakker, 2008).

INDIGENOUS TRANSNATIONALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

Andean women's transnational activities and engagement in their home communities are remarkable but not exceptional. In the past decades, Latin America has experienced an exodus of rural and urban people who migrate to the U.S. and other developed countries to improve the lives of themselves as well as their families at home. The growing body of literature on migration and development provides ample evidence of this phenomenon. It shows that transnational migrants contribute to the development of their countries of origin not merely upon their return but also during their absence (Castles and Wiese Delgado, 2008; de Haas, 2012). It also demonstrates that indigenous migrants in Latin America often pool their contributions and direct these through the hometown organizations and other organizations they create in their new countries of settlement (Caglar, 2006; Fox and Bada, 2008). Ethnographic studies supplement this research by describing how migrants establish representations in their home communities to implement local development projects such as the construction of local schools and health clinics, the improvement of the environment, the preservation of cultural traditions, etc. (Waldinger, Popkin, and Aquiles, 2008; Maisonave, 2011). The benefits of transnational activism, though, are not without cost and it is not unusual that migrants' visions for local development take precedence over the needs and goals of those still residing in the home communities. Some studies point to the conflicts and new power constellations that emerge from this engagement and the Janus-faced role migrants play in their communities of origin (Levitt, 2001a; Goldring, 2004; Pribilsky, 2004). On the one hand, they act as migrant "role models" and prompt others to migrate and, on the other, they finance projects and sponsor events that aim to preserve the communities' cultural traditions and attest their own membership in the sending communities (Cohen, 2001; Binford, 2003; Berg, 2008; Escobar, 2009).

Most research on the transnational engagement of indigenous migrants from Latin America is based on Mexican studies (Cohen, 2004; Velasco Ortiz, 2005; VanWey, Tucker, and McConnell, 2005; Stephen, 2007) but migration scholars working in other parts of the region have also made important contributions (Berg and Paerregaard, 2005; Altamirano, 2010). These include studies of Andean migrants and their relation to their home communities in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru that in many respects echo the conclusions of Mexican migration scholars but that also offer new

insights (Kyle, 2000; Meisch, 2002; Tamagno, 2003; Miles, 2004; Pribilsky, 2007; Berg, 2015; Paerregaard, 2015). Just as indigenous Mexicans remit their hard-earned money home to show loyalty to their native communities, so do Andean migrants finance activities in their places of origin. But while the former are able to do so on a regular basis, the greater distance between the U.S. and Peru curbs Andean migrants' possibilities of traveling to and participating actively in their home communities. Hence, while many Mexican indigenous migrants have considerable leverage on local and regional politics in Mexico, Andean migrants mostly bring their influence to bear at home by financing projects and sponsoring events that testify to their status as successful migrants in the U.S. and reaffirm their community membership in Peru.

One scholar who has examined indigenous Bolivian migration to Washington, D.C., found that migrants create hometown organizations in the U.S. by replicating the institutions of their home region of Cochabamba (Strunk, 2014). He reports that during soccer tournaments, which they organize, these associations are capable of collecting thousands of dollars that they use to finance development projects in Bolivia. Even though this cooperation is based on the mutual trust between migrant organizations in Washington and community leaders in Bolivia, Strunk points out they occasionally disagree, which can lead to open conflicts. He concludes, "Since migrants provide the vast majority of the funding, in practice they are able to control decisions made about the projects" (2014, p. 1704).

Scholars studying Peruvian and Ecuadorian indigenous migration also found that migrants form home town organizations in the receiving country as described above. Rather than pool their savings, however, to finance development projects in their home communities, they mostly use them to construct new houses, start businesses, and finance private consumption in the highlands of Peru and Ecuador. Ann Miles, who has examined migration between Ecuador and New York, writes that in Cuenca "transnational migrants are building new homes on the rural/urban borderlands—creating a unique kind of Ecuadorian urban sprawl where elegant two-story homes bump against one room adobe dwellings" (2004, p. 25).

Similarly, in her study of transnational migration in the community of Huáchac in Peru's central highlands, Carla Tamagno (2003) reports that migrants often use their money on new homes and conspicuous consumption and that quite a few spend it on Huáchac's annual fiesta. Tamagno also observes that even though some of the migrants she followed financed projects in Huáchac, they rarely had a major impact on the community's development. Tamagno's research resonates with Paolo Boccagni's study of Ecuadorian migrants in Italy and their charitable transfers to their Andean communities of origin. Boccagni concludes that: "embryonic collective remittances do exist, but are quite occasional and ephemeral" (2010, p. 199). Other studies support these insights providing evidence that migrants' transnational activities and investments tend to enhance economic inequality and deepen ongoing processes of social differentiation in the Andes (Paerregaard, 2015). In a study of transnational migration in the highlands of Ecuador, Ximena Soruco, Giorgina Piani, and Máximo Rossi learned that rather than contributing to community unity and solidarity migrant remittances gave rise to a new group of *nouveaux riches* who made local people "consider emigrants and their families to be arrogant" (2008, p. 24). According to the literature, then, transnationalism is not only less prevalent in the Andean countries than in Mexico but its impact on community development and

solidarity is also less notable. In the following section I present my own research on the transnational engagement of Andean migrants and compare its importance to these findings.

ANDEAN TRANSNATIONALISM

My interest in Andean transnationalism was triggered by the many accounts of Peru's pioneer migrant women that I collected while doing ethnographic fieldwork among Peruvians in the U.S. This research made me aware of women's critical role in Peru's contemporary migration history and the importance of focusing on how not only economic inequality and power structures but also gender relations and indigenous identity shape transnational migrants' feelings of belonging and ties to their communities of origin. When I was in Hartford, Connecticut, in 2005, Peruvians informed me that the first member of their native community of Ocros in the region of Ancash who migrated to the U.S. was a young woman who had traveled to Lima to work as a domestic servant. In 1948 she left Peru with her American employer when he and his family returned to their hometown of Miami. The woman stayed with the family for a number of years but after she had obtained American citizenship she moved to Hartford, where salaries are higher than in Miami. Before she died in 1987 the woman invited more than a dozen of her relatives and fellow community members to Hartford, where they today make up a small but well-organized migrant colony. A retired Peruvian woman whom I first interviewed in Miami in 1998 and later in 2005 told me a similar story. The woman, who was born and raised in Chumbi, an Andean community in Peru's Ayacucho region, was brought to the U.S. in 1954 by the American family for whom she had worked as a domestic in Lima. At the time of her arrival, the woman recounted, there were few Peruvians in Miami, the bulk of whom were women from the highlands working as domestics. After the woman had obtained American citizenship she quit her job and got a new one in a restaurant where she continued to work until she retired in 1990. She also invited a number of her close relatives to come to the U.S. through the family reunification program. In the past 50 years they, in turn, have helped another 25 villagers from Chumbi to emigrate to Miami. Today these migrants constitute one of the city's many Andean colonies. A similar migration pattern emerged from the interviews I held with two other women who came from the communities of Pichus in the Junín region and Rivacayo in the Ayacucho region, respectively. Both of them have created extensive support networks that members of their home communities draw on to emigrate (Paerregaard, 2008a, pp. 91–98).

The remaining part of this chapter explores two migrant colonies in the U.S. that, in different ways, illustrate the dilemmas Andean migrants face when engaging in transnational activities in the Peruvian Andes (Paerregaard, 2008b, 2010a). One of the migrant collectivities is based in Washington, D.C., and consists of approximately 800 migrants from the district of Cabanaconde in Peru's southern highlands. The other is based in Hartford and is made up of approximately 180 migrants from the district of Bolognesi in Peru's northern highlands. Both collectivities were formed by female community members who travelled to the U.S. and helped their families to emigrate after they had obtained citizenship. In Washington and Hartford the women and their relatives have formed hometown organizations and created transnational networks that they use to finance development projects and sponsor social and cultural activities in their home regions and assist community members who want to emigrate.

The networks are critical for the migration flow between the communities in Peru and the colonies in the U.S. but how the migrants travel is different in the two cases. Most Cabaneño migrants travel by land without the required documentation. In order to finance the undocumented journey and find work and a place to live when they arrive in Washington, they rely on the economic and logistical support of their relatives in Washington. Up until 2001 most newcomers could legalize their stay in the U.S., but many of those who have arrived later continue to live without proper identification documentation, which makes their lives highly vulnerable and prevents them from traveling to Peru.

By contrast, most Bolognesinos in Hartford have traveled as reunited family members, which entitles them to apply for permanent residency in the U.S. and then American citizenship. The family reunification program enables Bolognesinos to enter and live in the U.S. legally but it also puts a brake on migration from Bolognesi to Hartford and discourages community members without close relatives in the U.S. from traveling. The Bolognesi colony is therefore not only much smaller than the Cabaneño colony but also confined to a small group of families that can invite newcomers and visit Peru whenever they want. The different means of traveling and the relations of control and power they engender are reflected in the networks and transnational engagements of the two migrant colonies. On the one hand, Cabaneño networking consists of a hierarchy of migrant families that either have or don't have legal rights in the U.S., while Bolognesino networking is comprised of a privileged group of families that all have residency or American citizenship. On the other hand, while Cabaneño migrants spend most of their savings on Cabanaconde's fiestas, Bolognesino migrants invest theirs in development and restoration projects in Bolognesi.

UNDOCUMENTED TRAVELLING AND EXUBERANT FIESTAS: THE CASE OF CABANACONDE

Cabanaconde is a rural district of 2,842 inhabitants in the province of Caylloma (Arequipa), located in the Colca Valley of southern Peru (see Figure 38.1). In recent years it has experienced the emergence of a tourist industry based on such services as hotels, restaurants and tourist agencies, and the introduction of parabolic antennas, video recorders, and other modern media practices and communication technologies that, combined with electricity service around the clock, have given rise to a new urban inspired lifestyles and linked the community to the national and global world (Gelles, 2000). The modernization of Cabanaconde has also been fueled by a migration process that started in the mid-twentieth century and which, initially, was directed toward Arequipa and Lima, Peru's two largest cities, where Cabaneño migrants formed their own hometown organizations in the 1940s (Paerregaard, 1997). Migration grew steadily in the second half of the twentieth century and today Cabanaconde's migrant population in Arequipa and Lima is more than 1,000 and 3,000 respectively (Gelles, 2000, p. 33).

In the 1970s Cabaneño migrants also reached destinations outside Peru. The first Cabaneño to emigrate was a man who had gone to Arequipa to study and work when he was a child and who at the age of 28 travelled to the U.S., where he arrived in 1969. The man settled in New Jersey where he found a job in a local factory and where he spent the following 30 years before he retired and returned to Peru.



Figure 38.1 The village of Cabanaconde and the surrounding fields, January 28, 2011

Photo credit: Karsten Paerregaard.

Not long after the man left Peru, a handful of young female Cabaneños also emigrated. In 1970 a woman who had lived and worked in Lima for several years traveled to Washington, D.C., together with a neighbor, who had relatives in this city. The same year, another Cabaneño woman, who had lived and worked as a domestic servant for a Brazilian family in Lima since she was 14, travelled to Brazil with her employer who had completed his service at the Brazilian embassy in Peru. After a couple of years the woman continued the journey to Washington, where the employer had been offered diplomatic work. A third woman, who had also left Cabanaconde and migrated to Lima in the mid-1960s, travelled to take work as a domestic, first in Canada, then Mexico, and finally Washington, where she arrived in 1974. In the years that followed, they helped three other young Cabaneño females to emigrate; today the six women are recognized as the founding mothers of Cabanaconde's migrant colony in Washington. During the late 1970s and early 1980s they created a migration chain that gained momentum in the 1990s and the 2000s and that now has brought more than 800 Cabaneños to Washington (Paerregaard, 2010b).¹

In 1983, Cabaneños in Washington formed the Cabanaconde City Association (CCA) that aims to organize social activities for the migrant colony. For a number of years, Cabaneños participated in the all-Hispanic soccer league founded by Washington's immigrant organizations, but in 2003 the CCA organized its own

Cabaneño league. Five years later, it formed a second league to include the many newcomers. CCA also organizes the celebration of the Virgin of Carmen, Cabanaconde's patron saint, that takes place in a cave called the Gruta de Lourdes (Grotto of Lourdes) outside Washington in July. The celebration gathers hundreds of first- and second-generation Cabaneño migrants. Finally, CCA arranges social events to collect money that come from the participants' entrance fee, voluntary contributions, and the food they buy; these contributions can amount to several thousand dollars.

More recently, these resources have become a bone of contention between one group of migrants that wants to support Cabanaconde and another that believes they should be used to help migrants in Washington who are in need. In 2005, the president of CCA told me that the organization receives numerous requests every year from community authorities, schoolteachers, parents' organizations, and religious associations in Cabanaconde for equipment, furniture, and materials to repair public buildings and irrigation canals. He also said that individual community members repeatedly ask the CCA to help pay for hospital and medical bills when family members fall ill or suffer accidents. The man contended:

For many years we've been supporting Cabanaconde and helped the authorities with money. But we don't want to continue doing that anymore because it hasn't helped at all. The money often disappears, and people in Cabanaconde believe that they can keep asking for more. So we have decided to use the money we collect to help Cabaneños who are in need here and perhaps buy a lot of land for the organization.

Other CCA members claim that Cabanaconde's authorities mismanage the projects they finance and that it is difficult to hold them accountable for the funding. In contrast, when interviewing Cabanaconde's authorities they told me that CCA only supports projects it finds relevant and shows little interest in listening to their wishes. The president of CCA also said that CCA is planning to offer loans to migrants who want to help family members to travel to Washington, which may cost up to US\$10,000. This shift in orientation from Cabanaconde toward Washington is a response to a more general change in the migration process that transpired after 2001. The U.S. government's tightening of its border control and immigration policy has made not only traveling to and entering the U.S. more dangerous and expensive, but also the possibilities of regularizing the migration status more difficult for undocumented immigrants who live with the fear of deportation and who cannot visit their home country.

Although migrants in Washington continue to contribute to the development of Cabanaconde and occasionally make donations to community members, they predominantly make their presence felt during the community's annual fiestas (Martínez and Gelles, 2015).² In particular, migrants' celebration of the Virgin of Carmen, and lately also the Virgin of Candelaria that is celebrated in February, is viewed as a way to validate their membership in Cabanaconde and preserve its culture and traditions at a time when tourism, modernization, and other forms of change are rapidly transforming the community. Formerly, the celebration of the Virgin of Carmen, which starts on July 15 and lasts four days, was a rural ritual to mark the sowing of the crops. By honoring the Virgin, the community asked the saint to ensure them a good harvest in the coming year. This socio-religious reading of the fiesta is reflected in its

dual structure, which delegates the responsibility for organizing the music, preparing the food, and the financing of these activities to the two persons who sponsor and organize the fiesta. Faith in the saint is still the driving motive of most sponsors, but these sponsors are now almost entirely migrants who use the event to attest to their loyalty to the community by putting on the most expensive fiestas. To validate their contribution to Cabanaconde migrants film their participation in the fiesta and show the recordings to family and friends in Lima, Washington and other places. In 2005 the sponsors who both came from Washington each spent almost US\$100,000 on the fiesta and in 2014 the cost of sponsoring the event peaked when a migrant from Chile sponsored the fiesta and exceeded the spending of all previous sponsors.³

Migration has generated change in Cabanaconde for more than half a century, but the formation of transnational migrant communities in the U.S. and more recently also Spain and Chile and their use of the fiesta to demonstrate their wealth have accelerated its impact and caused a rift between migrants and non-migrants. Paul Gelles, who documented Cabanaconde's fiesta in 1992, describes this transformation as follows:

A combustible mix of envy and admiration that meets many of the return migrants is evident during the fiesta; the transmigrant sponsors are watched especially closely, and locals often prefer to honor the local sponsor, even though his sponsorship is not as grandiose as that of the transmigrant.
(2005, pp. 81–82)

He reports that during one fiesta a conflict broke out between visiting migrants and local residents in the central plaza, where the latter burned an effigy of the former wearing a jacket with "U.S.A." written on it (2000, p. 193). The tensions described by Gelles reveal migrants' ambivalent position in Cabanaconde and disclose not only the divisions their activities generate in the community, but also the hierarchical order of the networks that migrants employ to travel and engage transnationally. In other words, in the fiesta the migrants act both as loyal community members who contribute to the preservation of Cabanaconde's culture and identity and also as agents of change and role models for young villagers who rely on their support to emigrate. In particular, Cabanaconde's pioneering migrant families who are well established in the U.S. and who for the most part have obtained American citizenship stand out in the fiesta, which they use as a stage to display their economic might and power to control the community's migration flow.

LEGAL TRAVELLING AND PRESTIGIOUS PROJECTS: THE CASE OF BOLOGNESI

Bolognesi is a rural district of 1,461 inhabitants in the province of Pallasca (Ancash), located in Peru's northern highlands. Bolognesi's communal identity is strong and clearly shaped by Andean culture, but unlike Cabaneños, Bolognesinos are monolingual Spanish-speakers. Bolognesi is also more influenced by Peru's coastal *criollo* culture than Cabanaconde. This difference is reflected in Bolognesi's migration history that goes back to the early 1920s when the villagers migrated to study and work in Lima. As early as 1922, migrants formed a hometown association in Lima that aimed to support Bolognesi and celebrate its patron saint, San Antonio de Padua.

The organization's relationship with Bolognesi has sometimes been tense, but over the years it has played an important role in the community's development by helping it to open its school and post office, obtaining government subsidies to improve its water infrastructure, and to maintain its roads. Lima's hometown association also supported Bolognesi's struggle to become an independent district, which it achieved in 1936 (Wanda, 1960, p. 2). Bolognesi's out-migration has continued over the last 70 years and today its migrant colony in Lima has several hundred members who include not only second-, but also third-generation migrants, many of whom have university degrees and well-paid jobs (Paerregaard, 2008b).

As in the case of Cabanaconde, Bolognesinos' emigration to the U.S. has been spearheaded by young women, who worked as domestic workers in Lima and who accompanied their American employers when the latter returned to the U.S. A man told me that in the early 1950s his now late sister migrated to Lima where an American family hired her as a domestic servant. In 1952, at the age of 20, the woman travelled with her employer to Miami where she continued working as domestic until she married an American of Cuban origin, a man with whom she had several children. After the marriage, the woman obtained American citizenship, which enabled her to invite her three sisters to come to the U.S. Once the sisters had obtained residency and then citizenship in the U.S. they helped their fiancés in Bolognesi to emigrate. Later, they all moved to Hartford, where the men found work in the factories. During the past four decades, the three couples have invited dozens of relatives to the U.S.; today Bolognesinos and their descendants, many of whom are born in the U.S., constitute Peru's biggest migrant colony in Hartford. Most Bolognesinos have emigrated as reunited family members and they are now American citizens. This gives them the right to travel in and out of the country and to invite close relatives in Peru to the U.S. Yet the family reunification process takes several years and Bolognesi's colony in Hartford has therefore grown more slowly and has fewer members than Cabanaconde's colony in Washington. Bolognesi's colony is also more homogeneous than Cabanaconde's colony and is constituted by a small group of families, which other community members both despise and envy. In the search for alternative ways of emigrating and new migration destinations, Bolognesinos have started to travel to Europe where small migrant colonies are now emerging in such cities as Madrid and Barcelona.

In 1984, Bolognesino migrants formed a hometown association called Club Social Bolognesi (CSB). One of its aims is to support Bolognesi's soccer team, which plays in a soccer league with other Peruvian and Hispanic teams in Hartford. In 2005 CBS's president told me that the team has had difficulties recruiting new players. "Young Bolognesinos do not want to play on our team anymore," he said. He also regretted that the participation in the social activities that CBS organizes had dropped in the past decade and that the organization that uses a rented building in Hartford as a clubhouse had been forced to sublease it for periods of time to pay the rent. Lastly, the president pointed out that the majority of CBS's board members belonged to the older generation of Bolognesi migrants and that the younger generation had turned their back on the institution and its effort to support Bolognesi. One member of the board said: "The younger generation is not concerned with Bolognesi anymore. We want them to step in and replace us as leaders of the institution, but they don't respond to our call."

Another aim of CSB is to collect funds and carry out projects in Bolognesi. Migrants' first organized attempt to do this was in 1970 when a devastating earthquake hit the

region of Ancash where Bolognesi province is located. After CSB was formed in 1984 it became the prime driver in organizing such aid and supporting Bolognesi. Its fundraising activities in the community include providing *chocolatadas* (hot chocolate with something sweet to eat), toys for Bolognesi's school children on Mother's Day and for Christmas, and economic support to individuals who fall ill or need assistance. However, because CSB has no guidelines for the distribution of this support, tensions occur between migrants in Hartford and community members in Bolognesi over their use. Lack of communication between CSB and Bolognesi's authorities and misinformation about the sources of funding fuel such conflicts. A Bolognesino migrant, who came to the U.S. in 1964 and who has spent most of his life in Hartford, recounted that when CSB organized a *chocolatada* in Bolognesi some years ago, the district mayor took the credit for the event instead of telling the villagers that migrants in Hartford sponsored it. The man said: "Imagine, the mayor was my own cousin!"

To make their aid to Bolognesi more visible, migrants decided to use the money they collect to finance larger and more permanent projects. These include the maintenance of the road that connects Bolognesi with the outside world, the restoration of Bolognesi's church that has cost more than \$120,000, and the creation of a computer center that is worth \$45,000. Community members in Bolognesi conceived the idea of restoring the church, proposing that migrants should make an economic contribution to the community in return for their participation in the annual fiesta to honor its patron saint. The funds for the project come from social events that CSB arranges in Hartford where participants pay an entrance fee and buy food that Bolognesinos have prepared. Migrants also make individual contributions, some of which are as much as \$20,000. The computer center, on the other hand, is the initiative of a group of young migrants. The center gives Bolognesi's school children access to modern IT technology and consists of a two-floor, newly constructed building with seven computers and a separate space for cultural events. The Ministry of Education in Peru has agreed to pay for the training of Bolognesi's schoolteachers in the management of the computers so they can teach the children how to use them. The two projects have required substantial financial contributions from migrants in Hartford as well as organizational skill and work. Thus, migrants have traveled regularly between the U.S. and Peru to pay the bills and monitor the projects, and they have also spent time coordinating the execution of the projects with Bolognesinos in Peru. Nevertheless, migrants in Hartford who have been involved in the two projects told me that they have received little support from Bolognesi's hometown association in Lima and the community's own authorities. A Bolognesino in Hartford recounted that when the computer center was inaugurated, Bolognesi's mayor only appeared briefly and then walked away. He said, "The problem is that the mayor sees the computer center as a threat to his authority."

The church and computer center represent two examples of how migrants make collective contributions to Bolognesi and how the authorities and community members receive them. Migrants in Hartford also engage in community affairs on an individual basis. Many send remittances to relatives in Bolognesi and quite a few have volunteered as sponsors of the fiesta of San Antonio de Padua, which takes place in June. Compared to the exorbitant sums that migrants spend on Cabanaconde's fiesta the cost of assuming these duties—that rarely exceeds \$20,000—are rather small. Still, preparing the fiesta involves several trips to Peru and the mobilization of the support of relatives and friends in Bolognesi, Lima, and Hartford, activities that are both troublesome and time consuming.

Some Bolognesinos in Hartford pointed out to me that the restoration of the church and the construction of the computer center have made migrants weary of community projects and that many now prefer to use their savings on Bolognesi's fiesta even though it requires a bigger personal sacrifice. Arguably, as in Cabanaconde, Bolognesino migrants find that the most conspicuous way of attesting their loyalty to their home community is by spending their money on the fiesta.

CONCLUSION

In the past four decades, Andean migrant colonies have emerged in Miami, Washington, Hartford, and other American cities. Young women who worked as domestic servants in Lima before they emigrated to the U.S. have played a critical role in the formation of these colonies and the transnational networks that have shaped them. The women and the many relatives they have brought to the U.S. have also been drivers of the range of enterprises that these networks set in motion in their home communities in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru where they not only construct houses and put up businesses but also finance community projects and sponsor social and religious events. My data exemplify how the power relations that the migration process produces shape the networks that migrants use to travel and create new lives in the receiving society as well as to organize their activities in Peru. The engagement examined in the first case grows out of an undocumented migration flow that generates a division within the colony in Washington between migrants who can travel and migrants who cannot travel outside the U.S. This has led Cabanaconde's pioneering migrant families to display their economic might and control of the community's migrant networks by means of their participation in and contributions to the annual fiesta.

The second engagement emerges from a legal migration flow that is based on family reunification and that privileges a small number of Bolognesinos who constitute the core of the migrant colony in Hartford. To affirm their community membership and loyalty to Bolognesi this exclusive group of families has invested money and time in large community projects and more recently in the community's fiestas. The two cases reveal the distinctive hierarchical structure of the networks that Andean migrants use to travel between Peru and the U.S. and the variations in how those who prosper from transnational migration show their economic might. They also draw our attention to the role of virtual technological communication in the formation of transnational networks and the way migrants use it to accentuate their privileged positions (Panagakos and Horst, 2006). While migrants from Washington use video recordings to document their contribution to the fiestas in Cabanaconde, migrants from Hartford have invested their savings in the construction of an IT center in Bolognesi to attest their image as agents of modernity.

More broadly, my material reveals the bearings gender and indigeneity have on transnational migrants' sense of belonging and loyalty to their communities of origin. In particular, it brings to the forefront women's importance for the creation of transnational indigenous identities. At the same time, it documents the heterogeneous nature of cross-nation migration and the variety of transnational networks that propel it. Similarly, it demonstrates that when engaging in transnational activities migrants face a difficult predicament between, on the one hand, sponsoring

development projects to help their communities of origin and, on the other, supporting other migrants to strengthen their own position in the receiving society (Paerregaard, 2005). As the case of Cabanaconde suggests, undocumented traveling accentuates this predicament by reducing transnational migrants' mobility and crippling their possibilities of communicating with the leaders of their home communities and organizing and managing development projects in Peru. Even though CCA is capable of pooling considerable amounts of money, the organization's fragile linkage to Cabanaconde has so far prevented it from making mayor contributions to the community's development. By contrast, over the past three decades BSC in Hartford has shown that Bolognesino migrants represent an important and stable development agent in Bolognesi. This support is made possible because Bolognesinos are free to travel between the United States and Peru and therefore can engage actively in the management of the projects they have initiated in Bolognesi.

Yet Bolognesi's migrant colony also reminds us that even when transnational migrants obtain legal status or become citizens in the receiving country, they face serious difficulties in coordinating such support and projects with other migrant colonies and their community of origin. Indeed, the leaders of both CCA and BSC complain that their effort to promote development is thwarted by the lack of support and cooperation of their fellow migrant institutions in Peru and, most important, the authorities of Cabanaconde and Bolognesi. By the same token, the local populations of the two communities feel that migrants tend to ignore their needs and mainly seek influence in community affairs to promote their own interest and gain prestige at the annual fiestas. This suggests that Peru's national and regional governments can make an important difference in the rural development by providing an organizational framework to facilitate transnational migrants' engagement in their home areas and communication with the local authorities. In a similar vein, Peru's national and regional governments could contribute to this process by engaging in a dialogue with its migrant communities in the U.S. and other parts of the world to make these more aware of the needs and wishes of their home communities.

Transnationalism is a powerful construct from which to draw in order to investigate international migration in the era of globalization and to examine the multi-stranded ties that international migrants forge between their old and new places of settlement (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999; Levitt, 2001b; Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004). While the concept yields new and interesting insights into the intricacy of migrants' transnational activities, it has also led to a tendency among some immigration scholars to romanticize migrants' positions and practices, particularly with respect to the impact that they have on their home communities. My data support the view that immigrants use transnationalism as a strategy to overcome the barriers they encounter in their efforts to achieve mobility in the receiving society. They show that by financing projects and sponsoring events in Peru migrants affirm their membership in not only Cabanaconde and Bolognesi but also in their colonies in Washington and Hartford. Further, by documenting migrants' economic and hegemonic position in their home communities my data highlight the relations of power and dominance that shape transnational migration. These insights indicate that when investing their money in Peru, migrants reinforce their own ties of solidarity while deepening existing divisions and conflicts in their home communities at one and the same time. As the studies of other Latin American migrations have concluded, migrants' activities

in the sending society complement rather than discourage their assimilation in the receiving society. More bluntly, spending thousands of hard-earned migrant dollars on prestigious projects and exuberant fiestas in the Andes is part of migrants' struggle to make the American dream come true.

NOTES

- 1 During my stay in Washington in 2005, one of the most frequent topics discussed by Cabaneños was the continuous arrival of new migrants and the growth of the community that this migration flow causes. On average one new migrant arrived every week.
- 2 Migrants also make individual donations to Cabanaconde. One Cabaneño in Washington told me that every year the students who are finishing secondary school in Cabanaconde ask him to sponsor the trip they make to celebrate their graduation. Traditionally, students travel to Lima or Cusco for a couple of days, but according to this man they now ask for many thousands of dollars to travel to the U.S.
- 3 Andean migrants in the U.S., Europe, and even Japan sponsor similar fiestas in their hometowns in other parts of the Peruvian highlands. For example, villagers from the town of Cora Cora in Ayacucho who first emigrated to Miami and other cities in the United States, and then to Spain, Italy, and Japan, in the past decade have outspent all previous sponsors of Cora Cora's fiestas. Cora Cora migrants in the U.S. told me that the sponsors spend between \$50,000 and \$100,000 to hire Spanish bullfighters, buy bulls, pay for food and beer for the many visitors, and hire musicians.

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PART XII

COLLISIONS AND
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CHAPTER THIRTY-NINE

THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ECONOMIES OF TOURISM IN THE ANDES



Michael Hill

If it is true that tourism originates with an intention to experience difference (MacCannell, 2011, p. 221), then there is little wonder that the industry is thriving in Andean worlds given the extraordinary cultural and natural diversity of the region. Tourists can visit beautiful colonial city centers, like Quito, with exquisite baroque religious art; wander among the pre-Hispanic architecture of cities like Cusco or Colombia's San Agustín Archaeological Park; encounter monkeys, anacondas, and pink dolphins in the Amazon; summit a snow-covered volcanic peak; zip-line across cloud forest canyons and raft through torrid rivers below; or spend a few days with an indigenous Quechua family on a Lake Titicaca island. The market volume of growing international and domestic tourism has given rise to an amazing array and diversity of products and routes across the Andes. Along with classic destinations such as Machu Picchu or the Galápagos Islands, the heavily-branded tourism web pages of Andean nation-states entice tourists to consume countless other sites and experiences. Bolivia, for instance, "awaits you" with tourism routes to "incredible cities" like Potosí, the "magical feeling" of Jesuit missions or the Tiwanaku archaeological site, "wild and natural" experiences in the Uyuni salt flats, or other adventures like cycling "Death Road" that will take your "adrenaline to the limit" (Vice Ministry of Tourism, 2017). Colombia's current brand logo is "magical realism," offering categories such as adventure, culture, nature, sun and sand, and health tourism (Fontur Colombia, 2017). Ecuador claims its four worlds in one small country—Galapagos, Pacific Coast, Andes, and Amazon regions—are "all you need," focusing on adventure, cultural, and ecological tourism (Ministry of Tourism, 2017). And finally, Peru markets itself as a "land of hidden treasures" where you can "discover the you you never knew" and "where you will be authentic again" amid the "living cultures," adventure, nature, and ancient and modern wonders of a place "that will make you believe in magic" (Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo (MINCETUR), 2017).

These tourism campaigns make obvious the deeply capitalist nature of tourism development, where culture and nature become packaged commodities ordered through hegemonic Western constructions and categorical divisions of culture and nature often not isomorphic with local Andean understandings of socio-natural collectives and histories. These constructions include the framing of nature as an object

to be alternately explored and conquered or revered and appreciated by humans, coupled with an obsessive mass market concern with offering tourists cultural authenticity and personalized renewal. In this chapter, I consider three principal themes that help us understand tourism in the Andean world and provide points of entry into theoretical and practical debates regarding tourism's diverse impacts and effects in ecological, political-economic, and sociocultural fields of power. First, I examine the often un-questioned dreams of development that frame tourism as a "win-win" solution with few negative impacts on local ecological and cultural resources, a vision embraced especially by nation-states and other industry promoters, but also internalized by local populations and tourists themselves. While forms of community-based tourism promise alternatives, I argue that even these models can unleash unpredictable and undesirable local transformations, particularly in terms of widening inequalities and reconfiguring local hierarchies of class, race, and gender.

Next, I explore how tourism provides complex spaces in which identities intersect and are imagined, (re)constructed, performed, and transformed, both by tourists and locals, again with often unpredictable or contradictory results. I pay special attention here to the effects that commodification and desires for authenticity have on the representation of ethno-racial identities and cultural landscapes in the Andes. I close by considering the ongoing emergence of forms of Andean "disaster tourism," such as poverty tourism, mining and oil tourism, and *hacienda* (plantation estate) tourism, through which capitalist markets recycle many of the elements of historical destruction, inequality, and structural suffering caused precisely and in the first place by prior iterations of extractivist capitalism. These forms of tourism utilize nostalgia and spectacle to recursively extract yet more value from the region's precious ecological and human resources.

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT DREAMS

In 2006, I led a study abroad trip of U.S. students to Peru; part of our itinerary included a homestay with local Quechua families on the island of Amantaní in Lake Titicaca. Our tour agency informed us that the community now had electricity, much to the delight of some in the group, and indeed, upon arrival, we saw power lines strung across the island. However, we later realized there was no electricity, after all, because, as our host "father" explained, "Oh, the state constructed all that, but since the system runs on a generator and we don't have the money for the gas, we can't use it." A few years later, I traveled with a tourism journalist to a luxury eco-lodge in the Chocó "cloud forest" region of Ecuador that had received much press and many accolades. The setting was spectacular, as was the ultra-modern architecture of the lodge, but the two spectacles clashed—indeed, part of the problem was that local birds were frequently and literally crashing into the glass structures of the eco-lodge, an issue the lodge sought to remediate by draping a functional but aesthetically discordant mesh fabric over some of the glass handrails and walls. Meanwhile, rooms were equipped with at least one glass wall looking out onto the cloud forest, with electric blinds that drew energy from a diesel-powered generator and could be lowered via a battery-powered remote control. The architects and planners of this luxury eco-lodge, whose development dreams involved the combination of fashionable design in a biodiverse setting, apparently had not thought about the birds, along

with other elements of the local natural and cultural environment. These examples demonstrate how tourism development projects, even the most community-minded or ecologically marketed, often generate local environmental and sociocultural degradation, dilemmas, and inequalities.

States rarely acknowledge these dimensions and partake in the neoliberal assumptions underwriting tourism development, including the idea that elements of nature and cultural identity can and should be offered as commodified products in a world tourism market. Thus, while countries like Peru have in recent years embraced a more neoliberal model of development, increasingly branding their countries' tourism offerings, so, too, have the more left-leaning or socialist regimes of countries like Ecuador, with President Rafael Correa (2007–2017) more than tripling the tourism ministry's budget from \$40 million per year in 2012 to \$150 million for the period 2013–2017 (Colloredo-Mansfeld et al., 2018, p. 442). As nation-states and international organizations like UNESCO increasingly promote patrimony, heritage sites, and tourism as economic and cultural development strategies, local communities become ever more embroiled in disputes with authorities and among themselves over the physical and symbolic limits and meanings of their territories (Gil, 2004; Kent, 2008; Colloredo-Mansfeld et al., 2018). For instance, heritage and culture may become strategic political and economic resources primarily re-oriented towards and dependent upon external markets and actors, eroding local community autonomy and self-determination.

The impacts of tourism on ecological, archaeological, and cultural resources are often burdensome and difficult to reverse or mitigate. For instance, if Machu Picchu is on your bucket list, prepare to share that small and special park with hundreds and hundreds of others who have the same idea; visitor numbers in 2014 exceeded 1.2 million (LaGrave, 2016), an average of over 3,000 per day. While forms of ecotourism promise to reduce some of the ecological and demographic load, they often also end up re-signifying meanings of local places and symbols within market frameworks (Hutchins, 2007). In Ecuador's Cuyabeno Reserve, as one study argues, ecotourism has generated greater desires for Western goods and a negative self-perception of poverty and need among the local indigenous Siona population, even as they have slowly been pushed out of tourism services and now rely principally on canoe rentals alone as their marginalized niche in the eco-tourist industry (Varga, 2007, pp. 128, 184). With the recent growth of tourism around the ayahuasca plant, an Amazonian entheogen, there are basic questions about the depletion of wild plant populations, socioeconomic effects on locals, and "the diversion of ethnomedical resources from community-based healthcare to the psychedelic tourist industry" (Callicott, 2016, p. 115). In earlier research on the mystical tourist industry in and around Cusco, Peru (2007), where tourists engage in coca leaf divination rituals or offerings to *Pachamama* or other earth beings, I diagnosed the racialized nature of the relations of production present in that market (and repeated in many other Andean tourism markets). These relations of production follow a tripartite ethnic structure whereby indigenous cultural resources are transformed into financial capital and profit for white/mestizo owners and intermediaries who sell their product to mostly white and mestizo national and international tourists. Likewise, in Peru's food boom, symbolized by celebrity chefs like Gastón Acurio and events like the Mistura food festival, María Elena García urges us to consider the underbelly of this national tourism

success, such as local forms of malnutrition, the invisibilization of indigenous culture and intellectual property, and “traditional commodity chains” promoting greater inequalities between owners/chefs and food producers (2013, p. 516).

While these examples show some of the failures of tourism development, it is also the case that tourists and locals may have vastly different definitions of development, poverty, or wealth in the first place. For instance, while tourists often enjoy the (to them) chaotic and disorderly nature of Andean markets like that of Pisac, Peru, locals may desire a development that would provide more orderly markets or paved instead of cobblestoned streets (Simon, 2006, p. 117). What locals want or need for their own well-being may come into direct conflict with what tourists want or need:

Tourists want blue skies and sunshine, while the local population will often be longing for the heavy rains necessary for farming . . . Tourists see impressive landscapes while the local population sees widespread erosion. Tourists start negotiating over prices, while the local population thinks in terms of reciprocal relations.

(Zoomers, 2008, p. 979)

In our study of artisanal miners and stonemasons from San Pablo, Ecuador, we found that, contrary to the state discourses of cultural heritage preservation and sustainable development, the stonemasons’ own articulation of well-being consisted primarily in their rights to dignified work and fair income as patrimonial craftspeople (Hill and Fernández-Salvador, 2017, pp. 129–132). Achieving this local vision of development often came down to very specific logistical questions, such as infrastructure for developing their marketing campaigns and points of sale, tedious but crucial tasks and details ignored by the lofty, top-down objectives of state development programs. In the absence of such efforts or resources, while these and so many other artisans may want their craft to continue with future generations, they will likely continue to instruct their children to leave the craft tradition and instead seek a professional degree more likely to guarantee a living. The corollary to this, of course, is that societies must find ways to recognize and reward indigenous and other non-dominant ways of knowing and pay the true cost of the products and services engendered by them.

In 2013, I participated in a team-based consultancy project for Ecuador’s National Institute of Cultural Heritage to assess the potential for community-based tourism development with indigenous Cañari communities in the parish surrounding the Cañari/Inca hybrid archaeological site of Ingapirca. Community-based tourism has been widely championed as a more fair and just system that, as Ecuador’s Plurinational Community Tourism Federation claims, has the potential to conserve natural and cultural heritage, promote collective rights, help defend territories, support families, help avoid out-migration, and strengthen self-esteem, among other benefits (Farfán and Serrano, 2007, p. 84). This long list of promises reveals how community-based tourism has been treated as a panacea for structural poverty and inequality and imbued with exceedingly romantic expectations. In our experiences around the gorgeous highlands of Ingapirca, however, although locals were largely enthusiastic about the prospects of community-based tourism development, there were huge gaps in terms of the infrastructure and capacity-building needed to make it happen. The dominant supply chains favored the urban center of Cuenca, whose

tour agencies and guides captured most of the business and were accused by locals of actively discouraging tourists from consuming food or souvenirs in Ingapirca, much less lodging. Locals reported overhearing agencies and guides tell tourists the services were safer, cleaner, and of better quality in the urban mestizo center. Such discourses are linguistic and cultural codes for “hygienic racism” in the Andes, equating indigenous people with filth, disease, and underdevelopment (Colloredo-Mansfeld, 1998). Even when we found one community, Caguanapamba, that had received bilateral aid from agencies in Ecuador and Spain to build a beautiful lodge, complete with bedspreads and towels, the tourists never came because the development agencies did not provide the community any marketing and advertising training or capital, just physical infrastructure that now sits locked shut. Local leaders also complained that they have neither the resources nor the expertise required to navigate and pay for the Tourism Ministry’s bureaucratic labyrinth of inspections and permits.

Successful community-based tourism, then, is a much more complex and difficult undertaking than many communities, tourists, or development institutions realize. Even for successful and responsible general tourism, a precise, virtuous circle is necessary that balances potentially conflicting factors such as economic criteria, quality-related criteria, planning and policy, environmental and cultural sustainability, inclusive development, and local participation and control (Rendón and Bidwell, 2015, pp. 211–212; see also Ruiz-Ballesteros and Brondizio, 2013). Common challenges in community-based tourism specifically may include the complexity of local social relations, weak community organization, difficulty in market integration, technical and economic start-up failures, lack of business administration experience, and limited access to informational, technical, and financial resources at local levels (Reyes, Machado, and Ortega, 2015, p.46). Furthermore, as Leoncio Santos, an academic and government expert on the topic from Peru’s Ministry of Tourism explained to me, community-based tourism management is not monolithic and may take a wide variety of forms with diverse impacts. Aside from what are viewed as the “pure” forms of community tourism based in community governance or associations, there are also multi-familial forms, consortia, cooperatives, and “joint ventures,” such as the Posada Amazonas Lodge in Peru or the Napo Wildlife Center in Ecuador, both of which are collaborations between tourism companies and local indigenous communities (Santos, 2016). In such cases, however, questions remain about the privileging of certain communities, or parts of communities, to participate in such ventures. Certain indigenous communities “have become the poster children for successful Indians,” as Elayne Zorn noted in her study of weaving and tourism on Taquile Island in Peru, but this same success was accompanied by greater social stratification, greater participation of men than of women in the industry, a decline in communal institutions, a frequent folklorization or “freezing” of culture, and the phenomenon of market leakage, whereby potential benefits were diminished through complex sub-contracting chains (2004, pp. 140–142). Indeed, on a study abroad trip to Taquile with students in late 2012, I realized that we were imbricated in this very problem, as our university, despite my protests, had hired a Quito-based tour agency that contracted a Lima-based agency that contracted a Cusco-based agency that contracted a Puno-based agency that finally contracted our local guide on Taquile Island. Even when contracting is more direct, as is the case with projects like the Runa Tupari community tourism network in Ecuador, founded with the help of



Figure 39.1 The late Melchura Caiza shows a group of tourists how sheep's wool is cleaned in preparation for weaving at her son Alonso Pilla's lodge and tour agency *Runa Huasi* in Salasaca, Ecuador, June 2011

Photo credit: César Rivadeneira.

Dutch NGO Agritererra but now run directly by communities, the economic margins and pressures can be very tight. In this case, after essential operating costs are paid, participating families receive less than 40 percent of the income generated by hosting tourists in their homes (Hernández, 2007, p. 199).

In other words, while Andean tourism markets may produce islands of economic growth or employment, they frequently go hand in hand with uneven results, decreased ecological and economic sustainability, the generation of difficult interpersonal and community conflicts, and reconfigurations of the intersections and inequalities of gender, race, and class. To begin with, locals who get involved in the tourist industry may encounter suspicion, criticism, or ostracism from their own communities because of their involvement in tourism. My friend Alonso Pilla in Salasaca, Ecuador, owns a family-based cultural tourism business that includes demonstrations of weaving techniques, visits to local Salasaca sacred sites, and a cozy lodge with delicious food featuring local grains and vegetables prepared by his wife Julia (Figure 39.1). However, Alonso recounts being criticized and distrusted regularly by neighbors for working first with Peace Corps volunteers, then anthropologists (see Wogan, 2004), and later *gringo* (slang term for non-Latino foreigners) tourists.

Even one of Peru's government publications promoting successful cases of community tourism acknowledges these painful experiences, such as that of Cristina Suaña Coila. The first modest cabin she built for tourists on Lake Titicaca's floating Uros reed islands was criticized by her grandmother, who told her repeatedly, "This is not an island for gringos" (MINCETUR, 2015, p. 56). In terms of gendered labor relations, Amanda Stronza documents how even the women in an ecotourism community project who did not get involved still found their households changing as men's involvement constrained their contributions to agriculture and other household tasks, leaving women burdened with greater, unremunerated responsibilities (2005, p. 185). Florence E. Babb notes a similar gendered disequilibrium in participation in community tourism projects in Vicos, Perú (2010, p. 161). Likewise, Anelou Ypeij (2012) has shown how tourism in and around Pisac, Peru has created new forms of class, ethnic, and gender stratification, whereby indigenous women who have gained successful positions in weaving cooperatives, for instance, may improve their economic positions and prestige but are still subjected to the racism and sexism of male mestizo guides (2012, p. 31). Indigenous women who work as *sácamefotos* (informal workers posing for tourist photos for a small fee or tip), on the other hand, are frequently stigmatized by communities or family members to the point of performing their work in secret (Ypeij, 2012, p. 25; see also Babb, 2010, p. 171).

In sum, even as Andean tourism industries have absorbed and embraced neoliberal logics and dreams of capitalist development, the realities so far have been less spectacular. As Zoomers puts it, "[w]hile tourism generates income in certain locations, it is rarely enough to help local people overcome the structural limitations preventing development" (2008, p. 979), and even alternative or community tourism models may imply unexpected inequalities and undesired reconfigurations of gendered and racialized class hierarchies. As a development strategy, much like undiversified "mono-crop" economies, tourism often turns "competitive advantage" into dead-end dependencies, scarcity, rising prices, and fragmenting competition at the local level. In the process, however, cultural identities are imagined, represented, performed, and strategized in complex ways, the subject of the following section.

IMAGINARIES, IDENTITIES, AND ETHNO-RACIAL LANDSCAPES

Tourism is an arena where cultural identities, representations, practices, and performances are packaged, commodified, and exchanged within market frameworks. For MacCannell (1976), modern forms of social alienation and fragmentation lead the tourist to seek authentic experiences of difference and otherness, but that authenticity is always staged in various ways in the tourist encounter. This staged authenticity leads to ambivalence on the part of tourists and processes of "reconstructed ethnicity" among locals, often taking the shape of "ex-primitives" who nonetheless still perform the primitive for a global capitalist tourist class (MacCannell 1992, p. 286). Tourists to the Andes "with fantasies of holistic, ecofriendly, naturally healthy Indians" may be surprised at the heavy use of tobacco or alcohol in their shamanic rituals (Davidov, 2010). They might not even recognize their indigenous weaver out of "uniform" and wearing jeans and a hoodie, even as they do not question the authenticity of the dining room table runner they just bought. In her study of Otavalo tourism

and entrepreneurship, Lynn Meisch diagnoses the embedded assumptions in tourist expectations and questions why the adoption of gringo styles by Otavalo weavers would be considered inauthentic, for if there is anything historically enduring about this highland Kichwa group, it is their tradition of producing for trade with outside groups (Meisch, 2002, pp. 96–98). On the other hand, and as I have argued elsewhere (Hill, 2008), even as tourists racialize and essentialize the cultural others they visit and appropriate their traditions, they also engage in emotional struggles and rationalizations related to their bearing witness to racialized poverty and global inequalities, reactions that include “first world guilt,” feeling “blessed and fortunate,” desires to “slum it” with the poor, fatalism, densensitization, and anxiety.

While criteria for authenticity among savvy postmodern tourists may have perhaps shifted from notions such as tradition, exoticism, or purity to convincing displays of intimacy, sincerity, ownership, and pride, or the mere sharing of time and space (del Campo 2009, pp. 86, 93), tourist expectations are still often difficult to fulfill. Regarding Amazonian indigenous groups, for instance, Hutchins notes how they become “icons for environmental and political movements” only as long as they represent themselves as guardians of nature, but if they agree to mining contracts, “they are publicly excoriated and excluded from the realm of the righteous” (2007, pp. 83–84). Regarding what indigenous people themselves might think about authenticity, Marisol de la Cadena points out in her recent work with Nazario Turpo, a renowned Quechua religious specialist who worked in the tourist industry, that he never suggested any notion similar to authenticity nor concern about selling Quechua spiritual practices in tourist markets; rather, his concern was with naming things correctly and performing practices respectfully, balancing the demands of both earth-beings and tourist actors simultaneously (2015, p. 199). Authenticity is an obsession in tourist industries, but locals are the ones who are ultimately subject to these colonizing and selective expectations.

Predictably, there are cases in Andean tourism where the tensions between authenticity and commodification have led to unwanted forms of cultural distortion, loss, or invisibility. Afro-Andean populations, for instance, are often simply left out, as in Ecuador’s recent “All You Need Is Ecuador” campaign, or at best folklorized as “poor but happy” colorful musicians, dancers, or fruit sellers, as has been the case in Colombia (Streicker, 1997, p. 112). In the ayahuasca tourism industry, the use of the plant is disconnected from indigenous functions that include sorcery, communal rituals, singing and dancing, locating game animals, divination, warfare, healing through spirit communication, art, and ethnoastronomy, focused instead on the consumption of the positive but dangerous stereotype of eco-spiritual Indians (Fotiou, 2016, p. 152).

Indigenous systems of knowledge about forests, meanwhile, may become supplanted by the need to represent a Western, scientifically-based knowledge of the forest to outside visitors, such as tour guides using Latin instead of indigenous species names (Hutchins, 2007, p. 92). In the tragic case of Yuquí artisans in Bolivia, attempts to represent themselves in terms other than the primordial savage trading in weavings and bows and arrows have failed, and despite their shame around their hunter-gatherer past, they sell images of themselves that they feel are demeaning but which allow them to survive economically (Gumucio, 2011). Tourists, then, are certainly not the only ones feeling cultural loss or seeking revitalization, as Gómez-Barris so perceptively observes regarding the Q’ero ethnic group of Peru and their

involvement in mystical tourism: “Melancholy may also describe the relationship of Q’ero people to changing traditions in a neoliberal landscape . . . economic transactions fail to meet the need or desire for cultural memory on both sides,” though they provide spaces in which “Q’ero mediators” address both foreign anxieties and practice a “call for a more communal relationship to the land” (2012, p. 76).

In yet other cases, however, the dynamics of commodification and authenticity have led to forms of cultural renewal or revitalization, or equally importantly, the production of novel identity categories, markers, or practices. Returning again to ayahuasca-based spirituality, for instance, the Siona of Colombia have witnessed a revitalization of this form of shamanism, accompanied by a local revalorization of the practice as embodying ecological preservation, traditional medicine, Siona identity, and community well-being (Langdon, 2016, p. 181). I have been told several times by indigenous contacts working in tourism that marginalization by national racial elites has been in part challenged by the appreciation and expenditures of (white) North American and European tourists on indigenous cultural productions, a phenomenon that in itself demonstrates the whitening logic permeating the racial ideologies of such white/mestizo Andean elites.

In the fascinating case of community archaeology and tourism in Agua Blanca, Ecuador (part of the Machalilla National Park in the coastal province of Manabí), tourism led to ethnic formations that challenge dominant national categories and racial politics. While residents of Agua Blanca were previously not indigenously identified and were heavily involved in deforestation of their *bosque seco* (dry forest) environment, a collaborative, community-based archaeology project (Ruiz, 2007; McEwan, Silva, and Hudson, 2011) led to a process of ethnogenesis whereby locals began to identify with their pre-Colombian Manteño cultural ancestors and turn away from timber extraction towards community tourism and other economic alternatives. Their struggle to assert their indigeneity has posed a creative, practice-based challenge to dominant regimes of ethnicity in Ecuador, where, as Kimbra Smith argues, “not all indigeneities are equally visible,” and where coastal populations are coded as either urban mestizo or rural fisherman or farmer (2016, pp. 19–20). The Agua Blancan reclamation of indigenous identity through heritage and tourism, implying that “anyone in any place might now be indigenous,” destabilizes those dominant racialized geographies and essentializing definitions of ethnic identities and authenticity, marking a new politics of “the ways in which being indigenous is possible in Ecuador” (pp. 33–35).

In other cases, however, similar attempts to autonomously define ethnic identities have been undermined by tourism advertising tropes and stereotypes. In the Andes of Mendoza, Argentina, mountaineering and other adventure tourism activities are marketed through associations with the region’s Incan past and specifically the discovery of an Incan mummy on Mt. Aconcagua, even as actual Huarpe indigenous communities nearby that are creatively forging hybridized and cosmopolitan forms of indigeneity are left out and ignored (Logan, 2009). Other mummies and human remains, such as the Lord of Sipán from the pre-Inca Moche cultural complex on Peru’s northern coast, have likewise been transformed into cultural icons, celebrities, and “dead political bodies” that are nonetheless vibrant social actors in tourism economies and political affairs (Silverman, 2005, pp. 151–153). There are intense pressures, in particular, to Incanize heritage and tourism across the Andes in

an essentialized and hyperauthentic fashion (Silverman, 2002), in part because the admittedly spectacular Inca tourist sites and products sell well but also because there is usually extremely limited knowledge among tourists regarding the vast “pre-Inca” cultural mosaic of the Andean region. This has led to the iconic *Inti Raymi* festival (Festival of the Sun, attributed to the Inca) becoming a large tourist event not only in the imperial capital of Cusco but even in northern Ecuador, where Inca conquest lasted 30 or 40 years at most, and where local indigenous groups have previously been more identified with pre-Hispanic ethnic confederations than with the Inca empire (Figure 39.2).

The trope of indigenous, ancestral, millenarian eco-spiritualism has proven to be a durable tourist product not only fueling the mystical tourist industry (Hill, 2007), but also coloring the ways in which archaeological sites are interpreted by guides and visitors (Bosman, 2006; Prieto and Varea, 2011). These representations are a historical continuation of Andean *indigenista* traditions, whereby urban mestizo intellectuals, technocrats, and political leaders have celebrated indigeneity in folklorizing ways serving regional, national, and transnational political-economic objectives, but also creating unique burdens and double binds for locals performing these reconstructed ethnicities (on this historical pattern of appropriation in Peru, see Méndez 1996 or de la Cadena 2000). For instance, the colloquial term *brichero/a* in Peru signifies an informal

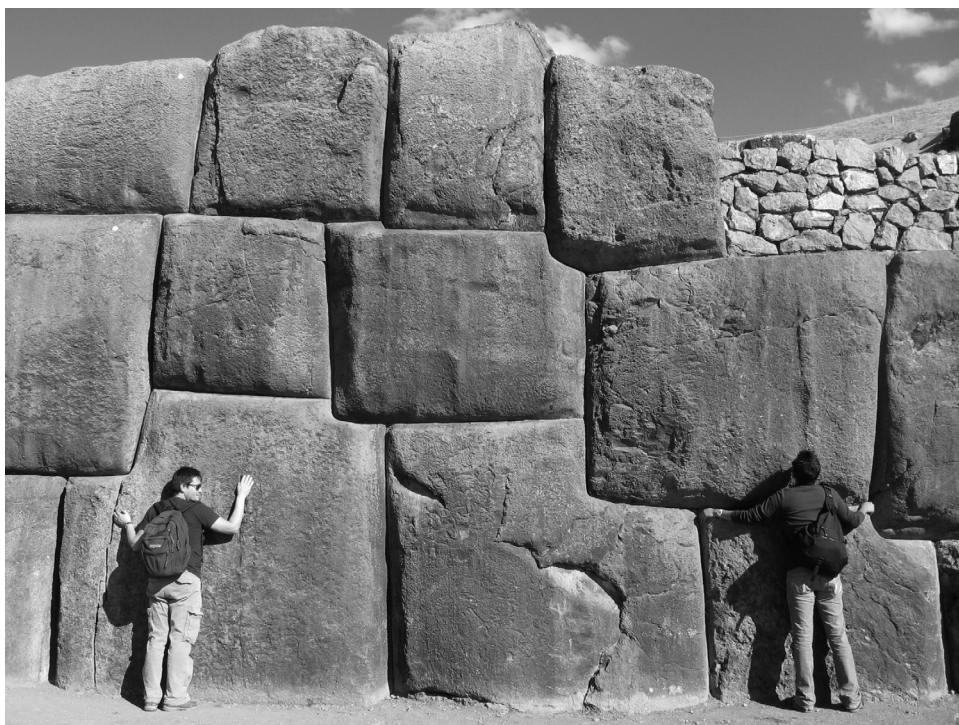


Figure 39.2 White/mestizo tourists attempt to absorb what they believe is the spiritual energy emanating from the Inca archaeological site of Sacsayhuamán, 2008

Photo credit: Michael Hill.

occupational niche within the tourist industry occupied by local young men and women who befriend foreign tourists with a combination of romantic seduction and mystical, authentic indigeneity (Vich, 2006). However, as I have argued, this phenomenon highlights “the ways in which access to the market paradoxically often depends upon strategically and consciously fashioning oneself as a primitive mystic;” furthermore, if one is a *brichera*, there is further misogynist and xenophobic stigma heaped on top of that burden for “selling out” through sexual promiscuity, even as the *brichero* is frequently celebrated for his “re-conquest” of foreigners (Hill, 2007, p. 446).

Cultural tourism in the Andes thus involves complex and often unpredictable imaginaries, strategies, performances, resistances, and transformations relative to the sociopolitical landscapes of ethnicity, nation, class, and gender/sexuality. In these power-laden processes of circulation, the desires and expectations of tourists, along with the agency and strategies of locals, interact to produce a diverse range of patterns in social identities and relations. Amid cultural distortions, losses, appropriations, reconstructions, and reconfigurations, what has not changed is the relentless rhythm of late capitalism in the Andes to continue the process of packaging nature, culture, identity, and even the “resources” of its own disasters, as products and services for touristic consumption.

DISASTER TOURISM AND RECURSIVE EXTRACTION

Latin American economies are arguably as dependent now on the extraction of primary resources as they were in the colonial period, and intensive extractivist industries now ironically underwrite both neoliberal and socialist-oriented governments in the Andes. Alongside these developments, the emergence of forms of Andean disaster tourism recursively extract from the region’s already exploited natural and cultural resources, even treating the region’s history of structural violence, suffering, and inequality as yet new, “exciting market opportunities,” as Klein argues of disaster capitalism (2007, p. 6). I first became aware of this pattern through watching how children working in tourist zones of Cusco often performed signs of need and poverty for tourists and how a powerful market in tourist postcards had emerged to sell imagery of Andean childhood poverty; children themselves sold these same postcards or others showing *sácamefotos* children posing with finger puppets or in front of archaeological sites (Sinervo and Hill, 2011; see also Steel, 2008). Here, the symbolic and labor value of Andean children is being recycled at multiple levels of meta-representation, with recursive accumulation and value extraction occurring at each step, despite whatever intentions or interpretations producers and consumers might have.

Examples of disaster tourism tied to processes of capitalist extraction are now quite common across the Andes and form yet one more market niche, though one often unacknowledged by official promoters. There are poverty tours to some of the shantytowns around Lima such as Villa El Salvador, retelling the barrio’s suffering, adaptations, and community development efforts. In Bolivia, tourists visit the site of the former Chacaltaya glacier and ski slope that no longer exists due to global climate change, and guides speak of the “morbid curiosity of death” that they believe attracts tourists (Kaenzig, Rebetez, and Serquet, 2016, p. 121). In the same country, at Potosí, a mountain so tunneled out by five centuries of mining that some local experts believe it may be collapsing from the inside, tourists can be guided through

the suffocating passageways to witness the exploitative and life-threatening labor conditions endured there (Zoellner, 2014). In Colombia, the emblematic symbol of the violence of the coca/cocaine commodity chain and the Drug War—a stereotype that led tourism campaigns to reassure tourists that the only risk was wanting to stay—there are now tourist packages nostalgically revisiting the “narc-deco” architecture of Pablo Escobar’s Medellín mansions or offering personal visits with his brother Roberto, among other elements of 1980s Colombian drug cartel culture (Giraldo, Van Broeck, and Posada, 2014).

In Ecuador, there are “toxic tours” in the Amazon region that take visitors to witness open oil waste pits and other forms of environmental destruction from the operations of Chevron-Texaco and other multinational oil companies (see also Widener, 2009), and after this country’s devastating 7.8-magnitude coastal earthquake in April 2016, “catastrophe tours” sprang up to take tourists to witness (and sometimes take part in) recovery efforts. Hacienda tourism has transformed sites of historic dispossession for Andean indigenous and peasant populations into new, and yet old, recognizable spaces of racialized inequality: instead of indigenous peons serving white/mestizo patrons, now indigenous service workers serve white/mestizo international tourists and hospitality industry owners. As de la Cadena puts it, from wool trading to New Age shamanic tourism in Peru, one pattern has remained fairly constant: “although the descendants of the former landed elite need (and even depend on) runakuna [indigenous people] to sell ‘Andean culture,’ they still own the economic and social capital to organize the business. Runakuna continue to be their subordinates” (2015, pp. 194–195). These tourist offerings recapitulate, recursively and not by accident, some of the most violently extractive historical institutions and industries in the region. While it may be argued that such tours might have the intention or effect of raising awareness and provoking social or environmental change efforts, it is also the case that these tours are not being offered for free but rather as potentially profitable products in the tourism marketplace, whatever other functions they hold.

CONCLUSION

Economies of tourism in the Andes are deeply intertwined with the broader historical, structural, and cultural forces that have shaped the region. Despite their promises, many if not most forms of tourism produce limited economic benefits for locals and are not very responsive to local ideas about development. As communities respond to tourist markets, cultural identity and representation are re-oriented towards external audiences, generating both revitalizing and destructive effects but generally reducing local autonomy. Amid these transformations, new niches of disaster tourism emerge that seek to extract still further value from already exploited human and natural resources. Perhaps we should not be surprised at these latter dynamics of disaster tourism in the Andes, given contemporary understandings of the logics of late capitalism, but we might ask why tourist consumers would wish to consume such depressing realities instead of “enjoying” their holidays. In his latest, psychoanalytic turn, Dean MacCannell reminds us: “Tourists want desublimation. Fun is optional” (2011, p. 216). Tourists “seeking relief from their own repressive norms,” he goes on to explain, “feed off moral difference” even while attempting to transcend or neutralize it (p. 218). However, as he concludes, we should not allow

this to “blind us to the richness of human difference that is being minimized, obliterated, trivialized, transcended, or otherwise sublimated” (p. 225).

Tourism is and will remain a meaningful space for human cultural and economic exchange, and we can foster and demand more just and sustainable products and services. There is great promise in potentially more decolonizing forms of tourism such as community tourism, service-based tourism, and educational or activist tourism. These genres also test the boundaries and limits of tourism’s very definition and its frequent fusions with other types of travel or migration, such as longer-term development or missionary work. In my opinion and personal experience, choosing and evaluating for more economically and socially just forms of tourism requires substantial research both before and during the trip, and the ethnographic methods of participant-observation and conversational interviewing are often ideal for diagnosing tourism economies. We need not be perfect to do better. Through this chapter’s cases and critiques, I have tried to urge such humility and action by taking a sobering look at the dominant structures and logics that will have to be deconstructed and dismantled before we can reconstruct and claim more responsible political and cultural economies of tourism in the Andes.

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CHAPTER FORTY

ARCHAEOLOGY, LOOTING, AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE ANDES



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INTRODUCTION

The systematic unearthing of archaeological “treasures” was an activity carried out indiscriminately in the Andes from early colonial times and would continue to be so up until the late nineteenth century. It was not until the consolidation of independence in the region, and, in its wake, the introduction of laws targeting looting, that the practice began to be curtailed and its effects assessed. Looting, or *huaquería* in Quechua, referred initially to the plundering of sacred sites, or *huacas*; today the term encompasses the intentional destruction of archaeological and historical contexts in the search for objects of commercial value. Although not all artifacts looted are sold into the antiquities market—some are collected by the same people that dig them out—the majority of the objects taken from looted contexts are specifically dug up for this market.

As will be argued throughout this chapter, the perception of looting has changed through time, and the responses and actors involved in the practice have adapted accordingly. It is in this sense that the role of the professionalization of archaeology and its shift towards community participation should be explored. The impact that the coining of terms such as cultural heritage, archaeological heritage, and national cultural legacy have had, on a global and local scale, on the perception of ownership of archaeological and historical objects, their value, and their trade also requires examination.

A vast literature has addressed various aspects of the issue of looting in the region. Scholars have examined the history of looting (Matsuda, 1992; Bankes, 1995; Brodie, 2003); the implementation and drafting of national and international agreements (Bonell, 2009; Grove and Thomas 2014); and the tenets and language of national heritage law and policies, critically evaluating them (Ordóñez Salgado and García Alvarado, 2010; Plaza 2014). Other scholars have provided archaeological practice case studies and site histories (Howell, 1992; Tantaleán, 2014); while still others have analyzed the economic impacts of looting, as well as art and antiquities trading on a local and global scale (Hollowell-Zimmer, 2003; Agusti, 2009; Asenscio, 2010).

The current state of the matter cannot be separated from the veritable market for antiquities and curiosities that developed between the seventeenth and nineteenth

centuries to supply collectors' networks. Although the scale of looting has shifted in accordance with the interests of such markets, the demand and supply for archaeological objects today is still shaped largely in accordance with historically established networks in which the "West" acted as buyers and the old colonies as source nations (Brodie, 2003, p. 14). In this chapter, I first address the line that transverses archaeological practice, looting, and the preservation of cultural heritage in the Andes by looking at the historical continuum of looting in the region. I view this practice as a consequence of both private and state-sponsored collecting, which in time has served as a channel for economic benefits on local and international levels.

I then turn to the important differences and consequences that the practice of looting has had on the treatment of archaeological objects, including human remains. Special attention is given to how archaeology and heritage practices are disrupted by the results of looting, and the different strategies that are being enacted to counter those effects at a local and national level.

The current state of the market for looted artifacts is also addressed as a significant theme. I look at how museums around the world have played a major role in the commercialization of these objects as well as how the current policies and principles of action of museums directly influence these markets. Current international and national legislation on the subject not only of looting, but also of trading illegally obtained artifacts, is summarized and evaluated. The challenges faced by the national and international institutions that are in charge of enacting such legislation are also discussed.

Finally, I review the current challenges for the repatriation of looted objects and the impact of political changes in the region in order to address what those changes mean for future battles aimed at the protection of heritage in the Andes. This chapter does not seek to criticize or align itself with any particular political discourse, but rather attempts to recognize that looting is influenced by economic and political tides, and that its regulation is similarly affected.

LOOTING IN THE ANDES: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

For the first two hundred years of colonial rule, in addition to tributes in labor and crops, the accumulation of past valued objects was of great interest to the ruling class of the Andes. Early documents confirm that as part of the colonial mining concessions for the extraction of precious metals, pre-Columbian objects were systematically extracted, weighed, and melted down, especially from burial sites and huacas (sacred sites). These activities were considered taxable enterprises by the Spanish crown, and, by law, a *quinto* (fifth) of the object's value was demanded as property of the conquistadors (Tantaleán, 2014, p. 546).

The scale of participation of indigenous people in the looting of archaeological sites is uncertain during the early years of the colony. By the late sixteenth century, however, looting was an activity that primarily occupied people in positions of power: *hacendados* (landed estate owners), *encomenderos*¹ and the like (Richardson, 2001, p. 36). Changes in land tenure and the encomienda system that followed the introduction of the New Laws of Indies in 1542 facilitated the control of looting by land owners and mine concessions as they also delineated and strengthened the hacienda system. This was done, for example, by redistributing after their deaths the

lands given to the first conquistadors during the early years of the colony. This provided an ideal structure to organize the looting of particular sites with more intensity than others, and allowed for specific actors to become collectors of the Andean past.²

This trend continued until the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, when independence brought about a further restructuring of land rights and, most importantly, when the interest that countries such as England, Germany, and France had in the past and present peoples of the Andean region could no longer be blocked by the assertion of Spanish control. These networks ensured a degree of comfort in the form of lodging and safe passage, and at the same time they nurtured the intellectual pursuits of the hosts which, more often than not, included the unearthing of pre-Columbian materials. Travelers to the region before and after the Wars of Independence provided good accounts of the movements of objects looted for private and public collections, as well as of the exploration of monumental archaeological sites in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia (Hocquenghem, 1981; Bankes, 1995, p. 15; Rebok, 2003).

Although the scale of looting during the years prior to the nineteenth century cannot be accurately determined given the lack of systematic accounts and general of information on the matter, it is clear that by the mid-nineteenth century the scale of looting in the Andes, specifically for pre-Columbian objects, increased considerably (Coe, 1993; Atwood, 2004). The establishment of national museums in South America and Europe alike, and the simultaneous consolidation of groups of private collectors who were interested by then in not only the curiosities of the Americas, but also in those of the colonies in Asia and Africa, put into play a series of new considerations for the looting of the region. One concerned the type of objects valued by collectors. Antiquities related to the Inca empire, *queros* [ceremonial Inca cups], *aríbalos* [Inca ceramic bottles], and textiles, for example, were in high demand, as were intricate design vases of the Peruvian northern coast. Objects worked in gold, silver, and copper alloys also became sought after antiquities. The majority of these sumptuous goods were concentrated in burial mounds and cemeteries that were continuously excavated in order to find objects in a good state of preservation; with them, human remains, mummified or as dry bone, were also collected and sold to foreign anthropologists and naturalists (Bleichmar and Mancall, 2011; Redman, 2016).

It is important to note that almost all the objects collected by scientific expeditions left the Andes with permission from local authorities. In fact, very few regulations were in place until the late nineteenth century for purposes of registering or preventing the export of such objects outside of the region. Objects that left the continent before the mid-twentieth century did so as part of gifts given to diplomats, dignitaries, and heads of state (Kohl, Podgorny, and Gänger, 2014); others were exchanged with European museums in exchange for objects from other regions (Farro, 2009), or as part of temporary exhibitions, but they were never returned to their country of origin (the case of the *Tesoro quimbaya* is one such instance;³ Bedoya, 2016, p. 104). Perhaps the most notable example of valuable archaeological objects exported with the authorization of the government are those found by Hiram Bingham at Machu Picchu. These were stored at Yale University until 2011 and have now been returned and are in Peruvian custody (McIntosh, 2006).

The demand for Andean artifacts by foreign agents such as museums, travelers, scientists, and political envoys influenced without a doubt the emergence of a market

of looted objects, one in which replicas and fake objects also circulated. The professionalization of archaeology and its development in the twentieth century greatly impacted the practice of looting; first because it created a standard for the assessment of value of the objects traded; and second, because from its conception it clearly separated the organized practice of digging to gain knowledge about the past from the unstructured looting of the same context for economic gain.

The realization of the need for professional archaeologists to study Andean pre-Columbian contexts became recognized at a national level by the middle of the twentieth century. It brought with it a discussion of issues such as the existence or not of duplicates of archaeological objects—not replicas or fakes, but rather objects that look the same in shape and function, but that may have differences in provenience and provenance. By virtue of having “twin objects,” these pieces could be deaccessioned or traded without diminishing a collection (Guerrero, 2009, p. 146). Other issues included the importance of context and the value of artifacts with no known provenience and, perhaps most importantly, the discussion of legal ownership of these objects. The last two points highlighted the need to distinguish licit and illicit antiquities. Some of these discussions remain unresolved. Determining if objects without provenience are the product of looting, or of the early exchanges of antiquities, for example, is one such instance.

The work of archaeologists and historians became increasingly important with the consolidation of the independence process in the Andes. The concept of national identity took root and strengthened the new republics in South America. At the same time that a proud pre-colonial past was reinforced, living indigenous populations were denigrated and sharp differences were drawn between them and their pre-Columbian ancestors.

Objects that were once privately collected were, by the beginning of the twentieth century, searched for, collected, stored, and exhibited in nascent national museums in Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and Peru.⁴ These first museums integrated the collections of archaeological expeditions as well as objects donated or sold from private sources. Looted artifacts made their way to the halls of these institutions and, as in the Museo Nacional in Ecuador, constituted the majority of the iconic pieces of those collections (Alfaro Reyes et al., 2011, p. 17).

HUMAN REMAINS

In collecting just as in looting until the twentieth century, an important distinction was made between looted archaeological objects and human remains. While archaeological objects account for the majority of what can be found in collections, human remains have been generally overlooked. With the exception of particular moments when the interest in physical anthropology made skulls and mummified human remains relevant in scientific circles, namely from 1910 to 1930 (O'Donnabhain and Lozada Cerna, 2014), the looting of cemeteries almost always implied the destruction or discarding of the individuals whose graves were being ransacked. Although as part of the excavation of giant cemeteries carried out, for example, by Uhle, Kroeber, and Jijon y Caamaño (and even the expeditions of Reiss and Stubel) the presence and position of remains were recorded, they rarely preserved more than a few individuals, if any. Mummified bodies were and still are sometimes the exception, given

the interest they arouse in museums and private collectors. Their size and fragility, however, make them hard to transport and store, so in comparison to the number of ceramic, lithic and metal objects in the looted network, they account for a very small number of what is illegally traded. Fragments of mummified bodies—hands and feet, heads and hair—are sometimes more readily kept. Similarly, associated objects such as textiles and body ornaments are very often separated from the remains to be sold independently (Balachandran, 2009; Ordoñez Alvarez, 2014).

The destruction of ancestral remains, the commercialization of human bodies, and the objectification of mummies pose challenging ethical questions for archaeological practice. Human remains, in fact, have become markers of looted sites since they are discarded haphazardly around the holes that have been dug out and then left in the open. Laws have been drafted and enacted to protect gravesites and burials in or from indigenous archaeological and ethnographical contexts around the world — the most important being the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)—but similar provisions have yet to be implemented in the Andes, to the detriment of those contexts.

“IT’S COMPLICATED”: HUAQUEROS, ARCHAEOLOGISTS, AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Although the practice of looting was a regular interest of people of all income levels until the 1980s, since then it has become a resource to supplement low-income family earnings in the Andes. There is a direct link between looting and poverty, especially in rural areas, where most unexplored archaeological sites are concentrated and where the vastness of the landscape makes policing against looting harder. Economic crises, war, and natural disasters⁵ are all factors that encourage looting (Mac Ginty, 2004; Contreras and Brodie, 2010).

Because huaqueros (grave-diggers or looters) can only profit if there is a system in place to feed artifacts into the antiquities market, their activities are directly sponsored by collectors in the private and institutional spheres (Figure 40.1). Information on such markets has been described extensively in the literature (e.g., Brodie, 2003; Atwood, 2004; Renfrew, 2014). The chain of traffic of archaeological objects starts with the huaquero who digs out the artifacts from a site. A middleman or a minor dealer will buy it from the huaquero at a reduced price and make a first journey to bigger cities, where either art dealers will include them in their inventory, or the artifacts will move directly to the hands of a collector. Coe has designated the first level of middlemen *runners*, the movers of objects from one location to the other; the direct contacts with a market, art dealers, and collectors, are called *residents*, gatekeepers to the illicit antiquities in cities like Lima, Quito, and Buenos Aires.

Looted objects may go through several layers of runners before reaching a final destination locally or internationally (if, for example, buyers are tourists or foreign art dealers; Coe, 1993). Borders between countries in the region are routinely crossed by these runners—for example from Bolivia to Argentina and Chile or from Peru to Ecuador—and the scale of what is transported may vary from peasants carrying items, to hidden objects in diplomatic or airline luggage, to being smuggled in legal shipments and rerouted through various countries to avoid detection (Brodie and Tubb, 2003, p. 229). The price of looted objects in these markets starts rising as soon



Figure 40.1 Huaca Cortada, landscape view with huaquero holes. Valle de Chicama, Peru, 2016

Photo credit: Juan Carlos Donoso.

as the huaquero sells it to the runners, who in turn will profit from the dealers. In that sense huaqueros lose out on a short term economic gain as well as in the long-term economic potential of their heritage (Coe, 1993; Atwood, 2004).

The looting of an archaeological site operates at different scales, from casual finds during agricultural work, to amateur looting parties of members of a community, all the way to organized bands (*cuadrillas*) of armed huaqueros. Although arguably their effect varies in scope according to scale, any interference with the archaeological record can be catastrophic, destroying not just individual contexts but the possibility of identifying cultural patterns and variability (as has been argued by Contreras, 2010). There is no systematic approach to documenting the scale of looting in the Andes. Quantifiable information about the destruction of sites and monuments can be found in registered complaints at the regional offices of institutions like the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC) in Peru, El Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia (ICANH), and the Instituto Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural (INPC) in Ecuador, but most of the data is provided by archaeological surveys on specific regions and sites, and through what Contreras (2010) terms “on the ground” observation.

If there is so little systematic information available, how then can we approach the problem of small- and big-scale looting in the region? The answer may lie in identifying key actors in the trade and by investing in community engagement projects and heritage management solutions that benefit communities economically and that may

facilitate the creation of social cohesion linked to archaeological heritage. The inclusion of archaeological sites in national touristic routes, the investment in opening site museums managed by the state or the community, and the inclusion of cultural heritage preservation as an important priority at national and regional levels has assisted in the effort to find common ground between small-scale looters and those in charge of archaeological and historical preservation. These strategies are particularly important when considering small-scale actors.

Small-scale huaqueros are often people of important standing in the community who are vocal and well connected within the region. Some of them have worked with archaeologists on projects in the area, or have learned the trade from their families. It is not usual for such looters to have a private collection of objects they do not want to sell and to have a great interest in the historical and archaeological past of their communities. It is easy to see why they would be involved in archaeological projects or as liaisons between projects and the community at large, as is for example, the case in the towns of Jama and Coaque on the Ecuadorian coast, both of which have a deep history of looting.

Organized looting and huaquero cuadrillas are different in some respects; the methods used by organized looters, for one, are more technological and efficient than those of the regular huaquero: mechanical diggers, metal detectors, and even dynamite have replaced the shovels and metal probes of the past. Looting, for these organized groups, is a supplementary activity, hence connections with the illicit trade market are more developed, and they are more acutely aware of the comings and goings of archaeologists and other heritage professionals. They move along greater expanses of the landscape, again aided by technology in the form of all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) and cheap land and air travel, which has opened up areas previously out of reach (Brodie, 2003, p. 14). In some cases, however, these professional huaqueros are very much part of communities that surround archaeological sites. The Lambayeque valley in northern Peru, provides a good example: series of studies have tried to elucidate the relationship between the state museum in Sipan, the communities that benefit—or not—from it, and the huaquero cuadrillas that are said to have first discovered the site and that continue to loot in the surrounding areas (Asensio, 2010).

NATIONAL LAW, INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS, AND THE ROLE OF MUSEUMS

A series of laws and regulations have been put in place to ban looting and stop the commerce of antiquities in the region. These are supplemented by international agreements which take account of the inequalities of the trade, as well as the long-term damages caused by looting. Given the lack of detailed information on looting, it is hard to estimate its increase or decrease in any given area and period of time. National authorities are supposed to monitor the activities of huaqueros and their impact: police and heritage institutions, like the above-mentioned INC, are responsible within national territory; customs officers are in charge at national borders. The International Police Organization (Interpol) has estimated that the traffic of cultural objects is among the top four illegal markets in the world—the first and second being drugs and money laundering, closely followed by arms trading and cultural objects., Because of the lack of accurate statistical information, it is hard to determine the

exact position on this scale of the latter two nefarious activities (Agusti, 2009, p. 4). In short, because of the international dimension and the sheer volume of looting and trafficking of antiquities, existing mechanisms are not able to cope with monitoring these activities.

Laws to protect archaeological heritage have been in place in some countries since the late nineteenth century. For example, in Peru regulations were formalized by *Decreto Supremo* (Supreme Decree) N° 89 enacted on April 2, 1822. However, it was not enforced regularly until 1911 when *Decreto Supremo* N° 2612 passed. In Colombia the earliest Law is *Ley* (Law) 103 of 1931, aimed at the site of San Agustín, but that was only applied nationally in 1936. In Chile the first law that was drafted was the 1925 “Ley sobre Monumentos Nacionales,” (the Law regarding National Monuments), which took until 1970 to be reformulated as Law 17.288.

Some of these decrees prohibited unauthorized excavations of archaeological sites, while others focused on the export of material objects such as ceramics, textiles and other pre-Columbian artifacts.

These laws have continued to multiply to address different aspects of these activities to cope with the extent of the problem. By 2006, Peru had 11 laws related to the export and illegal removal of archaeological and historical objects (Guerrero, 2009). Ecuador included the protection of material and immaterial or intangible heritage as tenets of the 2008 constitution, and the OAS (Organization of American States) did the same within sub-regional Agreement for the Andes, such as Chapter IV, article 73 (f) of the Cartagena Agreement. The last twenty years have been witness to a demand for national inventories on archaeological objects and sites in the region. For example, in Ecuador the 2007 emergency decree culminated in the 2009 national inventory, one of the biggest investments made in cultural heritage in the country’s history, and in the creation of the “Comisión Nacional de Lucha contra el Tráfico Ilícito de Bienes Culturales” (the National Commission in the Struggle against Illicit Trafficking in Cultural Objects) in March 2010.

On a global scale, the protection of cultural property has been an important component since World War II. The 1954 Hague Convention, the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, and the 1972 Convention on the Protection of Underwater Heritage constituted key agreements intended to protect cultural property. The importance of these agreements increased after the end of the Cold War and have been featured prominently in concerns about current conflicts that have proven to be extremely detrimental to cultural heritage, as is the case in Syria currently. These conventions are largely preoccupied with issues of ownership, and aim to help source countries defend their heritage. Proving ownership of artifacts, and more so, that they have come from illicit trade before the 1970s, are the sole responsibility, however, of the source nation. The conventions are legally binding documents. However, because of the placement of burden of proof on the source nations, their effect seems to be more moral than practical. A memorable case is *Peru v Johnson*, in which Peru failed to prove to the court that artifacts looted from the Lambayeque valley could have not come from Ecuador or Bolivia (Esq and Marion, 2007, p. 198).

There are disconnections between the international goals and the national realities of dealing with the illegal antiquities trade, as some regulations overlap and others fail to provide enough support to enact the existing laws. In reaction to these

issues and to the perceived challenges in applying the UNESCO convention, in 1995 UNIDROIT (United Nations International Institute for the Unification of Private Law) created the Convention on Stolen and Illegally Exported Objects. The convention aimed to develop a series of laws that would reconcile the desire of source nations to protect their archaeological resources with the rights of the buyers in legal art markets abroad. Keeping detailed records of what is acquired and integrated into museums, and extensive catalogues of national collections are some of the solutions that have been proposed, both for acquiring markets as well as for source countries. It explains the importance of recent national efforts to register all archaeological heritage in countries such as Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, and Peru. The creation of lists which describe objects at risk of being illegally sold, such as the Red List of Antiquities at Risk, maintained by ICOM (International Council of Museums) is similarly helpful in creating enforceable laws governing the antiquities trade. Moreover, individual bilateral agreements, such as the Memorandum of Understanding Between the United States, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, among others, provide a parallel solution to that presented by the UNIDROIT convention for the import of looted antiquities into market countries.

Both the UNIDROIT and the UNESCO conventions depend on people and institutions to follow specific ethical principles, such as the obligation of due diligence and declarations of “good faith.” The first requires that a deliberate process be followed to prove the legality of a purchase and provide provenance for the artifacts in question. The second is a tacit agreement that there will be no subterfuge or intent to hide illicit objects or launder them into legal markets. The system in place for the art market, including big auction houses, however, provides a setting where due diligence is circumvented; illicit antiquities are presented as finds in a grandmother’s attic, or otherwise as gifts passed on from hand to hand. In some cases, one of these multiple owners will provide a date of purchase prior to 1970, which will be used as that of the original purchase of the object (Coe, 1993; Farnsworth, 1995). Private collectors and museums alike resort to such tactics. Although there are several codes of ethics in place for organizations like ICOM and ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), as well as codes of professional practice, such as those of the Society of American Archaeology (SAA), the core of the regulations relies on the people involved in the market adhering to their individual ethical codes.

WHAT COMES NEXT? REPATRIATION AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

The efforts I have described in the previous sections are dedicated to stopping the traffic and commerce of illegally obtained antiquities. When the legal provisions work and the ownership of a group of objects that has been illegally exported is ascertained, then the goal is to return those artifacts to the countries and peoples from which they were originally taken. After the introduction of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in the United States, there was hope that Latin America would follow suit and create regulations that would allow native groups to repatriate outside of the national government. However, in practice NAGPRA has had little to no effect in Latin America. That process, repatriation, is enacted on the basis of national ownership laws. In the Andes, those laws state that

all antiquities above and below ground are the property of the state, and, as such, must remain in its custody. Repatriation, however, is not an easy process. Provisions for the safekeeping of artifacts while a legal process is pursued, and subsequently for the secure transport of the objects back to their original source nation, are expensive and sometimes difficult to arrange. More importantly, once the artifacts have been returned to their country of origin, it is the responsibility of the state to catalogue them, ensure their conservation, and find appropriate storage facilities for them. Regrettably, the state of facilities and the budgets of the institutions responsible for implementing such requirements make it difficult to comply with the laws and conventions, even when heritage professionals do their best to find adequate solutions. Similar situations are found when a former colonial nation wishes to give back some of those objects that left source nations during their regimes. That process is known as restitution. Depending on any agreements established with nations involved in the return—such as offering temporary storage or covering the transport expenses—some of the costs associated with repatriation can be reduced. However, the challenges of providing long term storage and conservation of the artifacts remain.

Putting aside the practicalities of repatriation and restitution, the practice has become an important political tool in the Andes because it offers a concrete basis for discourse on the protection of national identity, and allows for new cooperative relationships between former colonial powers and current nation states to materialize. Current national stances on pluralism and multiculturalism that permeate the constitutions of countries in the region are still failing to provide a cohesive link in regard to archaeological heritage. This recognition of human diversity has helped strengthen indigenous rights movements. However, repatriation and restitution are only handled at a national level, making invisible particular (e.g., indigenous and African-descendent) groups' claims to cultural heritage (Byrne, 1991) See Figure 40.2.

The measures currently in place have not slowed down looting in the region. Given that by 2016 repatriation was a major concern in terms of national cultural heritage laws in the region, it is clear that there is a need to tackle not just trafficking but also looting. In that sense, repatriation is a temporary fix rather than a solution to the problem. There needs to be a way to halt the illegal digging of objects so that other measures, such as customs controls and site patrols, which are consuming available resources, can be dedicated instead to the storage, curating, and preservation of archaeological objects. The loss of information regarding the past as a result of looting is enormous, and we need to recognize that only a very small amount of it is recovered when stolen material culture returns to the source countries. The unbalanced relations of power in the Andes can be seen in economic inequalities above all, but also in terms of access to employment, education and the legal system. These inequalities fuel looting and the trafficking of antiquities. It is, therefore, not enough to try and enact regulations against looting, and insist on the repatriation of as much material as possible. It is of paramount importance to create archaeological and heritage projects that engage the community, support social entrepreneurship and limit the influence of the illegal market.

Discussions previously reserved for archaeologists and governmental authorities have shifted to accommodate communities and other stake holders. This shift has allowed for different actors to take part in important discussions concerning heritage management, community archaeology, and public archaeology. The relationship



Figure 40.2 Huaquero-owned museum, Tolita Pampa de Oro, Ecuador, 2016

Photo credit: Juan Carlos Donoso.

of huaqueros with communities (and many times, they are one and the same), and with archaeologists, heritage professionals, and law makers is highly complicated and nuanced, affecting not only landscapes and artifacts, but also people, in very real ways. As such, its effects and challenges need to be considered with care. Funding for the development of tools to measure and quantify the extent of looting in the region, such as those proposed, for example, by Contreras and Brodie (2010) is also necessary in order to put in place long term mechanisms to safeguard archaeological heritage.

NOTES

- 1 The encomendero was in charge of the encomienda, a colonial institution that granted control over a number of indigenous peoples. Outside of using them for labor, the encomenderos were tasked with converting their charges to Christianity, protecting them, and helping them multiply their goods.
- 2 Some exceptions have been noted in regards to who these early collectors were. Members of the Inca Cusqueño elite are reported by Julien (1999); Cummins (1998, 2002); and Stanfield-Mazzi (2009) as active members of the collecting circles in the 1700s. Their collections have been viewed, however, in relation to issues of identity reaffirmation or pre-Columbian collecting traditions; it is unclear if these collectors engaged in looting as well or were only the recipients or buyers of such objects.
- 3 The Quimbaya Treasure is a collection of gold and silver objects attributed to the Quimbaya culture and excavated in Colombia in the early nineteenth century. By July 20, 1892, President Carlos Holguin sent it to Europe with the intention of exhibiting it at the Exhibitions of Madrid and Chicago. Later it would be given as a present to the Spanish Government in

gratitude for their support of Colombia in a territorial dispute against Venezuela. This collection is still contested and held the Museo de America in Madrid.

- 4 In Ecuador, a national museum was not formed until the 1980s, far later than in the rest of the region. This late founding of a museum was precipitated by the foreign excavations and surveys carried out by U.S. archaeologists in the previous two decades, and was encouraged by the main state financial institution, the Banco Central, which served as the main custodian and buyer of archaeological objects until the early 2000s.
- 5 An important link between climate change and archaeological landscape degradation has been explored by Cassar and Pender (2005); McIntyre-Tamwoy (2008) and others. It is worth considering that as more sites are exposed by these land degradation, looting also increases as access to objects is made easier.

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CHAPTER FORTY-ONE

GROWING COCA LEAF IN THE MIDST OF THE WAR AGAINST COCAINE



María Clemencia Ramírez

INTRODUCTION

The cultivation of coca leaf has two faces: on the one hand, it is and has long been a traditional practice for many indigenous peoples in the Andean countries of Bolivia, Peru, and Colombia. On the other hand, coca leaf is a drug trafficking commodity processed to produce coca paste, out of which cocaine hydrochloride is extracted. Global demand for cocaine has given rise to increased coca cultivation in the Andean region for drug trafficking purposes, and its prohibition has caused those who cultivate it to be stigmatized and criminalized. This has led cultivators of coca to organize to defend their citizenship rights and their right to cultivate and consume coca leaf as a product distinct from cocaine.

The “drug war” declared by the U.S., the world’s largest consumer of cocaine, emphasizes forced eradication of coca crops based on the idea that suppressing coca production will inflate cocaine prices and consequently reduce consumption. The policy has been implemented for 30 years without positive results. Below, I will demonstrate why the policy is misguided. Coca cultivation is more heavily criminalized in Colombia than in Bolivia or Peru; in the latter countries, it is a traditional product and exceptions to its illegality have been established and expanded. There, traditional uses of coca are legal, and its cultural and economic importance have been acknowledged.

In this chapter, I propose to contextualize coca cultivation in the countries of the Andean region from a historical perspective. I will begin by describing the ancestral use of coca leaf and the early extraction of cocaine alkaloid for scientific use in the nineteenth century. I will then describe the process that led to the criminalization of coca leaf and the way that coca growers, known as *cocaleros*, became the weakest link in the supply chain of drug trafficking organizations. I will also examine policies implemented by each of the Andean countries in the framework of the war on drugs declared by the United States in the 1970s, and analyze the implications of the confluence of the war on drugs with counterinsurgency wars in Colombia and Peru.

Finally, I will counterpose the repressive approach in Colombia with policies for social control in Bolivia and compare their results as measured by the area of coca

leaf grown for drug trafficking. I will also evaluate the efficiency of different anti-narcotic strategies that have been applied for over 40 years in the coca-producing countries of the Andean region.

COCA LEAF AND COCA CHEWING

The coca bush (*Erythroxylum coca*) is one of the oldest domesticated plants in the Andean region. It is indigenous to northwestern Peru, and has been cultivated as a traditional crop for more than 4,000 years, spreading from northern Colombia south to Bolivia and Argentina and to the western Amazon Basin. Coca is grown at altitudes between 1,600 and 6,500 feet above sea level, and different varieties of the plant have adapted to the Andes and to Amazonia.¹

In the Andes, coca has an important influence on indigenous people's world view and cosmology, and on their cultural, religious, and ritual life. "In the Andes coca is considered the medium between man and the supernatural, as well as the expression and maintenance of social relations" (Morales, 1989, p.15), encouraging wisdom, reflection, and introspection (Farthing and Kohl, 2014).

Coca leaves are traditionally "chewed" (an action known in Quechua as *pic-char* in Peru, *acullicar* in Bolivia, *mambear* (Spanish) in Colombia, and *chajchar* in Argentina).² In contrast, coca chewing is not practiced in Ecuador. A saliva-soaked wad of coca leaves is held between the inner cheek and the gum, together with an alkaline substance that helps to extract the active agent of coca known as cocaine, which is one of the leaf's 14 alkaloids (Cabieses, 1994). The alkaline substance used varies locally; it can be quicklime, quinoa ashes or the ashes of other kinds of Andean vegetation, a calcinated powder obtained by grinding seashells (Gagliano, 1994, p. 7), or the ashes of leaves from the yarumo (*celcropia sciadophylla*) tree in the Amazon region. This alkaline substance is sometimes carried in a small woven bag, or in a bottle or a gourd and added to the wad of coca leaf with a slender dipper or stick.

Coca leaf is praised by its consumers for its stimulant properties and for suppressing hunger, thirst, pain, and fatigue. It is often used during work activities. In addition, an invitation to chew coca is an invitation to social interaction during both work and cultural events, and it is mostly consumed in groups (Mayer, 2002). Coca chewing is present at every social, religious, and other activity in which Andean indigenous peoples participate together (Allen, 1988). Coca leaves are also consumed at burials and celebrations, and are offered at ritual events intended to pacify the *Pachamama* or Mother Earth of indigenous cosmology, in the event of earthquakes, storms, or droughts. In the indigenous world view, nature as represented by *Pachamama* gives humans everything they need to live, so they care for her and offer her tribute. It has been documented that coca leaves were used as trade and tribute items during pre-Hispanic times, especially in the highlands (Burchard, 1974; Murra, 1975; Salomon, 1986; Ramírez, 1996; Gómez, 1996–1997; Kawell, 2005, p. 430) and that they have been imbued since then with supernatural powers that help shamans heal and prophesize. Mayer (2002) has also stated that coca functions as a quasi-currency in the peasant economy.

Coca leaf is also used as an infusion that is drunk in the form of herbal tea and for nutritional purposes such as in the production of coca flour (Henman, 1992). Studies have shown that "coca leaves contain impressive amounts of vitamins and minerals" (Plowman, 1986, p. 7). One study on Bolivian coca compared the 15 nutrients that

it contains to the average content of these nutrients in 50 Latin American foods, demonstrating that “coca was found to be higher in calories, protein, carbohydrates, fibers, calcium, phosphorus, iron, vitamin A and riboflavin” (Plowman 1986, p. 7). Early Spanish chroniclers described its medicinal properties, reporting “the efficacy of coca chewing in easing the pain of a toothache” (Gagliano, 1994, p. 7), while physicians during the colonial period prescribed the application of coca leaf plasters to contusions, the use of coca infusions to treat stomach and intestinal disorders, and a poultice of coca leaves tied to the forehead for headaches (Gagliano, 1994, pp. 7–8). The most important medicinal use of coca is for gastrointestinal disorders such as dysentery, indigestion, cramps, diarrhea, and ulcers, followed by providing relief for the symptoms of altitude sickness, which include nausea, dizziness, cramps, and headaches (Plowman, 1986). Today coca is also consumed by middle-class urban professionals and served to tourists in Cusco to help them cope with the high altitude there. Medical research has shown that “consuming coca on a regular basis (25 to 50 grams of coca leaves or one to four cups of coca-leaf tea per day) does not cause illness and does not lead to drug addiction” (Cabieses, 1994, p.7). Soon after the Spanish conquest, however, colonists and missionaries rejected the practice of coca chewing, thereby making coca a symbol of cultural resistance and “coca chewing began to mark the developing boundary between *Runa*³ and *Misti*⁴” (Allen, 1988, p. 35), and their respective world views.

EXTRACTING THE COCAINE ALKALOID

European chemists first extracted the cocaine alkaloid in 1860, after which it was used as an anesthetic and a stimulant (Gootenberg, 2014). In his book *Andean Cocaine*, Paul Gootenberg explores the historical period of 1880–1905, when the cocaine industry in Peru was buoyant due to the success of a singularly Peruvian coca science, led by Alfredo Bignon, a French-Peruvian chemist based in Lima. Researchers discovered an inexpensive method for extracting cocaine sulfate from the coca leaf, although with a purity of only 60 percent. This crude cocaine was then produced by several entrepreneurs and pharmacists in Lima for export, primarily to Germany, where it was valued as a topical anesthetic. In the late nineteenth century, Germany was the leader in an emerging pharmaceutical industry, represented by firms like Merck that bought semi-refined cocaine with which to manufacture cocaine hydrochloride, much in demand for numerous surgical applications.

By the end of the 1890s, the production of crude cocaine had spread far beyond Lima to coca’s traditional homeland in the Huallaga Valley⁵ of the Amazon region, where this industry flourished, making cocaine one of the country’s leading exports for over two decades. By 1910, however, Peru’s cocaine sulfate industry began an unquestionable decline due to doctors’ and pharmacists’ increasing awareness of cocaine’s potential for abuse and the fact that at the same time, alternative anesthetics like eucaine and procaine were created, which they considered to be safer for patients.

MAKING COCA LEAF ILLEGAL

As Gootenberg shows, the conflict between consuming and producing countries began as early as the first decade of the twentieth century, when the U.S. began to

promote global drug prohibition. In 1906, the U.S. established its Food and Drug Administration, and in 1914, it banned cocaine through the Harrison Narcotics Tax Act (Gootenberg, 2008, p.124).⁶ By 1922, the Jones-Miller Act formally prohibited all cocaine imports into the United States, including the importation of Peruvian cocaine sulfate, but not coca leaf, an exception made, as Gootenberg (2008, pp. 199–202) illustrates, to ensure Coca-Cola's continued access to unadulterated fluid extract of coca. The Coca-Cola company also won the inclusion of Article 27 on Additional Provisions Relating to Coca Leaves in the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs,⁷ permitting "the use of coca leaves for the preparation of a flavoring agent, which shall not contain any alkaloids, and, to the extent necessary for such use, may permit the production, import, export, trade in and possession of such leaves." Between 300 and 600 metric tons of coca leaf is now imported annually to the United States from Peru and Bolivia to be processed into a cocaine-free extract for Coca-Cola production (Cabieses, 2005, p.20).

In the late 1940s and under pressure from the United States, the Peruvian government outlawed the private production of cocaine. However, the simple technology of crude cocaine production was adapted to produce cocaine paste, a semi-refined form of cocaine that was dominant during the 1970s and 1980s as the leading commodity of the drug trafficking market. Cocaine paste was produced in areas of peasant coca cultivation, first in Peru and Bolivia and then in Colombia. After 1945, the U.S. was able to project its anti-drug policy on a global scale. Consequently, coca leaf came to be depicted as harmful and addictive. In 1950, a study mandated by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) recommended the suppression of "the harmful habit of chewing coca" within a few years, and in 1952 the World Health Organization Expert Committee on Drugs Liable to Produce Addiction concluded that "coca chewing comes so close to the characteristics of addiction . . . that it must be defined and treated as an addiction," and forwarded this advice to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (Transnational Institute, 2012).

In 1971, President Richard Nixon declared the first U.S. "war on drugs," and in 1986, Congress passed the Anti-Drug Abuse Act, changing the system of supervised release for drug offenses from a rehabilitative to a punitive system. Subsequently, the 1988 Convention against the Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances forced states to criminalize coca (Transnational Institute, 2012), and in 1989 the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy was established.

CREATING ILLEGAL COCA GROWERS AND ILLEGAL AREAS OF COCA CULTIVATION

In this international context and as a result of U.S. pressure on producing countries, Andean countries began to pass laws criminalizing coca cultivation. These laws varied in the extent to which they criminalized cultivation, though, and differentiated legal cultivation for consumption from illegal cultivation for drug trafficking, in keeping with local history and the meaning of coca leaf in each country.

In Peru, coca is cultivated in about 19 river valleys (Cabieses, 2005, p. 51), not always legally. In several areas, it is cultivated for traditional uses, i.e., processing and consumption by indigenous groups in keeping with their longstanding customs. In several valleys, including the La Convención, Lares, and Yanatile, and in

the high-altitude forest around Cusco in the south, about 20–30 percent of coca cultivation is for this purpose. Most non-traditional cultivation is considered illegal and is practiced by campesinos and settlers in the tropical High, Middle, and Lower Huallaga Valley and in the Ucayalí, Apurímac, ENEA, Tambo, Piches, and Palcazu valleys (Rumrill, 2005, p. 149). The largest coca producing region is the valley of the Upper Huallaga in the Department of San Martín,⁸ where coca cultivation for the drug trafficking market expanded after 1975, centered in the town of Tingo María after the failure of a government-sponsored settlement program. The first coca boom began in the late 1970s and peaked in the 1980s, when Peru was considered the coca capital of the world, supplying 60 percent of the raw material used to make cocaine, principally for U.S. consumption. (Rojas, 2005; Rumrill, 2005).

In 1978, Peru passed the Law for the Suppression of Illegal Drug Trafficking, condemning the indigenous tradition of chewing coca and prohibiting the illicit production and use of drugs, as well as their sale inside and outside the country. The law also required compliance with international conventions, particularly the 1961 Convention “in relation to the progressive eradication of coca crops with the exception of those intended for industrial and medical-scientific use” (Del Olmo, 1989, p. 285). Under the law, crops so exempted would be regulated by the Ministry of Health (Del Olmo, 1989, p. 291).

The law also established the National Coca Company (*Empresa Nacional de la Coca*—ENACO), a state entity with a monopoly on coca leaf production, internal distribution, and export (Del Olmo, 1989, p. 291). The Company also authorizes coca cultivation and marketing for medicinal and industrial purposes (De Rementería, 1989, pp. 366–367), and one of its main functions is the registration of all legal coca producers.

According to a law enacted in 1982, the 1978 registration of coca growers would be binding, i.e., no additional growers would be authorized. “Consequently, the majority of coca growers in the Upper Huallaga continued to be considered illegal” (Van Dun, 2009, p. 73). For this reason, growers had demanded that ENACO carry out a new registration of producers to avoid their criminalization.

The 1978 law authorizes 12,000 hectares of coca to be grown for traditional consumption, for medicinal and ritual uses, for industrially produced beverages, for export in leaf form used in the production of carbonated soft drinks, and for legal cocaine (Cabieses, 2005, p. 29). ENACO buys only 30 percent of the legal harvest for the production of derivatives such as coca extract, teas, and beverages (See www.enaco.com.pe/?page_id=74), and can only buy from registered producers since any other purchase is considered illegal. The rest of the coca produced in the country finds its way to the contraband market (Cabieses, 2005, p. 29).

In Bolivia, the 1988 Law on the Regulation of Coca and Controlled Substances defines three categories of areas in relation to coca production: 1) Traditional coca-producing zones where it remains legal; 2) Zones where coca is illegal and eradication should proceed, and 3) Transitional zones, where coca production is considered superfluous. The law defines the reduction of production as voluntary, but it was expected that coca would be eliminated from transitional zones within ten years (Ledebur, 2005, p. 151) through the implementation of alternative development programs. The law authorizes a total of 12,000 hectares of legal coca production, which is equal to the extent of coca cultivation in the Yungas region in the highlands north of La Paz (Grisaffi, 2016). The Yungas is inhabited by 30,000 mostly

Aymara-speaking families (Farthing and Kohl, 2014), and has the strongest tradition of coca production, representing 65 percent of the national total. In other areas, coca cultivation is considered illegal. For example, in Chapare, a lowland tropical forest area in northern Cochabamba Department, mostly Quechua-speaking producers are responsible for 30 percent of the national coca harvest, and its cultivation is considered illegal. Government-promoted settlement began in Chapare in the 1960s and intensified in the early 1980s. Former miners and factory workers migrated from the highlands to Chapare in search of opportunities when it became the most important coca-producing area. In contrast to Peru and Colombia, Bolivian coca is primarily grown by indigenous people, also a reflection of the country's overall demographics.

Unlike in Peru and Bolivia, coca cultivation is mostly illegal in Colombia, and a much larger proportion of the harvest goes to drug traffickers. The indigenous population of the country is estimated to be 3.4 percent of the total, but few indigenous people cultivate or use coca by tradition. Those who do so include groups such as the Nasa and Arhuacos in the Andes, and the Huitotos and Tukanos in Amazonia.⁹ It is the mestizo campesinos, many of them settlers from the Andean region, who grow coca, mostly in the Western Amazon, in forested Catatumbo in the Northeast and in the Pacific coastal region, although crops are also dispersed throughout the country to some extent (see Figure 41.1).



Figure 41.1 Woman harvesting coca leaf in San Miguel, Putumayo, Colombia

Photo credit: Edinson Arroyo.

The 1986 Narcotics Law prohibits the cultivation of any plant that can be used to produce cocaine, morphine, heroin, or any other addictive substance, or possession of more than a kilogram of the seeds of such plants. It also states that individuals with more than 20 coca plants will be sanctioned with fines and prison. It further stipulates that the cultivation of coca will be permitted only in the context of medical or scientific research, and for those few indigenous communities whose coca use is an element of their “culture and tradition” (Articles 3–7 and 32). By and large, this law criminalizes small farmers, placing them in the same legal category as large-scale traffickers, functionally creating a criminal peasant class without considering the economic, social, and political structures that lead peasants to resort to illicit crops. In 2000, Colombia’s criminal code was revised, reaffirming that these crops were illegal and increasing the penalties for their cultivation. Cocaleros have mobilized against their stigmatization as criminals and have demanded recognition and respect as campesinos and citizens (Ramírez, 2011).

THE CONFLUENCE OF THE WAR ON DRUGS AND COUNTERINSURGENCY

The suppression of coca cultivation intensified in 1989 when President George H.W. Bush launched the Andean Initiative, and the Andean region overtook Central America as the largest recipient of anti-narcotics aid in the hemisphere. Funding was provided for countering drug operations in “source countries,” including the interdiction of illegal drugs on smuggling routes and the destruction of cocaine laboratories and coca crops. The Andean Initiative demanded the unconditional cooperation of Andean region governments in the war on drugs, implementing the process of certification previously introduced by President Reagan to guarantee counter narcotics cooperation by producing countries and countries of transit.¹⁰ No illicit crops are grown in Ecuador, but it is a transit country for both illicit drugs and the chemical precursors used for their manufacture, and has been part of the UNODC world program of illicit crop monitoring since 2006. The Andean Initiative defined drugs as a security problem for the U.S., an approach that has been seen by some as substituting the war on drugs for the Cold War as a justification for militarization (Tate, 2015). Michael Evans (2002) also considered the war on drugs as a response to guerrilla activities in Peru and Colombia and determined that President Bush had set out to support counterinsurgency programs in allied countries, albeit implicitly, amounting to the confluence of the war on drugs with the counterinsurgency struggle.

Both the Shining Path guerrillas in Peru and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) guerrillas in Colombia appeared at the beginning of the 1980s in settlement areas where coca was cultivated for the drug trafficking market, and began to regulate production, to impose taxes to finance their insurgencies, and to defend campesinos from the Army, anti-narcotics police, and drug traffickers. In Colombia, paramilitaries organized in 1994 as the United Self-defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), began a violent struggle with the FARC over the territory and sources of financing that they controlled, which further legitimized repressive antidrug policies against the civilian population. In addition to being stigmatized and criminalized for growing coca, campesinos were now accused of being guerrilla auxiliaries. The conflation of the war on drugs with the long-term armed conflict

in Colombian coca-producing regions legitimizes the idea that there is a criminal peasant class responsible for its own marginality and economic exclusion (Ramírez, 2011). In Peru, on the other hand, the government recognized coca growers as civilians and campesinos who would end up supporting Shining Path if their livelihood was suppressed through forced eradication. Thus, the military tended to focus on fighting the insurgency itself. By not attacking peasant coca growers, the government won their support to the extent that in the Apurímac Valley, money derived from coca production was used to finance peasant patrols to fight the guerrillas (Starn, 1995; Del Pino, 1996; Fumerton, 2002). In sharp contrast to events in Colombia, Shining Path guerrillas were expelled from the zone with the consent of the peasants, and were finally defeated (Starn, 1997, p. 240). In 1992, their founder and leader was arrested and the guerrilla organization was almost completely eliminated.

DRUG TRAFFICKING, COCA CULTIVATION, AND ANTI-DRUG POLICIES

During the 1980s, coca paste was produced in Peru and Bolivia for sale to Colombian traffickers of the Medellín and Cali cartels, who operated cocaine laboratories in the Amazon. This became clear in 1984 when Tranquilandia, the largest laboratory operated by the Medellín Cartel, was raided by the antinarcotics police and the cartel retaliated by killing the Minister of the Interior. The war against drug traffickers continued, and a prominent Colombian presidential candidate was assassinated after his condemnation of traffickers' participation in politics.

Because of the conflict and the disruption of "business as usual," the cartels' flights to Peru for picking up coca paste were suspended. Cultivation in Colombia grew as an alternative, and the map of coca cultivation in the Andean Region was reconfigured. In 1994, 54 percent of the area dedicated to coca in the region was in Peru; about 24 percent was in Bolivia and the remaining 22 percent was in Colombia. By 1997, however, Colombia was the largest producer, with 41 percent of coca crops in the region, while Peru had 35 percent and Bolivia 23 percent. Colombia continued to increase its area of coca cultivation, and by 1999, 73 percent of the area dedicated to coca in the Andes was in Colombia (UNODC, 2003). That was when Plan Colombia was put in place.¹¹

AERIAL SPRAYING IN COLOMBIA

The indiscriminate aerial spraying of coca plantations with the herbicide glyphosate, prohibited in Bolivia and Peru, has been standard practice in Colombia since 1994 (see Figure 41.2). The novelty of Plan Colombia lay in the massive and unprecedented scale of fumigation operations.¹² In 1999, aerial spraying covered 43,000 hectares,¹³ which tripled to a maximum of 172,000 in 2006. After 15 years of steady fumigation, 1.6 million hectares have been sprayed but only 93,000 hectares of coca have been eradicated. This was equal to only 6 percent of the total area under cultivation in 2014, illustrating the utter inefficiency of the strategy. Due to FARC presence in the zones where drug crop cultivation is concentrated, crop dusters are accompanied by armed helicopters to protect them from attack, and aerial spraying is done from high altitudes, giving rise to effectively indiscriminate spraying.

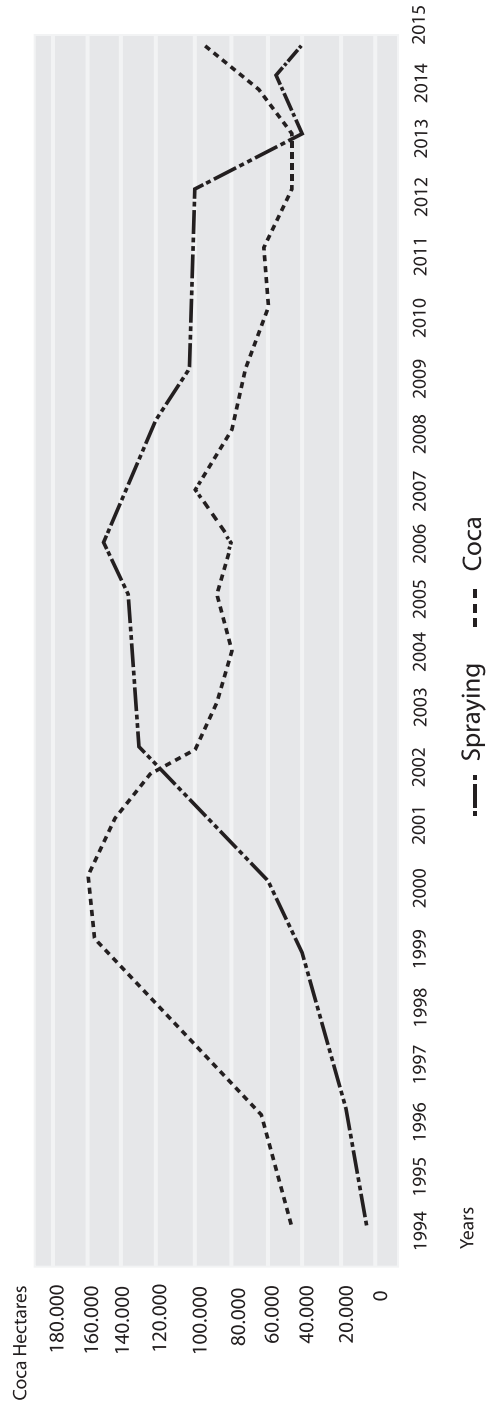


Figure 4.1.2 Hectares of aerial spraying and coca cultivation in Colombia 1994–2015

Data source: Coca Surveys by UNODC Illicit Crops Monitoring Programme, 2003–2015.

Rather than dismantle the chain of coca production, aerial spraying has accelerated the clearing of tropical forest as cultivation migrated within the country, causing major environmental damage. Whereas coca was being cultivated in only six departments in 1994, this increased to twelve departments by 1999 and skyrocketed to twenty-two departments in 2000. A 2015 report indicated that coca crops were present in 21 departments (UNODC, 2016). The International Crisis Group has indicated that “Colombia has one of the lowest—if not the lowest—ratios of alternative development dollars invested by planted hectare of coca in the world. (ICG, 2005, p. 24). Moreover, coca cultivation is likely to continue because under the war on drugs, alternative development programs are implemented only as compensation after fumigation and forced eradication. As such, they are not central, either financially or politically, as a strategy to combat coca cultivation through the promotion of a comprehensive rural development plan.

Faced with a demand to eradicate all their coca as a precondition for participating in alternative development plans promoted by USAID, cocaleros have demanded voluntary rather than forced eradication and the gradual rather than precipitous substitution of alternative crops. Aerial spraying has given rise to numerous complaints of adverse health impacts. Residents in sprayed areas say that they are frequently exposed to the spray mixture, resulting in a variety of ailments. This has been confirmed by emergency health services in local clinics that serve residents after fumigations take place (Revelo, 2001–2002). A recent study by Camacho and Mejía (2015, p. 16) concludes that “exposure to the herbicides used in aerial spraying campaigns led to an increase in dermatological and respiratory problems and miscarriages.” In the context of these alleged damages, Ecuador and Colombia reached an agreement in 2005 to suspend aerial spraying within 10 km of the Ecuadorian border. Fumigations were resumed the following year, however. As a result, Ecuador instituted proceedings against Colombia at the International Court of Justice in 2008. In 2013, the two countries reached an agreement that was highly favorable to Ecuador, under which Colombia paid its neighbor U.S. \$15 million in compensation for past damages to people, crops and livestock, and restricted future spraying in ways that would protect the Ecuadorian border region from airborne chemicals. An unintended consequence of this settlement was the argument that by compensating Ecuador, the Colombian government was implicitly admitting that aerial spraying was harmful, while continuing to spray the same chemical over its own territory. Colombians exposed to the effects of spraying are now demanding compensation based on this admission.

Aerial spraying also leads to forced displacement in coca-growing areas, as reported by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime in its annual surveys (UNODC, 2003, p. 29). In this sense, aerial eradication has punished those who make up the weakest link in the drug production chain. In contrast to this repressive and criminalizing policy, Bolivia has implemented an alternative to forced eradication, in accordance with its vision of the production and use of coca leaf as a sacred practice, part of its cultural heritage.

THE CATO SYSTEM AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN BOLIVIA

Bolivian President Evo Morales, of Aymara descent, is a former coca grower in the Chapare region, where he led coca growers’ unions. He belongs to the Movement

toward Socialism (MAS) party. Upon entering office in 2006, he instituted new policies based on the distinction between coca leaf and cocaine, an orientation known in Bolivia as “coca yes, cocaine no” (Farthing and Kohl, 2014; Grisaffi, 2016). His government adopted the “cato system” as the foundation of its strategy. The cato system was a victory for the coca growers’ movement in Chapare during the presidency of Carlos Mesa, who had to accept the right of each family in Chapare to cultivate a small plot of coca known as a “cato,” consisting of 1,600 square meters and destined for the legal market. Morales extended this system to other coca-growing regions in the country, including Yungas. He has authorized a total of 7,000 hectares of coca to be grown in Chapare, and an additional 1,000 hectares in other “transitional zones” including areas surrounding the Yungas traditional coca zones in the department of La Paz, and the Yungas de Vanidola in Cochabamba (Grisaffi, 2016). By 2009, President Morales had increased legal cultivation to 20,000 hectares, seeking to promote plans for the export of coca leaf to Chile and Argentina for coca industrialization projects, and for the export of coca-based products such as teas, shampoos, diet pills, skin creams, wine, and toothpaste (Grisaffi, 2014), and the construction of a pharmaceutical plant with technical assistance from Cuba (Ledebur and Youngers, 2015).

Coca growers in Chapare are organized into a strong network of peasant unions that exert social control to ensure that peasants comply with the one-cato limit. These unions are well-suited to enact control “as they have a long history of self-governing” (Grisaffi, 2016, p.7) in the context of “cooperative coca reduction” (Grisaffi and Ledebur, 2016). This involves community participation and voluntary eradication in order to reduce the area of coca that exceeds the legal limit. The government continues to be committed to the eradication of coca outside designated zones, but security forces seek to collaborate with peasants to carry out as much eradication as possible on a voluntarily basis (Grisaffi and Ledebur, 2016). If a union commission finds coca crops exceeding the one-cato limit, then the community eradicates the culpable producer’s entire crop and he or she is prohibited from replanting coca for one year. If a cocalero violates the limit a second time, the union imposes a permanent ban on his or her coca production. This community-based strategy has proven to be successful, and most importantly, it has supplanted the U.S.-supported and militarized eradication model that had been carried out in the entire Andean Region since the U.S. declared its War on Drugs. In contrast to Colombia, Bolivia achieved a 32 percent net reduction in coca cultivation in 2009–2015. According to Thomas Grisaffi (2016, p. 8), who has conducted fieldwork in Chapare since 2005, “most farmers agree that limiting coca cultivation is a small price to pay for peace and full citizenship.” Their active participation in implementing the policy avoids their criminalization and affords them recognition as responsible citizens. Coca growers “understand that if coca cultivation is restricted, then prices will increase” and that “respecting the cato will support the government’s attempts to lobby the UN to decriminalize coca” (Grisaffi 2016, p. 7).

The Bolivian Constitution of 2009 declares that the state has a duty to preserve and protect the traditional use of coca as an ancestral practice. Consequently, Bolivia withdrew from the U.N. Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs in 2011 because the Convention placed coca leaf in the same category as cocaine, promoting the false notion that coca leaf is a narcotic. Bolivia rejoined the Convention in 2013 with a

reservation that permits coca consumption within its territory; in effect, the U.N. recognized the legitimacy of traditional coca use. Now Morales is focused on decriminalizing the international trade in coca leaf. In late 2015, he announced that draft legislation would be presented to Congress to divide the Law on the Regulation of Coca and Controlled Substances into two new laws, explicitly differentiating the traditional and licit coca market from the illicit drug trade. One law would regulate coca, and the other would prohibit drug production and trafficking (Ledebur and Youngers, 2015).

Because coca is such an important symbol of identity for Andean indigenous cultures, Bolivia continues to lead the struggle against the criminalization of coca leaf, followed by Peru, where in certain places such as Puno and Cuzco, coca has been declared a cultural and immaterial patrimony and a “sacred leaf” whose cultivation is legal (Gómez, 2005; Andina, 2008).

THE RESULTS OF ANTI-NARCOTICS POLICY

After decreasing by 19 percent in 2002, the total coca cultivation in the Andean Region was largely stable in 2003–2012. There was a short-term decline of about 20,000 hectares in 2013–2014, before recovering in 2015 (see Figure 41.3). Peru was the largest producer in 2012–2013, but despite its government’s efforts to suppress production, Colombia later regained the lead it had held since 1997. Coca cultivation declined in Bolivia every year in 2010–2015 as a result of its social control policy.

In May 2015, the Colombian National Narcotics Council (CNE) ordered the suspension of aerial spraying with after the research arm of the World Health Organization stated in March of that year that glyphosate is “probably carcinogenic to humans.” The CNE announced that fumigations would be suspended, and formed a technical committee to establish new guidelines for the Colombian state’s struggle against illegal drugs.

The overall failure of antinarcotics policies was addressed by Colombian President Santos at the Sixth Summit of the Americas held in Cartagena in April 2012, and for the first time the decriminalization and potential legalization of some drugs was a topic of debate among the continent’s delegates. The U.S., for its part, firmly rejected legalization. Nonetheless, a mandate was delivered to the Secretariat of the Organization of American States (OAS) “to analyze the results of the current policy in the Americas and to explore new approaches to strengthen this struggle and to become more effective.” In May 2013, the OAS issued a *Report on the Drug Problem in the Americas* in fulfillment of this mandate. The report staked out “new territory by recognizing that the drug policy and prohibitionist policies create the illegal economy that generates crime, violence and corruption” (Youngers, 2013, p. 3). There is growing recognition that existing drug policy has proven to be ineffective and that it is time for its re-evaluation. In this context, the policies implemented by President Morales in Bolivia are an important factor to consider as we rethink forced eradication and military aid in favor of voluntary eradication, the manufacture of coca-based products, and coca leaf industrialization. Above all, we realize that we must distinguish between coca leaf and its derivative, cocaine.

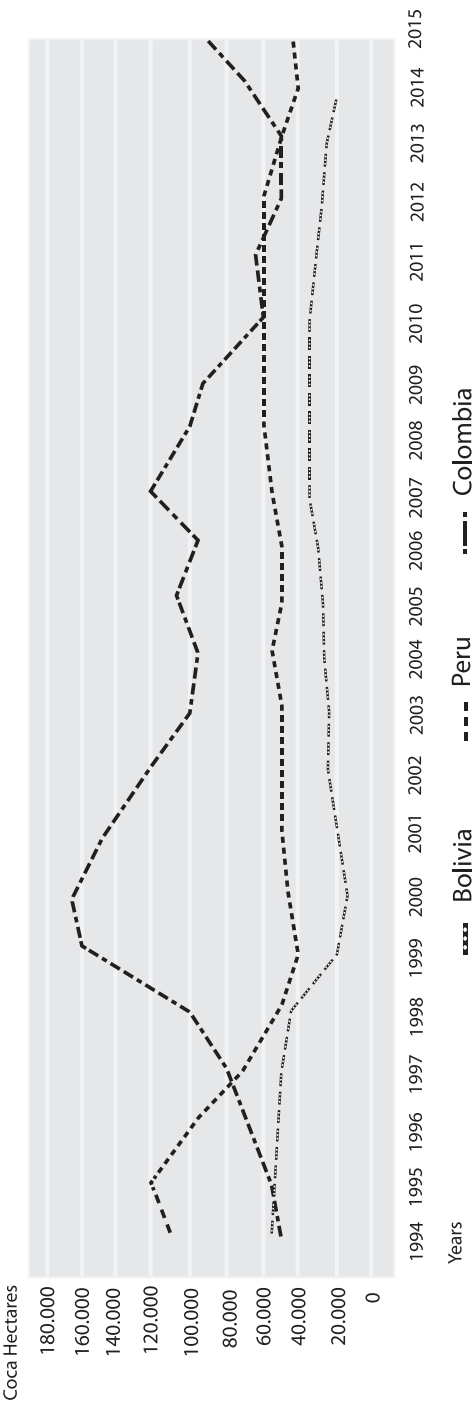


Figure 41.3 Hectares of coca cultivation in the Andean region 1994–2015

Data source: Coca Surveys by UNODC Illicit Crops Monitoring Programme, 2003–2015.

NOTES

- 1 See Plowman (1986) for detailed information on the botany and physical characteristics of coca's varieties and archaeological evidence for prehistoric coca chewing.
- 2 Coca leaves are dried to facilitate the rapid release of their chemical constituents during chewing.
- 3 Quechua: human being; culturally, an indigenous Andean person (Allen, 1988, p. 262)
- 4 Mixed-race townsperson (from Spanish *Mestizo*, "mixed race").
- 5 "Some ethnobotanists maintain that coca was first domesticated eight to ten thousand years ago in the Huallaga Valley. There is clear archaeological evidence that it has been a significant economic resource for valley dwellers since long before the Inca empire" (Kawell 2005, p. 430).
- 6 A Federal law in the United States that regulated and taxed the production, importation, and distribution of opiates and coca products.
- 7 This Convention includes special restrictions on coca cultivation, prescribes the phasing out of traditional use within 25 years, and lists coca leaf as "a substance liable for abuse" (Transnational Institute, 2012).
- 8 This region was seen as the "promised land" during the 1960s with the construction of a major highway and the Tingo María-Tocache-Campanilla settlement program (Rumrill 2005, p. 150).
- 9 Due to the influence of indigenous coca growing groups in Peru and Bolivia, the Nasa (and only this group) have recently begun to produce and sell coca-derived products that the government has authorized for domestic sale, such as tea and a carbonated beverage, but their distribution is permitted only in Nasa territory (For more details, see Jackson [2018]).
- 10 Under 1986 amendments to the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act, the administration was required to certify whether 24 specific drug-producing or transit countries were fully cooperating with U.S. drug control efforts or initiating such programs on their own. It also required the U.S. government to reduce non-humanitarian foreign aid to decertified countries by 50 percent, excepting money used for drug-interdiction.
- 11 Plan Colombia was a U.S. aid package launched during the Clinton administration with an initial \$1.3 billion supplement to funding for Colombia's portion of the Andean Counterdrug Initiative (ACI). The first phase of Plan Colombia lasted six years. Between 68–75 percent of funding went to the military and police every year (Ramírez, Stanton, and Walsh, 2005).
- 12 Plan Colombia, established a new Counter-Narcotics Army Brigade at Tres Esquinas (Caquetá), expected to ease the way for the massive fumigation of coca crops in the Western Amazon region (Ramírez, Stanton, and Walsh, 2005).
- 13 One hectare equals 2.471 acres.

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CHAPTER FORTY-TWO

WATER RIGHTS, EXTRACTIVE RESOURCES, AND PETROLEUM POLITICS



Erin Fitz-Henry

Over the last fifteen years deepening socio-environmental conflicts around natural resource extraction have attracted the attention of growing numbers of scholars of the Andes (Brand, Dietz, and Lang, 2016). While class conflict and the reworking of cultural symbols in relation to extractive enterprise have long been explored by anthropologists (Nash, 1993; Taussig, 2010; Gill, 2000; Harris, 1989), in recent years there has been a pronounced resurgence of interest in a far broader range of cultural, political, and socio-environmental struggles related to the dramatically expanding presence of extractive corporations across the continent (Svampa, 2015; Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014).

In this chapter, I situate these socio-environmental conflicts within the broader political-economy of Latin America, highlighting the forces that have converged to produce the current fervor of “revolutionary extractivism” (Fabricant and Gustafson, 2015). The first section provides a broad overview of the main empirical and theoretical trends in the current literature on extraction in the Andes. The second focuses on how these trends have converged and are playing out in ways that significantly exacerbate both water scarcity and water pollution across the region. The third considers ongoing struggles against extraction in one of the countries most vividly emblematic of what Eduardo Gudnyas has recently called the “new extractivism” (Gudnyas, 2010). Ecuador remains one of the most resource-dependent countries in South America and one that occupies a particularly unstable and contradictory position *vis-à-vis* extraction. Under the nominally leftist-populist presidency of Rafael Correa (and now, Lenin Moreno), it is simultaneously continuing its long engagement with oil extraction in the Amazon while moving into large-scale copper, gold, and silver mining for the first time. To illustrate in fine-grained detail some of the local complexities of struggles over water and extractive enterprise in contemporary Ecuador, I conclude with a brief discussion of ethnographic fieldwork conducted between 2010 and 2014 around two of the most highly contentious development projects in the country.

CONTEXTUALIZING EXTRACTION AND THE GLOBAL COMMODITIES BOOM

It is no exaggeration to say that the cultural history of the Andes is inextricably bound to the political-economic history of sub-soil extraction that has marked the region at least since the arrival of the Spaniards. This entanglement has been so thoroughgoing that some observers have even characterized natural resource extraction as “*the* history of the region” (Galeano, 1973; Bebbington, 2012; Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014; Arsel, Hogenboom, and Pellegrini, 2016). From the plunder of gold and silver in the mines of Potosí so vividly iconized by the paintings of Osvaldo Guayasamín to the recent clashes between environmental activists and state and private security forces in Chile (Pascua Lama), Ecuador (Morona Santiago), and Peru (Bagua), Andean lives have long been marked by suffering, dispossession, and state violence driven by extractive imperatives. Although the countries of the region have had their formal independence from Spain for more than two centuries, the extraction of precious metals that first drove the Spaniards to such brutal excess beginning in the fifteenth century has seen an equally brutal resurgence since the early 1990s, when international investors first began to take advantage of high commodity prices, rising Chinese demand for raw materials, unusually attractive tax incentives, and highly favorable conditions for what mining executives call, the “repatriation of profits” (Cypher, 2010; Sinnot, Nash, and de la Torre, 2010; Hogenboom, 2012). So intense has this recent upsurge in extractive developments projects been that Jorge Millones has even described it as “the second conquest of the Andes” (Millones, 2016, p. 646). Or again, as Brand, Dietz, and Lang have noted, paraphrasing the title of Eduardo Galeano’s 1973 book about the colonial expropriation of the Americas, “It would seem that Latin America’s veins [are] open once again” (Brand, Dietz, and Lang, 2016, p. 145).

Whether understood as a more or less direct continuation of the logic of colonial capitalism or as a relatively novel outcome of a global system newly animated by a highly speculative “millennial resource scramble” (Goldthorpe and Rajak, 2017), the escalating scale and speed of extractive operations throughout the hemisphere is indisputable. From 1990 to 2001, 12 of the 25 biggest investments in mining globally were made in Latin America. Between 1990 and 1997, investment in mining exploration grew by over 400 percent (as compared to a still staggering 90 percent globally) (Li, 2015). And this intensification was felt particularly vividly in the Andes. In Peru alone, mining products now account for an average of 45.3 percent of national exports and perhaps even more alarmingly, more than 75 percent of the Peruvian Amazon has been conceded to oil companies (up from just 14 percent in 2004) (Bebbington, 2012, p. 13). Not dissimilarly, in Bolivia more than 50 percent of the national territory has been deemed suitable for hydrocarbon extraction, and the administration of Evo Morales has continued to argue that the only way to continue to finance its social programs is to increase exports of natural gas (which already account for 50 percent of the national budget). Throughout the region these trends have been driven in significant part by Chinese state and private investment. As Henderson et al. have recently pointed out, between 2009 and 2013 China lent more than \$59 billion U.S. dollars to Latin America and more than two-thirds of those loans are directly repayable in oil (Henderson, Applebaum, and Ho, 2013; Riofrancos, 2016). While this lending

is heavily concentrated in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Venezuela, China's overall lending to countries such as Argentina and Mexico has already surpassed that provided by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank for the period 2002–2016 (Gallagher and Myers, 2017).

While most observers of the region trace this dramatic increase in extractive investments to the high commodity prices that characterized the turn of the last century as well as to pro-FDI (foreign direct investment) shifts in the regulatory and tax structures that occurred under the neoliberal administrations of the 1990s, this is not, however, a straightforward story of “accumulation by dispossession” at the hands of neoliberal elites or a *comprador bourgeoisie* (Harvey, 2007; Veltmeyer and Petras, 2014). In fact, to the surprise and dismay of many observers, the coming to power of governments associated with the “Pink Tide” has turned out to be an even more favorable time in Andean Latin America for extractive investment under the banner of “resource nationalism” (Kohl and Farthing, 2012). While there has been substantial support for these projects from more centrist governments, such as Bachelet in Chile and García in Peru, the turn toward a heightened reliance on extractive exports has arguably found its most vocal supporters in the leftist administrations most actively opposed to neoliberalism—Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia. These administrations, committed to what they call “socialism for the twenty-first century,” have argued for the centrality of export-driven funding for their pro-poor state reengineering projects. This is what Eduardo Gudynas has called “progressive neo-extractivism,” what Nicole Fabricant and Bret Gustafson have termed “revolutionary extractivism,” and what I have elsewhere designated “extractive nationalism” (Gudynas, 2011; Fabricant and Gustafson, 2015; Fitz-Henry, 2015). From the building of rural hospitals, roads, and schools to the raising of the minimum wage and the redirecting of state revenue toward direct cash transfers for women, children, the disabled, and workers in the informal sector, these regimes have seen significant improvements across a range of social and economic indicators. Supporters of the rapidly expanding extractive frontier regularly point to such successes as proof that heavily state-controlled extraction can avoid the notorious “resource curse” that has for so long plagued resource-rich countries in the developing world (Auty, 2002). As Bebbington has summarized, the revenue from extraction has financed “economic miracles” in the case of Chile, facilitated substantial decreases in economic inequality in Ecuador and Bolivia, and contributed to a reduction in aggregate poverty levels in Peru (Bebbington, 2012). Indeed, according to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), poverty levels throughout the region have decreased markedly during this period, down from 44 percent in 1999 to below 31 percent in 2008 (ECLAC, 2012)—a decline that, up until very recently, ensured that these administrations were widely supported by urban working-class and *campesino* (peasant) communities.

However, this support has not always been shared by those most directly affected by extractive projects. Alongside and in direct proportion to the intensification of state investment in mining, oil, and gas, the past ten years have also witnessed unprecedented opposition from communities concerned that the extractive bedrock on which the governments of the “Bolivarian Revolution” have staked their claims to innovative social policy extends and even deepens the environmentally destructive tendencies of previous neoliberal administrations (Escobar, 2010).

While paying symbolic lip service to indigenous cosmologies, discourses, and values, such as “*sumak kawsay*” (“harmonious living”) or the “rights of nature,” the degree to which these governments are actually “post-neoliberal” in any politically meaningful sense has been questioned by growing numbers of scholars. Although in Ecuador and Bolivia the administrations of Correa and Morales have successfully managed to capture a far larger share of royalties from Canadian, Australian, and Chinese companies than was the case under previous neoliberal administrations, they have continued to rely heavily on foreign direct investment, to reform laws pertaining to strategic sectors in ways that favor transnational companies, and to court heavily conditional Chinese loans. These path-dependent continuities suggest that these administrations are more centrally engaged in “alternative modernization” than in genuinely “decolonial projects” aimed at undoing the hierarchical dichotomies upon which much of liberal capitalist modernity is based (Escobar, 2010).

As with projects of capitalist modernity elsewhere in the world, the environmental fallout from deepening state investment in extractive economies has already proven extensive. Even the most cursory sketch of this fallout includes highly polluted watersheds in and around Oruro (Bolivia), significantly higher-than-baseline levels of lead in the air around La Oroya (Peru), elevated rates of cancer and birth defects in the Ecuadorian Amazon near Lago Agrio, general processes of de-democratization of natural resource decision-making, assaults on collective land-holding rights and agreements, and increasingly militarized approaches to the policing of dissent (Bebbington, 2012; Li, 2015). Mounting evidence of these social and environmental ills has been at the heart of civil society-led proposals for more thorough-going “civilizational alternatives” that might challenge the Eurocentric, anthropocentric, and capital-centric values that continue to anchor Western approaches to development more broadly (Dussel, 2000; Santos, 2007; Quijano, 2000). This is a trend that is worth emphasizing, as it is perhaps one of the very few silver linings in an otherwise dark and darkening picture of intensifying environmental destruction. As growing numbers of cultural anthropologists and geographers have been among the first to note (Escobar, 2010; Walsh, 2010; Radcliffe, 2012; Latta, 2014), indigenous communities throughout the Andes since the early 1990s have become both more politically assertive and more conceptually innovative in their struggles to protect territorial rights from the ravages of extractive corporations (Yashar, 2005; Andolina, Laurie, and Radcliffe, 2009). This is not to suggest that indigenous communities have been unanimous in their rejection of extraction. It is simply to acknowledge that they remain at the global forefront of some of the most structurally profound “civilizational alternatives” currently under consideration by civil society groups at the World Social Forum and elsewhere. As extractive enterprise continues to deepen throughout the region, indigenous groups formerly divided by long-standing hostilities have found themselves newly united in their opposition to mining and empowered by the formation of trans-regional networks like the *Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas* (Bebbington, Bebbington, and Bury, 2010) See Figure 42.1.

Notably, this opposition has not been limited to indigenous communities. Indeed, mobilizations in defense of land and water have become so central a part of the Andean landscape over the past decade that Svampa has referred to a multi-class “eco-territorial turn” in grassroots struggles (Lopez and Vertiz, 2014). Despite the continuing penetration of extractive companies into ever-more remote locations throughout the



Figure 42.1 January 2013 protest against mining: Quito, Ecuador

Photo credit: Victoria McLoughlin.

highlands (and relying on ever-riskier technologies to extract previously un-extractable resources), it is important not to lose sight of the fact that this period has also been a profoundly generative period in state/civil society relations. As communities, both indigenous and campesino, have organized for plurinational, pluricultural, and other territorial rights, they have been instrumental in advancing more biocentric conceptions of national development—conceptions that aim to carve out innovative political and legal spaces for a range of non-human beings (Acosta and Martinez, 2011; Fitz-Henry 2014; Tanasescu, 2015). As Marisol de la Cadena has recently noted, new entities that have never before been the focus of political deliberation—what she calls “earth beings”—are increasingly finding their way into contemporary politics (Latour 2004; de la Cadena 2010). To provide just one example, Peruvian mountains are being invoked as part of anti-mining struggles in ways that suggest the emergence of a more “pluriversal” political order in which the “agency” of those mountains is taken seriously rather than brushed off as mere folklore or archaic belief (de la Cadena 2010). These articulations of other-than-human agency are perhaps even more visible in Ecuador which, in 2008, became the first country in the world to approve a constitution recognizing “rights” for nature—a move that, despite facing significant obstacles, has had important and continuing ripple effects beyond the country.

THE “AGENCY” OF WATER: THE POLITICAL LIVES OF “THINGS”

Of the non-human agencies that are increasingly of interest to communities facing mining concessions as well as scholars influenced by the materialist turn across the social sciences, the one that is perhaps most urgently making itself felt in political

mobilizations in opposition to extractive enterprises is water. From the 2004 “Defense of Water and Life” in opposition to a proposed extension of the Yanacocha mine in Peru to the successful struggle against Barick Gold’s Pascua Lama project in northern Chile using slogans like “The Thirst for Gold Will Leave Us Without Water” (Li, 2015, 2016), the issue of water has become the centerpiece around which struggles against extraction pivot. Many of the most intensely-fought contests have been framed in terms of the perceived dangers of both mining and oil production to rivers, lakes, lagoons, underground aquifers, and in the case of highlands, the delicately water-laden *páramo* (a high treeless plateau characteristic of the Andean highlands). Water is particularly important because it often serves to unite rural and urban interests in contexts in which those interests have not historically been aligned (Bebbington, Bebbington, and Bury, 2010). As Fabiani Li has recently noted of the struggle against *Minera Yanacocha* around a sacred mountain known as Cerro Quilish in northern Peru: “The importance of Quilish as an aquifer helped make water into a focal point of debates over mining” (Li, 2015, p. 111). Drawing together scientific water experts, religious leaders inspired by Latin American liberation theology, and a range of local knowledges about “water spirits” and the large subterranean lakes thought to lie deep within mountains, water served as the principal framing strategy and motivator for collective action. While long-standing concerns about ensuring unionized jobs, strong social investments, sustainable long-term corporate social responsibility, and more evenly distributed royalties remain important concerns for many Andean communities—particularly for those who are less directly affected by large-scale development projects—the issue of water is arguably more central than it has ever been for a number of climatic, technological, and political reasons.

Andean cultural worlds are deeply enmeshed with water on many levels—from the mundane to the cosmological (Murra, 1986; Trawick, 2001; Gelles, 2000; Laurie and Crespo, 2007). Indispensable to the daily labor of farming, irrigation, and animal husbandry upon which rural communities throughout the region depend, it is also an integral part of the cosmological imagination. The Andean-Amazonian concept of ‘living water,’ (*yacumama*, or mother water), for example, remains a central part of both everyday consciousness and ritual practice among communities in lowland areas, where water is seen not as a “resource” to be managed, but as a living being both constitutive of, and intimately interwoven with, human beings (Millones, 2016). In the arid and semi-arid highlands, rituals of giving back to, or “feeding,” the earth, or *Pachamama* (earth-mother goddess), frequently focus on sources of water such as underground springs (Castro and Aldunate, 2003; Babidge, 2015). Although scholars have occasionally contributed to static portrayals of *lo andino*, it is indisputable that water remains central to cosmological belief and ritual practice throughout the Andes in ways that bear the significant imprint of earlier times.

Given the extent to which Andean worlds and waterscapes are interwoven and even mutually constitutive, conflicts over water have been a prominent feature of the region for many decades. Long before the most recent phase of heightened extractivism which began in the early 2000s, struggles between indigenous and campesino communities, state and local water authorities, and private sector companies have been a perennial challenge. However, that challenge was significantly exacerbated during the “lost decades” of the 1980s and 1990s with the rise of neoliberal governments across the region. At the hands of center and center-right presidents such as

Fujimori in Peru, Duran-Ballén in Ecuador, and Sánchez de Lozada in Bolivia, rural communities found themselves struggling to maintain control of collective water management practices while states attempted to either centralize control of those systems by allocating water rights in favor of large landed interests or, in recent years, to privatize them along the lines of the Chilean model (Andolina, Laurie, and Radcliffe, 2009; Boelens, 2015; Budds, 2004, 2013). Despite the current ascendancy of left-leaning resource nationalists who are at least rhetorically opposed to these sorts of privatizations, in practice their increasing investment in extractive projects has resulted in forms of water dispossession that demonstrate significant continuities with those of their neoliberal predecessors. Although much more committed to state-centric ownership structures than their neoliberal forebears, these state-owned companies and private-public partnerships have not by and large proven themselves any better than their private counterparts at responding to struggles around water. These struggles are currently intensifying for three primary reasons.

First, because as many observers of growing water scarcity related to anthropogenic climate change have pointed out, the Andes are already facing significant water shortages due to rapid glacial melt. In the past 25 years alone, Bolivian glaciers have receded by more than 45 percent (Orlove, 2008)—a situation that is powerfully contributing to Bolivia’s worst drought in 25 years. And Bolivia is unfortunately not alone. In countries like Peru, 48 percent of the ice has disappeared since 1975, with some places at altitudes below 5,000 meters seeing more than 80 percent already gone.

Second, extractive industries are among the most water intensive and water polluting industries in the world. Although most mining companies insist that their water practices are in accord with the highest international standards, the fact remains that they produce huge amounts of waste (approximately 99.5 percent of material mined in large scale copper mining is rejected as waste), rely on chemicals (such as mercury and cyanide for gold mining) that are known to pool in local water sources (Bridge, 2004; Riofrancos, 2016), and draw approximately 30 million liters of water per day on average at most mines (Perreault, 2013). Even the new “responsible” mining widely touted by industry insiders as “cleaner” and more “modern” relies on thousands of liters of water per minute and uses techniques, such as cyanide leaching, that culminate in significant acid mine drainage (Urkidi, 2010; Kirsch, 2015).

Third, there is a growing international network of civil society groups focused explicitly on the “global water crisis” (Barlow, 2007; Rasmussen, 2015). Since the inception of World Water Forums in the early 1990s, groups working on water issues throughout the hemisphere have strengthened their information-sharing capacities and otherwise multiplied their opportunities for collaboration, thereby gaining increasing clout in water policy discussions in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, and Chile. As a result, water is becoming a focal point for communities struggling against all forms of industrial production, but particularly for those who find themselves battling extractive companies.

While the particular ways that water figures in struggles against mining and oil exploration differ across countries and sites of extraction (Conde, 2017), a common thread in state policies in relation to these conflicts in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and to some degree Chile is the growing criminalization of groups defending water resources. To cite just two of many examples: In December 2014, a few days before he was scheduled to appear at the *International Tribunal for the Rights of Nature*

in Lima, Peru, José Tendentza, a long-time Shuar activist from Ecuador opposed to the proposed \$1.5 billion Mirador copper and gold mine in the southern Amazonian state of Zamora Chinchipe was found beaten to death under circumstances that have led many to suspect the involvement of both the state and the company. And again, in the south-central province of Azuay, civil society groups such as *Las Defensoras de la Pachamama* have been repeatedly threatened and incarcerated by state security forces because of their opposition to two Canadian mining projects on the grounds that they are threats to local water sources. While state discourses across the region have relied heavily on the cultural capital provided by ostensibly “indigenous” cosmological and philosophical concepts, more and more indigenous peoples and their environmentalist allies have borne the brunt of this state violence in recent years—often accused of being backward, unrealistic, utopian, committed to their own advancement at the expense of the nation’s prosperity, violent, uninformed, or using the heated issue of natural resource extraction to gain political power.

While recognizing these worrisome continuities across extractive enclaves, it is equally important, however, not to downplay the differences between them or to treat affected communities as monolithic wholes united in their opposition to mining or oil extraction. Recent ethnographic studies demonstrate that communities are often sharply divided between those who support and derive benefit from the arrival of state or transnational companies and those who either oppose or are relatively apathetic about the arrival of such external actors—a dynamic that frequently intensifies pre-existing social conflicts (Cepek, 2012; Perreault, 2013; Moore and Velasquez, 2012). Growing numbers of ethnographers have even called attention to the fact that many affected communities—both indigenous and non-indigenous—are often not nearly as unanimously opposed to extractive projects as they are portrayed by environmentalists and their unwitting academic allies (McNeish, 2012; Cepek, 2016; Lu, Silva and Valdivia, 2016). Instead, more often than not they are most concerned with negotiating favorable terms of engagement and ensuring that traditional leadership structures be respected (McNeish, 2012). While some communities have undoubtedly courted the arrival of extractive companies, benefitted from well-designed corporate social responsibility projects, and witnessed significant improvements in local economies, others find themselves facing militarized police responses, heavily contaminated water supplies, deepening generational and gender divides, and intensifying processes of out-migration toward urban centers.

To understand how these dynamics are playing out on the ground with somewhat more fine-grained ethnographic specificity, let us consider in greater detail the case of Ecuador.

BETWEEN “DIRTY” OIL AND “CLEAN” MINING: ECUADOR’S “NEW EXTRACTIVISM”

Although all of the countries of the Andes have witnessed a renewed dependence on the export of extractive commodities over the past two decades, Ecuador has remained one of the most resource-dependent economies in all of South America. It is a country deeply and painfully marked by oil extraction. Since the discovery of “black gold” in 1964, the country has extracted billions of barrels of heavy crude from deposits in the Amazon region, leaving a legacy of environmental destruction

that includes more than 900 unlined oil pits, miles of faulty pipelines, and at least 18 billion gallons of wastewater dumped without treatment into local rivers and streams (Sawyer, 2004; Lu, Silva and Valdivia, 2016). Despite the environmental horrors of this legacy (it has been called, with little exaggeration, the “Amazonian Chernobyl”), the Correa administration “has benefitted more from oil price increases than any prior administration since democratization in 1979” (Riofrancos, 2016). More than a third of the state’s budget comes from oil revenue and it remains the fifth largest producer of petroleum in Latin America (after Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia) (Valdivia, 2008). While the administration has repeatedly attempted to position the country as newly engaged in “clean” mineral versus “dirty” oil extraction (Davidov, 2013), oil production in Ecuador increased sharply between 1990 and 2008. Even more problematically, its social spending has culminated in a debt of more than \$15 billion USD, most of which is repayable to China only in oil. Given these debt levels as well as recent declines in the price of oil, Ecuador is already committed to drilling crude oil for export to China at least through 2024.

Indigenous coalitions such as CONAIE (*Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*) and major environmental NGOs such as *Acción Ecológica* and *Fundación Pachamama* have been among the first to point to the inherent social and environmental unsustainability of ongoing oil extraction. Not only does it contribute significantly to climate change, but Ecuador’s reserves are only projected to last a mere twelve years (Davidov, 2013). In spite of these challenges, the government continues to insist that it is responding to long-standing civil society demands by significantly strengthening state oversight over both national and foreign oil companies. For much of the past twenty years, the primary demand from petroleum workers, Amazonian settlers, and other civil society groups has been that the government stop *entreguismo*, or the selling of the country’s oil to foreign companies. “Petroleum belongs to all Ecuadorians!” and “Petroleum Belongs to the People, not the IMF!” were slogans around which many mobilized during the neoliberal administrations of the 1990s and early 2000s (Valdivia, 2008, p. 457). Unlike these administrations (which Correa has repeatedly denounced as the “*partidocracia*”), during whose terms in office companies like Occidental Oil were able to repatriate more than 70 percent of their profits, the Correa administration emphasizes that it has faithfully put the people first as part of its “Citizen’s Revolution.” It has done so by reforming the tax code and rewriting oil contracts so that a significantly greater share of the “extraordinary profits” and “anticipated royalties” from oil extraction flow to state coffers for redirection toward social programs. And indeed, the socio-economic results of this redirection are widely apparent, at least to many of the country’s poorest citizens. To cite just two of many statistics: according to *Alianza Pais*, Ecuador reduced the percentage of children forced to work from 16 percent in 2007 to 3 percent in 2014, and illiteracy rates declined from 11.7 percent in 1990 to 6.8 percent in 2010 (SENPLADES, Plan Estratégico, 2014–2017).

In order to further increase funding for these popular social subsidies, the administration has also invested in building one of the largest refinery and petrochemical complexes in all of Latin America—the Refinery of the Pacific, located in the arid coastal province of Manabí. While local residents have mixed opinions about its impending arrival, a significant minority continue to worry both about the water necessary for the refining of more than 200,000 barrels of crude a day in this

extraordinarily dry province and about the effects on local biodiversity and marine life (Fitz-Henry, 2014; 2015). The government, however, argues that the petrochemical complex is critical to the financing of the “Citizen’s Revolution” because Ecuador currently has insufficient refining capacity to satisfy domestic demand for gas, diesel, and plastics. The aim is simply to close this gap, thereby saving many millions of dollars each year. As Correa explained in 2008, when first announcing the refinery to a group of supporters in the province of Manabi:

How many schools can we build with the hundreds of millions of dollars that we are going to save by not importing gas? How many children can we help with breakfast at school, textbooks, uniforms, transport, health? How many jobs can we generate? How many elderly or disabled people will we be able to take care of?

While such rhetoric has angered environmentalist groups, it has proven broadly persuasive to the vast majority of local citizens.

While continuing to frame oil as part of the national patrimony belonging to “all people” (and not just indigenous peoples and their allies, who are often constructed as selfishly anti-national), Correa has also taken unprecedented steps to open the country to large-scale open-pit mining for the first time in the country’s history. Although Ecuador has been home to a number of small and medium-scale mining operations for the better part of two decades, it was not until 2007 that Correa declared mineral mining to be a “strategic sector” of the Ecuadorian economy. Much as he had done with the rewriting of oil contracts, one of his first moves as president was to substantially increase state control over the mining sector by rewriting the legal framework so that the state’s “share in the rent [would be] no less than 51 percent” (van Teijlingen 2016, p. 904). Indigenous and environmental critics again took to the streets, arguing that the government had failed to consider the “rights of nature, the rights of indigenous people, and the right to prior consent” (van Teijlingen 2016, p. 904). However, in spite of this protest which culminated in a thousand-strong “Plurinational March for Water, Life, and Dignity,” on March 5, 2012 the government signed the first-ever agreement for a large-scale mega-mining project: The El Mirador Copper Mine, to be constructed in the southern Amazonian province of Zamora Chinchipe by the Chinese investment consortium, ECSA (Ecuacorrientes).

In large part owing to heavy state and corporate investment in discourses of “development” and “social responsibility,” there are numerous communities throughout the affected zones who are broadly welcoming of the Mirador project— particularly in places like El Pangui, where citizens have long been dismissed by the central government as under-developed, backward, or even “savage” (van Teijlingen, 2016; Warnars, 2012). However, Quito-based environmental NGOs and Shuar leaders have been among the first to call for more careful consideration of the dangers to water resources and to the hydrological cycle more broadly. As a report from the Quito-based *Fundación Pachamama* points out,

[Mirador] is located specifically in the micro-basins of the Tundayme and Wawayme Rivers . . . These rivers are used to irrigate fields and for the direct consumption of human beings . . . The ecosystem of the *Cordillera del*

Condor is sustained by the great hydrological cycle [out of which are created] the great rivers that run toward the Amazon.

(Fundación Pachamama, 2014).

Despite this recognition of the dangers posed to the “great hydrological cycle” by the Mirador mine, these activists for the “rights of nature” have thus far been unable to stop the project. Worse still, from the perspective of many, the predominantly Shuar population throughout the project zone has continued to be forcibly evicted from their homes. Although technically “legal” (since the new mining law grants companies the “right to servitude” over those who occupy land that has been conceded to them as long as they have offered financial compensation), these evictions have led to ongoing struggles between the Shuar, their environmentalist allies, and the central government. In December 2016, this struggle came to a particularly violent head when the government declared a 90-day “state of emergency” in the adjacent province of Morona Santiago—a state of emergency that involved the deployment of more than 1,000 military and police personnel and the “preventative incarceration” of five indigenous and four mestizo leaders.

As the example of Ecuador demonstrates most vividly, Andean Latin America is, indeed, at a crossroads (Escobar, 2010). While a number of countries appear to be returning to center-right (or “Blue Tide”) governments, and others, like Venezuela, are facing escalating crises as commodity prices stall, all of the countries of the region are engaged in increasingly risky balancing acts, as they attempt to continue delivering on social promises while respecting ecological limits. It is indisputable that there have been substantial improvements in numerous poverty indicators throughout the region and there is strong evidence that large swathes of the population who have formerly felt neglected by central governments are finding themselves with roads, bridges, and hospitals for the very first time. At the same time, as environmental critics and indigenous coalitions point out, these successes do not have to come at such a cost, particularly at this moment when we are immersed in a global environmental crisis that is having such detrimental effects on water security throughout the Andes. From the perspective of these activists, the extractivist model—regardless of whether it is put in the service of “twenty-first-century socialism” or of traditional neoliberal reform—is socially unsustainable, economically volatile, environmentally retrograde, and inherently non-participatory. Furthermore, the alternatives to extractivism are not utopian or anti-nationalist. Indeed, as activists frequently point out, Andean Latin America has arguably been at the global forefront of thinking both practically and creatively about more sustainable forms of (alter-) development. How the governments of the region reconcile these deepening tensions—without resorting to police and military force justified by increasingly urgent appeals to nationalism—remains one of the central challenges of our time.

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REFLECTIONS AND PROJECTIONS

Andean worlds¹



Linda J. Seligmann and Kathleen S. Fine-Dare

REFLECTIONS ON ANDEAN IMAGINARIES

Despite many imaginaries that have projected “the Andes” as a homogeneous and singular world, partly determined by geography, scholars of the Andes have long debated how to convey the diversity of Andean worlds, both for purposes of informal exploration as well as for systematic analysis. The Andean region has been envisioned as an exhilarating, exotic, and stunning high mountain region; as a label that connotes non-western and “Indian”; as a blanket reference to the many indigenous movements of resistance, revitalization, and political mobilization that challenge colonial and postcolonial constructs of Andean peoples as victims; and, most recently, as a commercial brand for a healthy and spiritually invigorating life style.² Nevertheless, although in geographical terms the Andean region extends from the Caribbean to Patagonia, in political terms the Andean community is comprised of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. And although Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia share more in common culturally than they do with Colombia, even among these three countries there are notable differences that should not be ignored and that demand explanation.

The contributions to this collection have demonstrated that regardless of macro-processes that structure what happens in the regions that comprise the Andes, the peoples who inhabit these regions and their experiences and interpretations of their histories powerfully inflect, in unique fashion, dynamics writ large. These include conquest and colonialism; the power of Christianity entangled with both politics and religiosity; and the specter of racial hierarchies and technologies whose traces remain indelibly engraved on sociospatial configurations, bodies, and even on landscapes. It is worth considering at this juncture several questions and themes that may guide future scholars as they seek to make sense of what we here designate as Andean worlds.

GENERATIONS

In thinking about how different generations of scholars shape our understanding of the Andes, we must take account not only of how and where these scholars have been trained but also, very literally, the generation from which they emerge. These variables affect the theoretical lens that orients their respective work and the

methodologies they select to guide their investigations. And while the zeitgeist of the times generally structures the purpose of their research endeavors, it may more rarely also cause scholars to fight against the prevailing paradigms of their generation, from the positivism or scientific racism of the late 1800s to the early 1900s; to the naturalist bent with which the study of others was approached; to the recognition of the exotic other as human, albeit sometimes along a hierarchical evolutionary scale; to the realization that our lives are intertwined with these “others” in complex political economies, histories, and conceptualizations of the world itself. Most recently, scholars of the Andes have challenged the notion of “world views” as simply “different” and have called attention to the valuation and perception of ontological assumptions. The ways that world views are perceived and valued may lead to the creation of interactive hierarchies between cosmologies, not solely at the level of idea or concept, but very much grounded in people’s practices and conflicts. In similar fashion, scholars, especially those working in Andean institutions, have demanded engagement, collaboration, and activism in experimental ways that take their cue from Andean peoples themselves, such that concepts wielded by Andean scholars do not simply reproduce those already rooted in Eurowestern history and the academy.

DISCIPLINES, METHODS, AND PROVENANCE

Very closely linked to the question of the generational context of scholars, the methods that scholars employ, their disciplinary training, the sources they draw upon, and their place of origin—that is, where they live and teach—create Andean worlds in ways that often surprise. This collection has drawn on the expertise of sociocultural anthropologists, archaeologists, linguistic anthropologists, and historians. The volume also has chapters by specialists in social geography and environmental studies, sociology, cultural studies, Hispanic studies, and Latin American Studies. Of the 46 contributors to this collection—who hail from Canada, Europe, Great Britain, Japan, Latin America, and the United States—23 are teaching and conducting research at institutions located in countries other than the United States or, if they are now teaching in the U.S., they have lived and been trained at institutions outside that country. Eleven of them currently hold positions at universities and research organizations in the Andes.

The life experiences and career trajectories of the contributors give a subtle but significant range of perspectives to the volume, which, in turn, has a bearing on the way scholars approach topics such as state formation, resistance, language exchanges, the terrain of gender and sexuality studies, decolonization, or religiosity. Not usually noted but of equal importance is the access that scholars have to field sites or sources, which makes an enormous difference to how they approach their work. Uncovering new archival sources may radically change prior assumptions of how conquest transpired, the meanings of tourism for the people who experience it daily, or the production of music, dance, and film, for example. What scholars deem to be evidence and how they interpret it—through material substantiation, exchange and dialogue with interlocutors, or through documentary sources, both historical and contemporary, dramatically shape how Andean worlds are constituted. It is also not insignificant to consider the availability of resources to do research at all. In far too many cases, research plans are thwarted by the lack of resources at higher institutions of learning in Latin America.

CODA: PROJECTIONS

In closing this volume we ask: “What is missing?” At over 650 pages, this collection nevertheless hardly encompasses all there is for one to know, even as a novice, about the worlds of Andean peoples. Each of the topical chapters could easily radiate into a myriad of related and connected topics that reach into the past and future of Andean studies. We hope that each of these chapters is provocative enough to allow readers to explore related themes and topics on their own. For instance, we foresee that research undertaken on interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary topics such as climate change, or comparative investigation of indigenous political organizing, may not only prove to be a heuristic and fruitful way to bring scholarship on multiple aspects of Andean lifeways into the same frame, but it may also facilitate the collaboration of scholars and inhabitants of the Andes (as well as of inhabitants of other regions struggling with similar challenges). We have not addressed the interaction of biological and cultural dimensions of Andean worlds, such as the long-term impact of disease and deprivation—including malnutrition and physical violence—on future generations. The world of sports—in the Andes as well as elsewhere—is a lightning rod for debates with respect to struggles over who “owns” cities, especially given the complicated embeddedness of major athletic events in mega-economic transactions, nationalism, transnationalism, sharp racial and economic inequalities, mobility trajectories, and spatial politics. We have not fully considered the complicated circuits of intertwined economies and value systems that traverse the Andes and the entire globe, and what may be the future of such complicated trade winds in the future. How will the political activism and collaborative undertakings of younger intellectuals at work shape what we understand to be Andean? Finally, although some authors touch on the matter, we hope that these chapters stimulate scholars to investigate more deeply the circulation of cross-border influences, ideas, and interactions that people themselves are engaging in via the Internet and other social media sources that concern social activism, human rights, gender equity, and other matters of urgency in this millennium. These are just a few of the areas that deserve more consideration and are not as well-addressed here as we would like. Nevertheless, we end on a bright note in that we think this volume opens the way for others to challenge and build upon those arguments elegantly and succinctly presented here. There remains much work to be done.

NOTES

- 1 We solicited insights from contributors to *The Andean World* on how the construct of “Andean” has been used and the transformations it has undergone over time. Some of them emailed us their responses, while others participated in a roundtable session that we organized for the Latin American Studies Association meetings in Barcelona on May 24, 2018. We were fortunate that several scholars spanning generational, cultural, topical, and areal backgrounds and specialties were able to engage in dialogue with us in Spain. We would like to acknowledge their thoughtful and pertinent ideas, some of which we have incorporated into this concluding chapter.
- 2 Because there are so many sources that illustrate well the imaginaries that have circulated in the field of Andean studies and that serve as excellent examples of the research themes we mention below, we have not specifically cited them here. However, the collection itself provides readers with ample sources they can turn to in order to explore further these constructs and research areas.

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